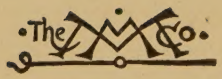
A

RELIGIOUS SCIENCE AND LITERATURE SERIES

EDITED BY E. HERSHEY SNEATH, PH.D., LL.D.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS



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THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

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PREFACE

In the language of one of the savage races mentioned in this volume the word religion means the sacred tree. Although innocent of allegory, yet, as in many other regards, in this definition the savage has suggested a profound truth. For religion is, as it were, a tree. Its roots lie deep in the darkness of primeval earth; its growth must precede its sheltering foliage; and its unripened fruits are not pleasant. Yet, watered by a living spring, it has risen out of a soil black and even gruesome, since blood too has fertilized it, but risen nevertheless it has, slowly exalting itself heavenward; and under it sits nearly all mankind.

In the course of this volume we shall study the roots and the higher growth of this tree, which through its age-long development, as any tree changes its earth-drawn sustenance into something more ethereal, has transmuted terror into reverent awe, hunger into hope, lust into love. We shall trace the slow progress of such roots of religion as bear today the names taboo, fetishism, totemism; see how taboo invested with spiritual power the moral command, insured the home, and made for civilization; how fetishism confirmed the thought that man depends on a spiritual something, gave faith in a power that helped, and made that power the judge of right and wrong; how totemism linked man in communion with the divine and in conjunction with seasonal nature-worship founded ritual in the recurrent form necessary to religious stability. We shall see in short that the higher not only is above the lower but that it has ascended out of the lower. Savagery did not give place to civilization but developed into it, was already civilization in the germ.

So Egypt merely intensified the idea of communion when it made the soul the Osiris and burgeoned into the mysticism which became the mystery of human brotherhood in divine sonship. All these ideas remained conserved in the higher growth, and others as well; the belief that the single member might be cut off for the good of the whole, that evil like good had assumed a personal form, that law was established on divine will, and even that the moral was more important than the ritual law: "There are the forty-nine rites to be practised but to be pure of heart is better," said one who lived some centuries before our era.

Naturally, therefore, the question arises: If religion be all one tree, and even the acorn an embryonic oak, is there anything essential that makes the limb which shelters us different from others, such as the noble, if narrow, branch called Mohammedanism; the broad bough of Vishnuism, with its devotion to a personal Lord and its belief that this Lord once lived on earth as man; or Buddhism, with its gentle yet exalted faith; or Zoroastrianism, which gave the world its virgin-born saviour, archangels, Ahriman, and an eschatology still potent under another name? That a sacred tree may have one Golden Bough is another truth adumbrated by savagery, and such a bough is surely different from others. The inquiry then is not futile, though it can here be answered only by pointing out salient distinctions. Nowhere in Zoroastrianism is there escape from the round of ceremonies and iteration of creed. Mohammedanism sufficed for its time and place, but its fruit never ripened in the sun. Vishnuism freed itself from form; but its chief fruit, which was loving faith, either became rotten with erotic mysticism, a form of decay which once threatened the fruit of the Golden Bough also, or shrivelled into a dry husk: the sinner dies forgiven who expires ejaculating Rama's Name. As the fruit of our bough is different from this, so it is not that of its nearest spiritual neighbour, Buddhism, either in the primitive atheistic form or in the nihilistic idealism whose crowning

fruit is the Void. For, as this is no real fruit but its negation, Buddhism is left with nothing but the barren leaves of rites and the thornless twigs of its passive doctrine, not to injure others.

But the fruit of the Golden Bough is active love not passive pity; its very dogma is that dogma is insufficient; its pure religion and undefiled is this, to serve others; and no bough can be broader: "In every nation he that fears God and works righteousness is accepted of Him." In a word, historically the essence of the difference lies here: All higher religions are a complex of early and late growths; they all are either intense or broad as compared with their origins. But one religion is more intense and broader than any other. Other religions have been liberal, not only Vishnuism but Zoroastrianism; others have been intense, vital, like Mohammedanism; but only one has concentrated itself upon love of God in man and defined every man as a brother. Christianity came not to destroy, but to fulfil, to change Buddha's negative kindness into actual devotion; to enlarge as well as to intensify the vision of ages. Virile as Mohammedanism, gentle as Hinduism, catholic as Greek mysticism, ethical as Hebraism; it differs, shall we say, in surpassing; or is that to prejudge the case?

Yet this Preface sums up, rather than prejudges. But in the chapters which really lead to it, the writer has sought to present each religion impartially and objectively. His purpose has been to sketch religions not controversially but historically, to set before his readers, who are presumed to be already fairly well informed but not special students, the main outlines of religious phenomena, as they have appeared and still appear in the world. As such readers will see, he has been cramped by lack of space as well as by personal limitations. Despite the generosity of the publishers, who have permitted this book to outgrow its projected stature, it has been difficult to compress so great a matter into so small a compass. The author himself feels how curtly he has dismissed many phases on

which he would gladly have enlarged. He has indeed suppressed almost as much as he has published and had he not been assured that there was need of a manual of this sort he would not have ventured to crowd so many problems into one volume. The need was a practical one. The weighty manual of Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte,* not only is a two-volume encyclopedia but it shares the disadvantage (together, it must be admitted, with the advantage) of all encyclopedic works in being written by various hands without correlation, so that what is affirmed here is denied there and what is said there is repeated here. Nevertheless, this will be a standard treatise for such students as can read German or may prefer a French translation. Unhappily it has not yet been done into English. Other manuals, some of them admirable, have been published, but the authors have generally confined themselves to the higher aspects of religion. Of these the writer would mention particularly the masterly exposition of the great religions by Professor George F. Moore, whose *History of Religions,* in two volumes, one of which has already appeared, should be in the hands of all advanced students, and Professor George A. Barton's excellent synopsis of Classical and Oriental religions, called the *Religions of the World,* which appeared after most of the present volume was written.

The skeleton bibliographies appended to the chapters of this *History* are intended chiefly to introduce the reader to the literature and put him on the track of other books. No attempt has been made to display titles, only to mention a few important works, arranged withal neither alphabetically nor chronologically, but, in general, according to the precedent reading matter of each chapter or in the order in which the few volumes mentioned may most advantageously be read. These books themselves cite others and are often provided with more extensive bibliographies.

In regard to the rendering of words in the writer's own

special field, it has been his experience that in works of this kind transliteration without diacritical marks is preferable to that meticulous precision which attempts to render foreign sounds through the inadequate medium of distorted English letters. This attempt becomes really absurd when to dot a nasal conceals the fact that the English nasal itself is practically indistinguishable from the lingual nasal of the original. If any letters are marked, they should be the dentals, which in Sanskrit are really dental and are pronounced quite differently from ours. No English tongue without a special training will ever pronounce Buddha correctly. In respect of the length of Sanskrit vowels, the matter is somewhat other; but on the whole the author prefers the modern Hindu and classical practice of ignoring vowel-lengths in printing. If Demeter (not Dêmêtêr), why Umâ? But for those really anxious to know the length of Sanskrit vowels, hints have been given in the index.

In conclusion, the writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to several of his colleagues, without indeed implicating them in any responsibility for what he has perhaps inadequately set forth. The general editor of this series, Professor E. Hershey Sneath, has given the writer various useful suggestions and references, especially in the province of European philosophy. The view that Arabia did not belch forth Semites at intervals of half-millenniums is of course (as Semitic scholars will know) that of Professor Albert T. Clay. A lecture on Hebrew mysticism by Professor Frank C. Porter suggested the distinction made between classes of Hebrew prophets. Professor Benj. W. Bacon has kindly revised the notes on the dates of New Testament writings. From his book, mentioned but not explicitly as the source, was taken the phrase which points the distinction between the doctrine of Jesus and the doctrine about Jesus. An unintended reticence, noticed too late, as to the names of two distinguished scholars may be rectified here. The "excellent

authority" cited on page 371 is the writer's friend and colleague, Professor A. V. W. Jackson. The other eminent scholar, to whom reference is made on page 550, is the well-known writer on Roman institutions, Dr. W. Warde Fowler.

New Haven,
September 8, 1918.

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EDITOR'S PROSPECTUS

One of the notable developments of modern scholarship is an increasing interest in the scientific study of religion. It is safe to say that never before has religion been made the subject of such careful and extended investigation as during the last three decades. History, anthropology, psychology, archaeology, comparative religion, and sociology have been drawn upon to aid in the determination and interpretation of the facts of religious experience; — each of them making a substantial contribution toward this important end. Indeed! during this period a new science, the psychology of religion, has come into being, and already a comparatively large literature on this subject has been developed. Philosophy, also, has felt the impulse of this interest, and, in the more speculative fields of religious scholarship, a philosophy of religion is rapidly supplanting dogmatic theology in the effort to furnish an ultimate interpretation of the phenomena of religious consciousness. Furthermore, application of the historical method to the study of Old and New Testament Literature has contributed toward a much better understanding of the Bible, and to a more intelligent appreciation, and a higher valuation, of the Christian religion.

Further interest in religion is manifest in the widespread movement in behalf of systematic religious education. Biology, genetic and child psychology, the psychology of adolescence, and experimental pedagogy, are rendering valuable aid in the organization and application of curricula in this important field. Thus far elementary and secondary religious education has received more attention than religious education in the college. The time seems ripe for more adequate education along these lines in colleges and universities. For this purpose a special literature in the history, psychology and philosophy of religion, and in Old and New Testament Interpretation is necessary. The " Re-

ligious Science and Literature Series" is specially designed to meet this need. Each book of the Series is written by a well-known specialist, and is prepared with reference to class-room work. The Series includes the following volumes:

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E. HERSHEY SNEATH.

Yale University.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

CHAPTER ONE

DEFINITIONS, SOURCES AND CLASSIFICATIONS OF RELIGIONS

A CERTAIN Professor of Rhetoric at Milan, Augustine by name, seeking to define time, said: "Ask me, and I do not know; ask me not, and I know." Every one knows time, feels conscious of it, recognizes that man exists in time. Yet who can define it properly, or say that it ever began or never began? So it is with religion. We are conscious of it, we feel that it exists and that we exist as religious beings; and each of us may know what his own religion is. Yet who can say of religion in general that it is this or that, and who would venture to assert that his own religion is the only religion? To take a concrete example, what shall we say of a moral atheist and of an immoral theist, are they religious or irreligious?

Nevertheless, we must, as students of religion, attempt some definition of what we are to study, and for the purposes of religious history this definition must exclude particulars and include what is common to all the religions we are to investigate. Now what is common to all religions is belief in a superhuman power and an adjustment of human activities to the requirements of that power, such an adjustment as may enable the individual believer to exist more happily. As physical life must be adjusted to its environment, so mental life must be adjusted, and this adjustment is expressed by the activities exercised in view of the religious belief. Our definition then must imply belief, but it should also emphasize the activity, mental and physical, which results from that belief.

On the other hand, we ought not to intrude into the definition any implication or expression of the answer to the query whether man has an innate religious faculty or merely impressions that produce that faculty, and we may not even imply in our definition that religion necessitates a belief in spiritual powers, because such belief is not essential. To put into the definition what cannot be omitted and to omit what ought not to be put in: (Religion is *Squaring human life with superhuman life.*) In the effort to adjust oneself to superhuman life, belief is assumed, but the definition rather stresses that adjustment without which religion becomes pretence or hypocrisy. As to belief in a superhuman power, even Positivism, with its "veneration for the power which exercises a dominant influence over life" (Frederic Harrison's definition of religion), really reveres a non-material, if not spiritual power, inasmuch as the power venerated cannot be explained in terms of matter or material force and is beyond the control of humanity, while directing it. And so too Buddhism, which has been a thorn in the flesh of those who have tried to make it fit into their more elaborate definitions of religion, is included as a real religion in this definition, for Karma is a superhuman power which lies outside of sense-experience.[1]

It may perhaps be objected that such a definition as has been proposed is too cold or too vague and does not correspond to what we feel religion should be; it ought to contain something which implies a belief in the immortality of the soul, in God, and in our feeling of dependence on him. But this is exactly what has destroyed the value of many famous definitions of religion, which have substituted what men think ought to be the hall-mark of religion for that which is actually found to be essential. For in adopt-

[1] Although Buddha was an atheist, Tiele represents Buddhism as having "Buddha for its God," simply because Tiele's definition requires a belief in God as the base of religion. And Sir Monier-Williams, confronted with the same problem as to the status of Buddhism, boldly declared that Buddhism is no religion at all!

ing any such definition we drop back into the attitude of those who make a distinction between the false and the true, as they understand it, the test of real religion; who say, or think, that what they themselves believe is religion and what they do not believe is superstition.

Yet the definitions of religion furnished by others are of value to the student, who ought not to be without such historical background and to whom it is important to know what other investigators of religion mean when they use that word. Even to glance at the interpretation of religion conveyed by philology is not a waste of time.

To begin with some of these unconscious revelations given by man's crystallized thought, the Greek *sebas* and the Latin *reverentia* imply a theory of religious origins still taught in our schools. Sebas is "shrinking" and reverentia is "timidity," and before *reverentia* became piety or *sebas* had formed its child *eusebeia,* these were the earliest verbal equivalents of religion. The word religion itself was defined by the later Romans as *justitia adversus deos.* Cicero derived it from *relego,* implying a careful knowledge of the needs of the gods — *religentem esse oportet religiosum nefas* (be religious but not superstitious). Others connected the word with *lex,* law, and *religo,* implying an obligation. Earlier still is the notion of religion furnished by Plato in the mocking challenge of the Euthyphro: "Is not religion perhaps merely a science of begging and getting?" This last explanation of religion takes us direct to the modern theory of Lyall,[1] who regards the principle of *do ut des* as the "foundation of natural religion." Andrew Lang has remarked that this is virtually the definition of Frazer, who makes religion "a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man."[2]

The definition of Seneca, who says that "to know God and imitate him" is religion, brings us to the practical diffi-

[1] Sir A. C. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies,* London, 1899, ii, p. 172.
[2] Andrew Lang, *Magic and Religion,* London, 1901, p. 59.

culty already discussed. This admirable definition is rather a precept than a definition; it is not what religion is but what it should be. So with definitions which make religion imply the love of God, the command of conscience, the feeling of trust in God, etc. From the point of view of our study, Schleiermacher's "consciousness of contact between the soul and the universe," though a noble definition of religion, is too noble; it does not apply to the religion of savages. Bishop Butler's famous definition, "Religion is the belief in one God or Creator and Moral Governor of the world and in a future state of retribution," would today exclude a host of religious civilized people of his own church, as it even then excluded hosts who were not believers in his religion. The same may be said of James Martineau's "Religion is a belief in an everlasting God, that is, a divine mind and will ruling the universe and holding moral relations with mankind." Noticeable is it that these theologians regard religion as wholly an intellectual conviction, with not a word to imply that man does anything as part of his religion. On the other hand, we have to be on guard just as carefully against those who do not regard intelligence but feeling as the one and only thing in religion. "The mark of real religion," says Pfleiderer, "is sentiment." Tiele, a professed student of religion but more a theologian, agrees with Pfleiderer; while Réville goes so far as to make this sentiment love; but it is clear that here also "real religion" is merely the author's religion. Tiele, however, resolves religion into "words and deeds," and that is an advance on the definition given by the philosophers and theologians cited above.[1]

So, to define religion as the "determination of human life by the sentiment of a bond uniting the human mind to that mysterious mind whose domination of the world and of itself it recognizes and to whom it delights in feeling itself

[1] Tiele, *Elements of Religion*, London, 1877, makes words and deeds the expression of conceptions and emotions, but he takes emotion as the starting-point.

united" (Réville) is much more than can be said of many religions, and the same fault vitiates Max Müller's otherwise defective definition of religion as "a longing after the infinite" and "a mental faculty which enables man to apprehend the infinite," the latter being only a little more incredible than the former, as was felt by the author himself.[1]

From the philosophers we do indeed get one definition that might answer for every phase of belief. This is Edward Caird's, as given in a popular article,[2] when he says that "a man's religion is the expression of his summed up meaning and the purport of his whole consciousness of things"; but this implies merely a mental state and attitude toward life and does not imply the recognition of anything superhuman or spiritual, the one essential of religion differentiating it from philosophy, which may or may not recognize a superhuman element. One may of course arbitrarily define religion as being devoid of such an element, just as a painter may say that art is his religion or Heine that blaue Augen are his heaven; but he is simply using a well-known conception in an extraordinary manner. Virtually equivalent to Réville's definition is a recent attempt to define religion psychologically as "the endeavour to secure the recognition of socially recognized values through specific actions that are believed to evoke some agency different from the ordinary ego of the individual, or from other merely human beings, and that imply a feeling of dependence upon this agency."[3]

On the whole, the anthropologists have defined religion in better terms than have the students of comparative religion. They at least know that the Andaman Islander does not apprehend the infinite or feel himself delightfully united to a

[1] In his Gifford Lectures of 1891, Müller attempted to explain away the definition given in those of 1880.

[2] *Metaphysical Magazine*, June, 1902.

[3] See W. K. Wright in the *American Journal of Theology*, July, 1912, p. 385f.

mysterious mind. But the trouble with the definitions of the anthropologists is that each reflects a one-sided theory. This is the case with E. B. Tylor's "belief in spiritual beings," while as a definition it ignores activities set in motion by belief. Mere belief is not religion. One may believe in the moon without having religious relations with the moon, and so one may believe in spirits without their making part of one's religion. On the other hand, when Saussaye defines religion as the "belief in superhuman powers and worship of them," there is a vitiating error in the assumption that religion implies worship, for there may be no worship and yet a change of conduct may be religious, be, in fact, the sole outer activity resulting from the religious belief.[1] Finally it may be said of Arnold's memorable dictum (religion is "morality touched with emotion") that from an historical or comparative point of view it is meaningless. Some religions are immoral, as Arnold would define morality, while some are unmoral, or have no obvious connection with morality.

Thus the history of religion is simply the story of how different communities have succeeded in adjusting their lives to what they have believed to be a living power, not identical with their own power but superhuman, even if they themselves may expect eventually, when they too have become more than human, to obtain a similar power or become identified with it. They may even expect as human beings to control this power, but it is not a power they themselves possess in the same degree as does the religious object. We make here, provisionally, no distinction between magic and religion, for, as will be seen, the two are not absolutely separate. They are, in fact, closely inter-related. Both at least respect a superhuman power. It is, moreover, a living power. The heathen in his blindness bows down to wood and stone, but to him they are not mere wood and stone.

[1] This is ignored by the French sociologists. Thus M. Durkheim defines religious phenomena as *croyances obligatoires connexes de pratiques définies* (i.e., of taboo, etc.), and religion as a unified system of beliefs and practices (see below).

SOURCES AND NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE

Our present knowledge of religious phenomena is based upon various bodies of evidence, none of them unimpeachable. Since it is quite as important to know the value of the evidence as to be acquainted with the source and the matter itself, it will be well to range the sources in an ascending scale according to their comparative worth.

First. The linguistic evidence. Although, as in the example given from the Greek *sebas,* linguistic evidence may occasionally be of considerable value, yet it is more likely to lead astray than to lead aright. It is not evidence that can be accepted, even on the authority of an expert, without great reserve. Especially is etymological evidence of questionable validity. It is liable to be overthrown at any time and is never much more than learned guesswork. Theories based on the identity of Yahweh with a word meaning "hurrah," or on the common origin of god-names in different branches even of the same race may be true, but they are often as lacking in truth as they are commonly full of ingenuity. Many of them are like a certain theory of the identity of the Aryan and Semitic races, based on the self-evident fact that Abraham is "a Brahman."

Another point in regard to linguistic evidence is often overlooked. This is that even when the derivation of a word is fairly certain, the etymology itself may mislead us, because words change from their etymological meaning and the concept of a divinity which appears to be revealed by a true derivation may not be at all the concept of the divinity as it was when the particular word was applied as a name to the divinity. For example, *deus* in Latin no more means "shining" than god in English means "invoked," although the etymology of *deus* and of god point to these conceptions, respectively, as the meaning back of the historical words. The past meaning is not often the present meaning and the two must be carefully distinguished. Further, the concept of any divinity, however named, is from its inception condi-

tioned by the mental and social status of the community. A day called Thursday means the day of Thor and *thor* is thunder, but for all that we do not recognize a "day of Thor" or a "day of thunder," and no more did the historic Germans worship a god thunder. In fact, far from being a mere noise in the sky, Thor was a heavenly man with a decent family of his own and with intimate relations with his clan on earth. To interpret him in any historical period as mere sound would be an unsound interpretation (to put an old pun to a new use), and so, generally, the names of gods do not really reflect the nature of gods at any historical period, and they may never have done so. For back of the time we know the god there is only the word; but how it was applied we cannot tell, whether to designate a god, a devil, or a sound *per se* (in the case of Thor), for we know nothing as to the worship of this now unknown being.

Second. Archaeological evidence. Testimony of the monuments of (a) the neolithic age, and (b) of later times. Meagre and uncertain is the earliest evidence of religion. We learn that skulls were trepanned and because savages now trepan in order to let out the soul, therefore (it is argued) the men of neolithic times believed in soul. For the same reason they are thought to have believed in a future life. A nascent fetishism has also been predicated of neolithic man because of the objects found buried with his remains, which to others seem proof of a belief in a future life. The testimony, such as it is, is the more uncertain because of the uncertainty when the bronze age, as compared with the neolithic age, begins. But it is not of moment when the animal man began to be religious, especially since we can trace the religious elements as far back as the bronze age. The objects buried with the corpse may show that at this period men believed in a happy future life of eating and drinking, when children would need their playthings and men their weapons and customary implements. The cave-pictures of France *may* point to a prehistoric magical use of ancient

figures. Prehistoric stone circles may be of religious significance, but they may be without religious bearing.

Third. The testimony of ancient writers. Here we must distinguish between descriptions of own religions and appraisals of foreign religions. Owing to the fact that the writers who described the religions of others were generally ignorant of them or prejudiced and as a rule got all their information at second hand, the value of this testimony is extremely variable; often it is most valuable when the author is not trying to describe religion at all but, by accident, as it were, lets out a secret of religion known not even to himself. The most obvious fault in this class of evidence, whether furnished by native or foreigner, is its deficiency. Whole chapters of religion remain unnoticed, either because the author is ignorant or because he chooses to ignore certain features. Homer, though a Greek, gives but a restricted view of Greek religion; therefore a Greek religion of the Homeric age based only on Homer is incorrect. Tacitus gives a foreigner's appraisement of the religion of the ancient Germans; but it is by no means to be taken as exhaustive or even correct as far as it goes. The testimony of literature anyway, it must be remembered, is only the testimony of those who were able to compose, to leave essays of lasting worth. Thus almost all the testimony of this sort comes from the upper intellectual stratum and gives a one-sided impression. In all such testimony we learn more about the higher side of religion, less about the lower; more of gods, less of goblins. Homer shows us the court-beauties of heaven. The poets of the Rig Veda are concerned less with demonology than with the worship of the great gods. But all the time, both in Greece and in India, the lower cult was there; only it is not recorded by the poets.

Fourth. Ethnography. From the study of race-peculiarities by trained modern observers is to be obtained the most valuable evidence in regard to religious phenomena in our own day. But, ideal as this testimony might be, much

of it is vitiated by the fact that the observer is not trained; much, by the fact that he is trained to see everything through a theory of religious origins, which influences his testimony. It does not make a real difference whether one be an untrained missionary or a prejudiced scientist. All this testimony has to be sifted with great care and even then some of it is entirely worthless. Taken as a whole, however, of course the body of material is of inestimable worth. Fortunately we do not have to depend on isolated or individual observation and generally the reports are mutually corrective. It is only necessary to warn the student against trusting too entirely the word of any one authority, however honest and learned he may be. This source contains all the data collected by comparative ethnography, including folk-lore and the translations of original hymns and legends.

CLASSIFICATION OF RELIGIONS

Attempts to classify religions have all failed, because there are no clear lines of demarcation between them. Classifications suggested are, for example, natural and redemptive, natural and moral, tribal, national, and universal. But natural and ethical religions cannot be sharply sundered, and the traits of one race reappear in another. Unsatisfactory is even the minuteness of De la Grasserie, who has made twenty-two divisions of religions.[1] The classification of Réville, into polytheistic, monotheistic, national, and nomistic religions, indicates, at best, striking points of difference between important groups. Of all the distinctions suggested, those between egoistic and altruistic and natural and ethical are perhaps the worst, yet even national and nomistic are terms largely exchangeable. We shall consider religions solely as expressions of various stages of culture found among various races.

Yet even in the loosest grouping we must guard against one error, the implication of an assumed order of progres-

[1] Compare Jastrow, *Study of Religion*, New York, 1901, p. 95.

sion. For example, if animism be discussed before naturism, the implication is that the former is more primitive. Again, retrogression in religion must be reckoned with. A religion may have fallen from its former estate and appear as mere devil-worship, whereas in fact it is only a higher religion that has become decadent. Also chance evidence may lead to error. For example, animism has been predicated as the "earliest form" of religion on the ground that the trepanned skull of prehistoric man indicates a belief in soul or spirit. But what if, though improbable, the earliest religion was worship of the sun or moon? No trace might have been left of this belief, whereas the skull has remained.

One of the oldest classifications of religions is that which separates them all into orthodox and heterodox. But a little study will show that no religion is altogether heterodox. Yet to realize this the study is necessary and it must be pursued with the Buddhist's "open mind." If we take up the superstitions that have grouped themselves about the practice of taboo, for instance, only to find them risible or disgusting, we shall lose their ethical and religious bearing. Difficult as it is, we must endeavour rather to put ourselves in the position of the taboo-fearing savage and see what this brother intended and accomplished. God gave him no Moses, but he evolved some of the ten commandments; his taboos were his tables of the law.

Especially is this attitude desirable in the study of higher religions, where heterodoxy almost blends with orthodoxy. We must examine not with hostility but with sympathetic interest the reason why the Hindu is almost but not quite persuaded. And as with religions, so with theories of religion. Here care and candor are needed. It is careless to assert that there is no race without religion before defining religion and examining all races. It is careless to induce from the data of one field that the Semitic theory of sacrifice explains all sacrifice. Candor here, too, implies toleration, to listen hopeful of gain to all theories, to dub

no school or scholar "all wrong." All schools see some truth; no sober scholar is all wrong. Animist and naturist may learn much from each other; worshippers of the Year-demon may reap a harvest from the devotees of ghosts; even the mythologist and the anthropologist, not to speak of the sociologist, might conceivably lie down together, not only in safety but to their mutual advantage.

Theories in regard to religious phenomena are very old. Six or seven hundred years before Christ, the Hindus were already arguing whether their chief devil had been an actual person or was merely a natural phenomenon. A few centuries later a Hindu materialist defended the opinion (maintained two thousand years later by Toland),[1] that religion was the creation of selfish priests. Others argued that it was a gift of God. But neither with such theories nor with others has the history of religions to do, except as they involve or ignore important data. It has not to establish any theory of the origin of religion but to exhibit the facts on which different theories have been built. Thus we shall not discuss as theories Mannhardt's hypothesis of religion originating in the cult of vegetation-spirits, nor Robertson Smith's view that sacrifice begins as a communion-feast, nor Usener's idea that all gods are at first functional powers, nor Sir J. G. Frazer's ever-changing interpretation of totemism and his contention that redemption begins with the regicide, though we shall have occasion to refer to them all. For the same reason it will be unnecessary to examine the theory of Messrs. Durkheim and Mauss that the collective rather than the individual mind originates religion, a theory which practically maintains that it is impossible to understand any religion other than that of the human group in which each is born; which group has a consciousness so unique that no outsider can do more than register its objective phenomena. Hence modern French sociologists disapprove of all attempts to appreciate sympathetically any

[1] John Toland, *Christianity not Mysterious,* London, 1696; Jastrow, *op. cit.,* p. 15.

religion, more particularly those "pre-logical," remote in time, but also those remote in place. They believe with the Hindu that only a snake can see a snake's legs and they are not altogether wrong. Man is the product of his group's experience. Nevertheless, it will not be a loss if the student begins by trying to understand the feeling as well as the formal ritual of the other man; and it is still questionable whether one man is not more like another because of his humanity than unlike because of his social group; whether, in short, pre-logical and logical are proper substitutes for primitive and civilized.

Finally, a word as to the utility of our study. It is with religions as with languages, "he who knows one knows none"; that is, he who knows only his own does not know it well. A man may be a good Buddhist without knowing Christianity, but through knowing Christianity he will be a better Buddhist; for he will learn what the two religions have in common and thus realize that what is common cannot be unique. So, knowing better his own, he will become a better Buddhist, since not to know is to be circumscribed, which leads to the misunderstanding of relative values, even, at times, to the acceptance, in evaluating one's own religion, of the adventitious for the essential, the packing for the package, the myth for the spirit.

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CHAPTER TWO

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PRIMITIVE RELIGIONS

In using the word primitive of early undeveloped forms of religion it must be understood that primitive is not synonymous with primordial. The word is applied exactly as it is commonly applied to primitive art, to connote art found among peoples at a low stage today or in ancient times. With some exceptions the simpler form is the more primitive form of thought, whether in art or religion, rather more so in fact in religion than in art, as when the Roman advanced industrially to the iron age and yet used a stone knife for sacrifice, and the Teuton used a stone hammer in the religious rite of settling a boundary, and the Australian, to whom even stone art is modern, still uses a sharpened stick for the rite of circumcision. But there are two aspects of religion, creed and cult. They advance unequally. Creed always outstrips cult. What is no longer believed is still practised; the rite preserves as myth the older creed.

That religions may all be traced back to one primordial religion is not wholly a narrow "orthodox" view. In this form, however, it is still held by both the Hindu and the Christian of very conservative type. For example, about two thousand years ago Manu, the Hindu law-giver, declared, what is still believed by orthodox Brahmans, that one true religion was revealed to man in the beginning and that all later types of religion have been vain divergencies from this divine model, and Dr. Nassau, in his useful book on fetishism, says: "All religions had but one source and that a pure one. From it have grown perversions varying

in their proportions of truth and error," almost as if he were translating Manu.[1]

But, with less universal scope and with no implication of divine origin, other modern writers have maintained that religion has spread out from one centre and infected or affected the whole known world, or, more conservatively, a great part of the world. Thus the Akkadian theory of Mr. J. F. Hewitt[2] attempts to explain the religions of France and Mexico as due to the Akkadians of 15000 B. C. in an ingenious but not very judicious flood of speculation. Another theory, somewhat like it but sober enough to have been adopted by some scientists, is the theory of adaptionism advocated by O. Gruppe. Starting with a study of Greek Cults in relation to Oriental religions, the author has tried to show that religion originated in the deification of intoxicants in western Asia and thence extended itself in all directions. Such anthropologists as have been influenced by this theory accordingly hold that northern Europe, originally irreligious, received religion from Asia Minor after the glacial period and this they think is the reason why the remains of corpses are found in the kitchenmiddens, lack of burial proving lack of religion. But perhaps friends were buried in the sea and foes were left unburied. It is at any rate a slender proof of irreligion.

The latest theory of this sort is that of Professor Grafton E. Smith, who, rejecting the idea that the human mind works out in the same way in different localities, has sought to prove[3] that mummification, megalithic architecture, and idol-making, with the subsidiary factors of sun-worship, serpent-worship, and circumcision, first arose c.3000 B. C. in Egypt and spread thence all over Asia, Polynesia, and South America. How the religious migration took place Mr. Smith promises to explain in a future volume. His

[1] R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa,* New York, 1904, p. 23.
[2] *History and Chronology of the Myth-Making Age,* London and New York, 1901.
[3] *The Migrations of Early Culture,* New York, 1916.

theory has an advantage over the others mentioned in that it does not attempt to prove more than that certain religious features have migrated.[1]

It is indeed probable that there has been religious intercourse between European and Asiatic races from very early times. But we do not know the extent of Sumerian influence upon the Semite, Semitic upon the Egyptian, Finnish upon the Teuton; still less do we know how much Chinese religion was affected by the West or in how far early Roman religion borrowed from the East; least of all, whether Asia influenced America. In the narrower field of Mediterranean cults, it is not so much a question of race as of tradition.[2] There are racial characteristics which affect religion but there is no general Semitic as opposed to a general Aryan religion. Fundamentally, primitive religious characteristics are human not racial.

These characteristics are not only human in the sense of universal, but, what is more important, they are human in the sense that the religious attitude is not a peculiar attitude, but it is the attitude assumed toward other humans. There has been a prolonged discussion on the idle question whether magic or religion is the "child." The argument in favour of magic as prior to religion was that religion is public, magic is private; religion propitiates, magic coerces; and when man found that he could not get what he wanted by coercion he tried propitiation. It is assumed further that a being coerced is inimical, a being propitiated is benevolent, and spirits are first regarded as inimical. On the other hand, it is granted that there is a form of magic which is practised without regard to a superhuman power. This has been called "primitive science." Like makes like; sticking thorns into an image, or melting it, produces a simi-

[1] That all cultural ideas arose but once and have spread by loan to one race after another and that there is no common human psychology, this is the basis of the *Methode der Ethnologie* of F. Graebner, Heidelburg, 1911.

[2] See Darmesteter, *Selected Essays*, Boston, 1895, p. 155.

lar effect on the one imaged; pouring out water produces rain.

But the primitive savage, apart from his primitive science, treats his spirits exactly as he treats his human neighbours. When he wants a thing, he gets it either by coercion or by propitiation, as seems best. His spirits are just like his neighbours, neither beneficent nor inimical, but good or bad on occasion. Even in magical ceremonies the savage adopts the "religious attitude."

The Australians are said to be without religion; at any rate they are chiefly concerned with magical ceremonies to produce increase of crops. To do this they recite charms. But prayer and propitiation are the outstanding features of this magic. They "sing the horn," for example, and their song is a charm, but, like charm from *carmen,* the song invokes a power which has volition. When the Australian invokes lightning, he invokes what is to him a conscious being having a will to respond or not. He imagines volition even in a member of the body or in dust, because he cannot do otherwise, not yet having reached the point where he can think of matter in any other way. Especially anything lively enough to move is alive, and what is alive is, like himself, a being with a will. But, even without apparent sign of life, any instrument is to him a will-possessing being. Thus, to punish a man who has stolen his wife, the Australian savage makes an instrument like a knife and "kneeling before it," a religious not coercive attitude, sings to it a request to kill the injurer. As Messrs. Spencer and Gillen say, "the magic (both the influence and the charmed object are called 'magic') is regarded as an evil spirit."[1] In this "land without religion," eclipse is caused by an "evil spirit," a term not plainly defined but wavering between a personal and impersonal power.

There can be no clear understanding of the foundation of religion without the recognition of the fact that man has

[1] *The Native Tribes of Central Australia,* London, 1899, p. 549.

passed through a stage where he still fails to discriminate between matter and spirit. Before a belief in freed spirits is possible, man must be able to abstract spirit from body. But, in the thought of the lowest savage, matter and spiritual power are so interrelated that there is no body without conscious power and no spirit without body. Even in comparatively high religions, such as that of the Vedic poets of India, plough and drum are conscious volitive powers, as much so as the sun and other phenomena expressing active life and will. Samoyeds and Finns worship objects without recognition of spirit detached from a natural basis. Some Africans today are unable to distinguish between matter and spirit.

In view of these various considerations, we must start with the rejection of any theory that presupposes the priority of either religion or magic; that is, we must reject both the animism of Spencer, Tylor, Réville, and Jevons and the naturism of Pfleiderer and Menzies. The history of religion cannot be traced back to a more complex psychosis than that of today's savage. But that savage shows that he cannot imagine in other phenomena what he does not recognize in himself. What he recognizes, the lowest savage, is a life-power or potency so diffused that all parts of the body possess their different "souls." His mind cannot distinguish between soul and body or between subjective and objective. The object to which his vague mumblings of hope and fear are directed is neither god nor devil nor a power of any sort as a person; it is rather the potency called *mana* or *orenda.*

But it is not (and here even so clever a
Harrison has failed to understand the matter)
posit in an individual of any universal power
such primitive fore-shadowing of pantheism. He
thinks concretely; he does not generalize; a
never thought of *orenda* or *mana* as one universal power of which he and his rival and his object of devotion have each a part. His *mana* is his own; that of the chief or of the

animal is theirs; just as his physical strength and theirs are not the same strength.

The Junglemen of Chota Nagpur are about as low intellectually as any savages. Their religious sense has been well summed up by a trained observer in these words: "The indefinite something which they fear and attempt to propitiate is not a person. The idea which lies at the root of their religion is that of power or rather of many powers, the shifting and shadowy company of unknown powers or influences making for evil rather than for good, which resides in the primeval forest, in the crumbling hills, in the rushing river, in the spreading tree; which gives its spring to the tiger, its venom to the snake, which generates jungle fever, and walks abroad in the terrible guise of cholera, smallpox, or murrain. Closer than this he does not define the object to which he offers his victim, or whose symbol he daubs with red at the appointed season. Some sort of power is there and that is enough for him." [1]

So in fetishism and witchcraft there is not that antagonism between fearing the inimical and propitiating the beneficent power which the theory of magic upholds; nor is the object sharply defined. But there is this in favour of the animistic theory, that whereas the mysterious object of religious regard in natural phenomena remains part of the indiscrete material-immaterial, in the case of soul in man or animal the savage argues from his own experience in dreams and hence believes in ghosts material but invisible, not visible-invisible as, for example, the waterfall-power.

It is of interest to see that even in the magical stage, [illegible] or potency is scarcely defined, the religious [illegible] already at work. At Seville one finds a ca[illegible]re the altar in time past served as a refuge, in[illegible]because hedged with divinity, for the criminal; un[illegible]dave to the initiate. There, too, to this day the priests still dance the recessional, unconsciously imitating savage precedents in both regards, and religious drama has

[1] Risley in *Census for India*, 1901, Part I, 352f.

been enacted in mystery plays, as religious processions still reflect similar mysteries. That the participants believe in ghosts and spirits, in a future life, and a being above, is but another reflection from an immemorial past.

For these traits are those characteristic of many primitive religions; they may be said to be the religious basis of the world. For first, as to the spiritual belief, even the Pygmies of Africa, who seem to have no other religious respect, believe in a life after death in the form of serpent-reincarnation and for three days weep and sing over their dead, though they have no fetishes, idols, or totems, and dance only for sport. Then the savages of Queensland, and the same is true of those of New Holland, believe in evil spirits, though they make no sacrifices and have no idols. In Tierra del Fuego the natives have scarcely a religious belief save in a sort of giant or man-god, who knows men's words and acts and influences the weather. Ordinarily a higher spirit, when recognized at all, is an inactive being, as among the Patagonians, who believe in evil spirits and a passive higher spirit, having apparently no other creed except the expectation of living after death in a pleasant grove. This expectation, however, is not by any means universal. Often it is found in regard to a few elect souls, but not for all. Elsewhere there is rank disbelief. Thus the Aru Islanders believe in spiritual powers, scarcely in spirits, but say pessimistically, *mati mati sudah*, " dead when dead (and that is) the end (of you)." Compare the old Roman epitaphs with their *non sum non curo*. But usually there is a vague expectation of existence after death or the " expectation of a vague existence," such as that attributed to the Head-hunters of Borneo.[1]

The formal side of a religion which is still undeveloped is surprisingly illustrated in the case of the Australians. Here a people " without religion " in their magic ritual wear

[1] These savages change their religion according to their economic condition, those that have become agricultural adopting new spirits to suit their new way of living.

masks to represent ancestral totems, as in some higher real religions, and act out what is virtually a religious drama or the prototype of drama. Then the cloistered implements of their ceremonies make the place where they are hidden a sort of holy ground, within which no slaughter may take place and from which the profane are barred. The ancestors from whom they believe themselves descended are half-beast creatures, like the ancestor of the Athenians, Kekrops, who had a serpent-tail. They are said to believe in a passive Big Man called Cutter-out or Maker (compare τομεύς, a patristic title of the Creator), though it is not certain that he is their own invention. They believe in a double soul and in transmigration. Each man has a soul destined after death to pass into another body of man or beast of the same totem. This soul is duly mourned (the mourning rites also have analogues in higher religions) and is then driven away lest it annoy the survivors, a trait found in many other cases. But besides this soul there is another which is never incorporated. It accompanies the first in all its transmigrations, but is itself an undying soul. Another belief should be noticed in this regard. We think of totems as animal and vegetable, but the Australian totem-objects spiritized as powers include natural phenomena, such as sun and lightning. In the invocation to lightning, therefore, these savages stand on a plane uniting totemism and nature-worship.

The more one studies religion the more natural it seems both in its origin and in its expression. There are innumerable complex expressions of religion, but they are not mysterious, though they appear to be so because they are intertwined in a confusing way. But the savage with whom religion begins is a simple fellow and as logical as one could expect.[1] He sees himself face to face with mysterious powers which (whom) he meets every day. Above all he faces two great mysteries, life and death. To these also, as to his

[1] *Pace* the school of the pre-logical savage, based on the idea that all mystery is pre-logical.

daily objects of doubt or fear, he tries for safety's sake to adjust himself. Hence the almost universal element of the dance. For life comes through birth and the impulse to bring birth, be it of children, or of animals, or of grain, must, he thinks, be furthered by the same sensuous motions which he experiences in person and sees expressed even in animals. Peacocks, for example, in a suitable clime bring the mating-dance before him. Hence the dance for productivity which marks even the lowest savages. Thus the Aleuts, between Kamchatka and Alaska, have scarcely any religious expression besides dancing naked on the snow with masks to prevent the ghosts from being seen. They bridge the birth-dance and the death-dance, for the latter is in honour of the ghosts, who incited thereby will bring productivity. Hence the dance at the grave as well as the dance for birth. But there is also another element in the dance. It intoxicates if pursued madly enough, and this intoxication, like that of liquor, makes the savage imagine himself possessed of a supernatural power. Hence, when the ghosts are to be ejected, they are best confronted by some one thus possessed, even if, as in Shamanism, the supernatural power is itself a ghostly power acquired by a ghost-controller. All the many secret societies of the savage have to do with natural mysteries interwoven with the tribal traditions. On the question of primitive ethics as religious we shall speak later.

Another characteristic of primitive religions is the outward expression of reverence by means of memorial stones. They are the prototypes of churches. But, unless the cause is known, errors are apt to be made in interpreting such stones. A Stonehenge may be the monument of sun-worshippers, but there are other stone circles which are like those of Stonehenge and yet have nothing to do with the sun. For example, there is a miniature stonehenge in Burmah, but it merely commemorates human activities. It is, too, a common practice among the Fiji Islanders to set up a stone in memory of every man eaten by oneself. One such

cannibal has a record of nine hundred stones, which, set in a circle, might lead to the notion that it commemorated something quite different.

In this chapter we have considered some general characteristics of primitive religions, man's attitude toward the spiritual world, the expression of that attitude through fear, entreaty, by means of dance and spell, and the primitive monument of religious significance, not only because we shall find them recurring again and again, but also because they show how the higher religions rest upon savage foundations; not to belittle the higher, but on the contrary to let it be seen at the outset how these higher religions, though they rest upon the lower, have yet raised themselves far above their original level, and, conversely, how even in the lowest religions there is already, as if inherent in man's nature, the hope of something beyond this life and the faith in something higher than man.

We turn now to the study of individual religions.

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CHAPTER THREE

AFRICAN RELIGIONS. I. SPIRIT-LORE

AFRICA contains besides its Negroid population sundry distinct races, the Pygmies and Bushmen, and mixed races, such as the partly Semitic Somalis, the partly Caucasian Nilotic tribes, and the Mongolian-Malay-Negro Malagasi or Hovas of Madagascar. Negroes more or less pure are the southern Bantus, the equatorial tribes, and those of the Gold and Slave Coasts on the west. The Hottentots are a mixture of Bushmen and Negro elements.

Clearly influenced by foreigners are the Abyssinian Gallas. They worship trees and serpents, have a spring festival, and take omens from entrails. Somali ordeals, of boiling water and hot iron, may also be borrowed. In the West, the Yoruba-speaking Negroes, who may have Malay blood, have been in close contact with Semites, and their caste-gods, trade-gods, sacred fire, and cult of a sky- or lightning-god cannot be regarded as indubitably native. Their rest-day is the first day of the week because it is unlucky, and since this is a native notion it may be original, as their local "souls" (of the head, stomach, toe, etc.) and some of their gods of phenomena are genuinely Negro. Of these, Olokun, sea-god, has a wife, Elusa, scaled from breasts to hips, like the fish-formed Polynesian sea-god and his Semitic counterparts. Their Orisha Oko is a love-god, whose messengers are bees, like those of the Hindu love-god; but he is also a phallic garden-god of productivity, with a Yam festival of orgiastic character, in shape a veritable Priapus.

So strong in some cases is the likeness between Negro and alien cults that borrowing is probable. The Nilotic

Masai have even been regarded[1] as "primitive Semitic"; but scholars have not generally accepted this conclusion.

The southern Bushmen show the bond between culture and religion. They draw and paint well, are fond of song and dance, and have quite a mythology with higher polytheistic traits, though they remain fetish-worshippers, and at the best are of low intelligence. They regard sun and moon as spirits and for the significant reason that "they move, so they have life." It was a Bushman who, on seeing a cart for the first time, worshipped it as a living thing and regarded the trailing smaller cart as the child of the larger one. They have been credited with an unaided belief in a "Master of Life" as a Creator, but this god 'Kaang receives a licentious blood-dance as worship and is probably only a god of productivity. They dance and sing or shout, to scare away disease and other demons, and believe enough in a hereafter to place a spear in a warrior's grave and to mutilate themselves, amputating a finger-joint, to insure happiness in the next world. Like all Negroes, they wear talismans to keep off evil. They act out dramas with animal-head masks, which Stow calls Satyric, thus appearing like Egyptian gods.

The Bantus include the Zulus who are more advanced. They revere the eagle but not as a totem.[2] Their belief in soul is real but vague. The soul may be left about anywhere. The shadow is a follow-soul. But ancestral souls are revered and even thanked for blessings and feared as illness-bringers. Souls may enter animals, and separate spirits of places exist. Feasts and dances are for joy and thanksgiving; silence and abstention from food guard against evil spirits. The Ekoi (Bantus) are said to have but two deities, sky and earth, but hosts of demons of trees, rivers, lakes, and hills. The Matabili (Zulu type) kill victims for the use of the dead. Among the Wagiryama

[1] M. Merker, *Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904.

[2] Compare Macdonald, *Journal Anth. Inst.*, vol. xx, on Zulu superstitions.

Bantus there is a temple-prototype, not only a men's enclosure, sacred to them, but also a tree surrounded by a tabooed fetish-belt. The Ishogo Bantus of the French Congo have a taboo hut beside a sacred tree, which the Wapokomo Bantus make into a veritable bethel or god-house. The West African Bantus have the earth-mystery system of fetishism (see below) and a vague belief in a great spirit has arisen among the agricultural[1] Wakamba Bantus. Poison-ordeals and phallic cults are also known to them and they tattoo, but only decoratively.

Birth-rites, rites of purification, and the worship of both ghosts and nature-spirits are characteristic of all these Negroes. The mixed Hottentot, perhaps partly Bantu, add a few features, moral fables of ghosts and animals, and the economic and religious superiority of women. Their women follow a pastoral life while men only hunt; the result is that the women own the house and practically rule the men; among our Iroquois also the high position of women was due to their economic importance. Owing to pastoral conditions there is here closer and longer family-intercourse. Hence has come a higher development of moral qualities; and from this, the attribution of such qualities to spirits. Thus the conception of kind spirits, to whom man should be grateful, is much more pronounced among the Hottentots than among Bushmen and pure Bantus. They have real gods as well as spirits, such as Tsuni-goam, a benevolent god, unfortunately of uncertain origin.[2] He may be an ancestral ghost; such ancestors are almost house-

[1] Agricultural life is apt thus to develop greater spiritual figures. The Western Bantus have secret societies, mysteries supported by temple priests, an esoteric language, initiation, etc., of an erotic character; but, like their totemism, these are less religious than social. The dance, which imitates a crane yet is performed by actors striped like zebras, shows how such a performance can arise without religious meaning.

[2] Hahn interprets this "supreme god" as Dawn, which is doubtful. To Toosib, a sort of Neptune, are made prayers and offerings. Heitsi-eibib is supposed by some to be the moon. He was "born of a virgin," who conceived him by sucking a stalk.

hold gods. But there are also clear nature-gods of storm and thunder; and bad demons, some certainly ghosts, and one supreme devil, against whom wizards and necromancers are employed.

The seat of life among the equatorial Negroes is the liver, as blood from the liver of a goat seals blood-brotherhood. Here posts carved as rude figures mark graves, also marked by cairns, where cups are left, indicating belief in a future life. Cannibalism and fetishism occur, but are more pronounced among the western Negroes, to whom we shall turn immediately. First, however, we must inquire whether the Negro really has the conception of God, in distinction from spirits and gods of local power.

Among the pure western tribes called Ewé-speaking Negroes, the highest god is Mawu, the coverer, a god of rain or sky, with whom the Greek Ouranos and Indic Varuna have of course been compared. German missionaries found him and made him over into a supreme god, creator of all things, God; whereas the natives held him as only one but the highest (physically) among many gods. Their "highest" was simply topmost. Mawu was the upper god. They said he was too far away to care for sacrifice and seldom paid any attention to him, praying to him only when they wanted rain. He was so indifferent to man that he never punished; hence he was "good." The African always recognizes a being behind action, but he does not regard this being as naturally interested in man; thus the low Basutos of the south-east never of themselves imagined that earth and sky might be the work of an invisible being. But Negroes are receptive and the idea once suggested is assimilated by them. No ancestor ever creates the world; he creates or begets only the family or clan. As we shall see in Polynesian religion, the savage regards the world rather as evolved than created and a "creator" is either a fertility-spirit or a clan-ancestor. The "chief above" of Negroes, prior to the advent of missionaries, was either such a clan-ancestor or an active storm-spirit or rain-god. As a Zulu

Negro once said to Bishop Callaway (in the words of the Rig Veda, and of Horace: *coelo tonantem credidimus Jovem regnare*), "We know him because he thunders." But he did not think of this god as a spirit outside its own limited domain. He said to the Bishop: "We do not know him or his laws; we know only that he strikes when man offends. We worship only tribe-spirits." In general, this is true, the ancestor or tribe-spirit is the chief African god.

Some tribes of Nyassa acknowledge each its own rain-maker, here the ancestral spirit. The Hereras of Damara-land recognize no higher spirit than this. Their apparent "tree-sacrifice" is made not to the tree but, through twigs taken from a tree sacred to ancestors and hung up at the place of sacrifice, to their highest ghost-spirit. It is invariably due to the missionary when an ancestor-spirit is taken as a creative sky-spirit. The sky-spirit, usually lightning, never creates; he only destroys. The great Unkulunkulu (or Munku-Unkulu) of the Zulus was originally an androgynous ancestor and was converted into "God" about 1835 by Captain Gardiner. The Hottentots too had no notion of God, and "there is no God in the Kongo" (Bentley *ap.* Keane). On this whole topic Bishop Callaway is still much more authoritative than the later writers who visited the natives after missionaries had indoctrinated them. He says (in his *Unkulunkulu,* p. 105): "Nothing is more easy than to enquire of heathen savages the character of their creed and during the conversation to impart to them great truths and ideas which they never heard before, and presently to have these come back again as articles of their own original faith."

We take up now the closely related cults of the Negroes of the West Coast, where also this God-idea has been predicated of the Ashantis, who, however, are less advanced than the Dahomians, as these in turn are less advanced than the Yoruba-speaking Negroes. But the Dahomy cult is the first to offer even slight ground for such a belief, and that has been influenced by missionaries, as has been the cult of

Nzambi, the mother-spirit, confused now with that of the Virgin.

Herbert Spencer's theory that nature-gods come from ghosts has been abundantly disproved as a universal proposition by a close examination of the religion of Ashanti and Dahomy. As Ellis says, "it is a theory not warranted by the evidence" (*Yorubas,* p. 282). But Ellis himself is in error because, though he rejects one system, he follows another, that of animism. Not ghosts but confined spirits are his fetish. So he regards the worship of a tree as necessarily implying the cult of a tree-spirit "put into it by priests." But in discussing the western Negroes, we must distinguish the Guinea (Tshi-speaking) Negroes from the Dahomians. The Fanti and Ashanti of the Gold Coast and Slave Coast, respectively, with other Ashantis living inland as one state under a king (whereas the Fanti live in severed communities without political union), make the so-called Tshi-speakers; while east of the Fanti and Ashanti and north of the Slave Coast live the Ewé-speaking Dahomians,[1] who have a still more developed centralized government.

The Guinea Negroes are all characterized by totem-worship, religious cannibalism, moon-cult, and fetishism. The last is by far the most important and hence is treated below in a separate section. The segregated Fanti have both vegetable and animal totems; their highest objects of devotion are the vegetable silk-cotton tree and the python. They have one real god. But the Dahomians, who have a royal house and realm-idea, have developed further the idea of gods or spirits of a higher and more comprehensive order. In the Fanti villages, each community has its own separate power or spirit; in Dahomy these similar powers or spirits of the separate communities have coalesced into one, withal one having power and dignity commensurate with his

[1] Col. Ellis (see the Bibliography) calls these groups Tshi, Ewe (pronounced efé) speakers as contrasted with the Yoruba-speakers. It will be simpler to remember the groups as Guinea and Dahomy Negroes, the former again as (kingly) Ashantis and (quasi democratic) Fantis.

physical expansion. In Dahomy, too, were brought the greater sacrifices, of thousands of human captives slaughtered and eaten, either in thanksgiving for victory or to give a suitable retinue to warriors who had died.[1] One sees how intimate is the connection here between religion and the social group. The bigger the state, the bigger the god, compounded of various gods; the bigger the god's province, the less local, confined, his activity. His comprehensiveness tends to make him more abstract. Again, the bigger the state and its god, the bigger the sacrifice, just as the Amazons of Dahomy represent what is found elsewhere on a small scale but is here exaggerated into a female army.

It was from the West Coast (Dahomy) Negroes that Voodoo came to America and the Obeah or Wanga cult to Hayti. Wanga is not necessarily "tied to the snake," and is less informal; Voodoo requires a priest, a priestess, and a snake, or it is no real Voodoo, a word meaning fearful. Red Voodoo requires human victims; white Voodoo is content with a cock or goat; while Wanga does not "show blood" but acts through poison.[2]

The primitive Guinea powers or spirits of the Fanti and Ashanti are generally malignant; worship is due to fear but also to hope of advantage. The kinds of "spirits" are quite clearly sundered and as these are perhaps the most primitive native or untouched classes of spiritual powers, they are of special interest and importance. First, there is the indifferent "tribal spirit"; second, the local or group-spirit bearing the significant name Boshum, "evil-doer"; third, the family-spirit; and fourth, the Suhman or spirit revered only by one individual. This may be a fetish or Kra

[1] The Grand Custom slays personal attendants at a king's death; the Annual Custom slays others to renew the retinue. They are celebrated with music and dance. The Dahomians also "convey a message" through a man slaughtered for this purpose, who will tell the ancestors the news, a trait of Shamanism.

[2] The difference is explained by Miss Kingsley, *West African Studies*, pp. 139, 219. Two religious customs, like those of the Hindu, one of suttee called *lemba*, and one of infant marriage, an Igalwa, West African, custom, are possibly not of native origin.

(see below). To the local power, of river, hill, or water, children are sacrificed, to make it beneficent. Offerings are also made to the family-spirit, which, though kind, may cause disease, sterility, and death. In so far as these are nature-forms they seem to act as such, not as confining a spirit. There is thus a general, once local, southern thunder-spirit of rain, called Bobowissi; but he is less a spirit than thunder-and-rain. His northern counterpart Tando, however, is a real spirit (Ashanti "hater") and has a wife, a river-spirit, to whom the crocodile is sacred. Seven men and seven women are slaughtered to Tando amid ritual carousing. There is also a Guinea "ogre of blood, red earth and earth-quake," and a female monster, namely the malignant silk-cotton tree, Srahmatin. To Ellis these are all "spirits," but it is questionable whether the powers are not rather inherent in the matter than separate from it. An interesting development has taken place in the case of Bobowissi. This intangible power above has been virtually supplanted by Brahfo, his adjutant, who now lives on earth in a grove, where the priests can handle him. He is the only general Gold Coast god.

In Dahomy, the Fanti and Ashanti powers, each separate, have been united into one power of each class. Not this stream-power and that stream-power are individually recognized, but a water-spirit or god of water, etc. This is due to the greater state-idea aided by an organized priesthood, for on the Gold Coast there are only separate priests of each village. But the most interesting Gold Coast novelty is the Kra. When a man dies, his ghost, Srahman, goes to ghost-land, where it lives in a ghost-forest with ghost-sheep, etc. There all is as on earth, only pale and shadowy: "One day on earth is better than a year in Srahman-dazi" (ghost-land), says a Tshi-speaker proverb. But while the Srahman goes thither, the man's Kra or independent spirit goes abroad as a Sisa, wandering free, or at once seeks another man's body. If it tries to enter a man already possessed by a Kra, the man has a fit. Once in, if it tries to

get out, the man sneezes; hence, "good health" is said then. Everything, man, sheep, tree, has this double soul, not to speak of the shadow, which is also a soul, perhaps man's first follower, and the soul which is located in an animal while belonging to a man, that is, the bush-soul.

The cult of souls is sharply sundered from that of nature-powers or spirits, which are generally malevolent, while soul-spirits are friendly neighbours placated only as being naturally ready to help their own family. In Dahomy, the dead are "watch-family" spirits, usually of amiable character.

The sacrificial scale was originally man, bullock, sheep, and fowl. When drink is offered, evaporation "shows that the spirit has taken the offering." In the case of meat, the spirits take only the "spiritual part." Rum, oil, eggs, and fowl are the food of the lesser spirits that dwell in objects placed among taboo trees. The gods mentioned above, Bobowissi and Tando, were originally local malignant spirits demanding great bloodshed, and sacrifice to them is typical; it is always apotropaic. The great god is here never confused with the great dead chief, though the latter may become a *genius loci*. Only in Dahomy are the bones of the dead collected, invoked, and preserved. Here, as the indwelling spirit of this or that stream becomes a general water-god, so there is also a general love-god, a general lightning-god who, as in America, is represented as a thunder-bird. He even has wives, hierodoulai, who care for his shrine. To Legba, the love-god, are sacrificed goats, dogs, and cocks, and circumcision is a rite in his honour, while obscene mysteries are performed in his name. Rainbow,[1] Fire, Water, etc., are here real gods. Trances

[1] The Rainbow, as serpent, is also the underground snake that drinks up the water on earth. The python-snake gives wisdom, but he is also a god of treasure and of sensuality, his "wives" being especially debauched. It is impossible here even to mention the names of all the Dahomy gods. The Sun marries the Moon; stars are their children. There is a war-god, a wind-god, etc. Small-pox is a malignant fiend. Four kings of Dahomy have lately

are entered into by priests to influence ancestral ghosts to help their descendants, also a shamanistic cult. Priestesses of these gods are called their wives.

Few gods are personified enough to have other wives than priestesses. There is little morality in divinity; the tendency is to revere more the more evil or harmful spirits, on the principle of the Yezedis, who worship the Devil because only Satan would injure them.

Some of the Negroes, instead of burying, float their dead on a stream; but it is not clear that they have the common idea of one wide river to cross, which appears in American eschatology, Redskin and Mexican, and has a Malay variant, also American, according to which the soul flounders in a swamp till it perishes or finds egress. Usually corpses are buried. Among the Bongos, men are buried facing north, women facing south; while the Niam-niam lay the man with the head eastward; the woman, westward. The Fans and Westerners eat their dead; but few tribes do so regularly as food. Cannibalism here begins as a religious rite.

Of minor religious importance are the following Guinea practices. After birth, fowls are sacrificed to the head-soul, seven days after for a girl, nine for a boy, and both mother and child are baptized with water which has stood before the gods, while the priest repeats the child's name three times, for three and seven are religious numbers. Real, not hired, mourners may not wash for three days. On the third day after death the dead man is three times asked to depart. The groping Srahman soul of the Ashanti is guided by a sacrificed fowl to ghost-land. No washing or hair-cutting is allowed till the third day, when the head is shaved. This is to keep the ghost away. There is a general rite for the dead once a year, at which the dead of the past three years are all lamented and asked to protect the tribe. Red

been "deified," two for their goodness and two for their cruelty. The chief facts are that real gods anyway are found only in Dahomy and nature-gods are not confused with ancestors, who have different abodes, etc.

is for mourning; white for rejoicing. Cross-roads harbour evil spirits. The spirit-voice is "bird-like," an incomprehensible twitter. The Tshi-speaking priest is called a "dancer." He is carefully trained to show inspiration, "eye rolling and mouth foaming." Each god has a special hymn and dance (compare the Salii). Music among the Wanik "draws the spirit"; but it is also a means of exorcism. The Gold Coast prophetess is inspired from the grave near which she dwells. There are two forms of "mother" worship, one of the snake-mother of mankind and one of a productivity-spirit called Mother, whom the Gallas call Atatie, perhaps an earth-spirit. The earth-spirit is sometimes represented by a log-image. On the West Coast, Odudua is the "nursing earth," wife of Obatala, an Olarun demi-urge converted into "God" by the missionaries, who did not know that his wife was the representative of sensuality. These "life" spirits are usually celebrated with sexual orgies. In connexion with the mysteries of the same sort is practised circumcision, practically a tribe-initiation ceremony.[1] Rites for girls show, however, that the spirit-element is as strong as the social.

Ordeals of fire show no special traits;[2] as usual, they test chastity. Well represented is the local "soul" idea. That is, a special life-power resides in each part of the body, such as hair or nails, and especially in blood and spittle. Among the Jagga, for example, because spittle is such a soul-holder, the polite host spits on his departing guest, as who should say, "I present you with a little

[1] Circumcision is also practised in British East Africa, where the rite is usually performed at the age of sixteen, though the boy may be younger and is sometimes two or three years older. In all these cases the rite itself is a tribal initiation-ceremony, religious in so far as the youth is thus infused with the spirit-power of the tribe. This is indicated also by the "new birth," which often is drastically represented, and which reappears in higher religions as regeneration. So in India one becomes "reborn" on entering the caste-order.

[2] Compare on the fire-ordeal, Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa,* London, 1887, p. 138.

power." So spittle is mingled with a goat's blood for sacrifice and is curative. Bone, blood, and grave-dust commingled make "medicine" to harm a foe and is buried under his threshold. Toe-nails and bones of European saints still conserve a similar power, but not quite the same; for the saint's *mana* was a general power, not sub-divided into souls as separate powers.

AFRICAN RELIGION. II. FETISH AND IDOL

Fetishism is not a religion but the expression of a mental attitude. Fear and hope sway man. Taboo is the religious expression of fear; fetishism, of hope. Applied originally to the talismans of Portuguese sailors, the word fetish[1] means a charm to bring luck. Many writers use the word loosely to indicate any material object from which, like a mascot, the savage expects good luck; but properly a fetish is portable and it is unlike a mascot in that it possesses power and will to bless. Hence it is coddled, abused, prayed to and stormed at, exactly as one would treat a recalcitrant spirit who may or may not aid.

But at this point there is a very general error to be corrected. All the scholars of the animistic school say that a fetish contains a spirit. On the contrary, the primitive fetish is itself a quasi-personified power or potency. It is a spiritual power; it does not contain a spirit. The object itself, even when a collection of objects, has, as a whole, volition. It is almost impossible for the savage not to impart will to anything which appears to be an entity. Even his *monda,* which is apparently an unconscious object, is treated, like the *grisgris, joujou, mokissos,* as a conscious volitive power.

Even when the fetish will not work and is abandoned, it

[1] Literally factitious, *feitiço* (fetish) was the sailor's own amulet, and by him transferred to the similar charms he saw the Negro wear. The word *fétichisme* was used by Bosman in his *Description of Guinea* in 1705 and was popularized by De Brosses in his *Du Culte des Dieux fétiches* in 1760.

often retains sanctity enough to be preserved in god-boxes. In Siberia (for fetishes are found everywhere) a metal plate is worn as a fetish on the ground that it is old and "therefore knows more." A natural divinity is often treated exactly like a fetish. Thus Xerxes first beat the Hellespont and then rewarded it with gifts, as Herodotus (vii, 35 f.) tells us.

But even in West Africa, where fetishism is at its best, there is danger of being led astray. Miss Kingsley, in her excellent *West African Studies,* divides the local fetishism into "schools." One of these stresses the art of maintaining life, a sort of medical school; the second is chiefly concerned with the future life, a sort of divinity school; the third is devoted to material prosperity, a business college; and the fourth is academic, a school of philosophy, "mainly concerned with the worship of the mystery of the power of Earth." These schools are not tribal divisions, nor secret societies, Poorah, which are a manifestation of fetish lawform.

But when she speaks of fetish-schools, Miss Kingsley means the different forms which religion takes in its practical application to life, for she calls all religious phenomena "fetish." Thus religious activity in the Tshi and Ewé school is hygienic; in the Calabar school at Oil Rivers the chief object of interest is reincarnation; the Mpongwe school looks out for worldly prosperity; and the Fjort or Nkissi school is philosophic. But all these schools are more or less occupied with the interest of each. There is no sharp division between them; the "school" distinction is largely hypothetical and in any case there is nothing to be gained by calling all religion fetishism.

In West Africa fetishism is the dominating religious factor. Despite all spirit-phenomena, the fetishes "almost monopolize religious thought," as Dr. Nassau expresses it. The love-philter or the charm for fishing is moreover not only the chief object of invocation; it is *per se* a potency. As the same writer also says, the idea of a spirit in the

fetish as the efficient agent is a later development. Countless examples prove this assertion.

Thus in employing a war-fetish made of bark, not a spirit but the tree itself is addressed: "Thou tree, let not the bullets hit me." The fisherman says, to his fetish-mess, "let me catch fish." In the same way a lost girdle, though not a fetish, is directly addressed as a sentient being: "Girdle, come back." The animistic explanation adopted by Dr. E. B. Tylor has led him to define fetishism as "the doctrine of spirits embodied in, or attached to, or conveying influence through, certain material objects." [1] Yet the same author's previous discussion brought out clearly the fact that many fetishes are not controlled by spirits. Indeed, Dr. Tylor himself admits that he has "selected" his examples to illustrate his definition. Of course there may be a fetish not one with the object. Thus the Eskimo kills a baby or an animal and carries its dried skin, that the *mana* inherent in the animal, and still working in the skin, may help him to game. This might be regarded as a spirit, more properly power, in the fetish; it is the animal power in a reduced form. But the usual fetish, a pebble, a bit of bark, or a combination of natural objects, is regarded as in itself potent and conscious.

The natural, not the artificial, object is the primitive fetish. Ellis's opinion, that the fetish was originally a deified power of nature and that all tangible fetishes are priestly impostures, is impossible to accept. Römer in 1769 recorded a typical case that had come under his own observation. It is worth more than all modern theories: A Negro went out in the morning intent on effecting escape from danger. He stumbled on a stone, picked it up, and escaped safely. From that stone he never parted, but kept it as his helper and saviour. What has preceded good-luck is (*post hoc propter hoc*) the cause of good-luck. If thereafter it fails to act, it may be placated or forced to behave itself. This too,

[1] *Primitive Culture,* New York, 1874, II. 145f.

though denied by Ellis, is indisputable. It is exactly the attitude taken by Egyptians and Greeks toward their gods. Even the later Romans destroyed the temples to punish the gods on the death of Germanicus. So also in the seventeenth century a crew of becalmed Portuguese sailors tied their patron St. Anthony to the bowsprit till he sent a breeze. A Spanish captain once tied the Virgin to the mast with the same intent.[1] There is, however, another element to be considered, which looks somewhat like simple abuse, but it is not. Thus St. Peter's image was once immersed, in the sixteenth century, to cure a drought in France. This may have been a case of sympathetic magic, wetting the saint to cause him to wet the earth. But there are cases enough to show that abuse is reckoned a proper way to control a spiritual power. Russian peasants beat their holy pictures with no other idea. So, as narrated in Kotzebue's *Reise nach Rom,* the Neapolitans abused San Gennaro, because he failed to stop the lava flowing toward the city. They even called him *vecchio ladrone, birbone,* and beat him.

The highest religions become fetishistic when a power is supposed to inhere in a material object, though will-power is no longer imagined in it. Thus a piece of the cross or Koran invested with miraculous power for good is practically a fetish. This fetish-idea of a material power bringing luck survives when the southern American Negro carries a rabbit-foot, or the farmer's boy a potato or chestnut, or when one nails up a horseshoe, the iron and circular form making the last named a powerful fetish. In all these cases the original thought has been lost; what remains is simply the fetish-idea, the apparently ineradicable idea that man is dependent upon some power not his own for blessings, in the hope of attaining which he worships or treasures the luck-giver.

As a completed complex system in the hands of a priesthood, African fetishism is rank with evil. The priest, who

[1] For these and similar cases, compare Roskoff, p. 140, and Schultze pp. 130, 175 (see Bibliography).

is a witch-hunter, uses the belief in fetish to acquire wealth and power, intimidating and convicting of murder at will through fetish-oracles which he controls. One fetish set against another is an element in political advancement. A great chief controls many fetishes and therewith assumes many obligations. For, as rain-maker, for example, he is responsible for rain, and if his fetish will not work, the people are liable to punish him, as he would punish the fetish. Hence intrigues, indictments, slaughters. The private fetish aids its owner in finding a foe as well as a fish, and "smells out" the injurer, the thief, the adulterer. But where fetishism is systematized in priestly hands, this power is no longer in the hands of the simple savage individual, but in those of the crafty Negro priest, who makes the fetish act as detective, judge, and executioner. A good example of this is the *cassia* fetish, or bitter water, familiar to us from the Mosaic law, where, however, it acts as agent of a higher power. In Africa it acts for itself, or, in fact, for the priests. But the victim and the ordinary savage do not know that the priest is exploiting them. To them, the cassia is a sentient moral power pursuing a criminal and giving judgment from which there is no appeal. The Siberian peasants beside Lake Baikal have a holy mountain which acts in the same way. If a man is suspected of perjury, he has to climb the holy hill. No spirit of the hill hurts him, but if guilty he dies on the spot, the hill itself being a moral sentient power punishing the perjurer.

There is then a marked ethical content in fetishism. In Africa every law is put under the protection of a fetish, which guards the law as another fetish guards an individual or a village. The fetish (in theory at least, for we here ignore priestly craft) guards law and righteousness till, in the course of development, a higher power directs "the bitter water that causeth the curse" (Numbers v. 18). So, too, in witchcraft-trials the Lord was thought to cause the witch to float or sink; but in simpler belief the pure water itself rejects or casts up the guilty. If then the fetish does not

injure the innocent, if it defends the right, if to it untruth, murder, and adultery are, as it were, abhorrent, then it is clear that fetishism may be regarded as an initial stage toward a belief in a benevolent and moral power. As a matter of fact, the priest-controlled fetish does injure the innocent; but even higher religions swerve from rectitude when priests use them for their own ends. Fear, too, and not love influences the fetish-worshipper. But that also is a secondary stage. For it is not fear which first inspires the savage's belief in the fetish. It is the hope of attaining a desired aim and the idea that the fetish will bring him to it. One of these aims is to kill the injurer. Then the injurer, who shares the belief, is filled with fear. In a word, fetishism recognizes an ethical power which it is hoped will lead to the establishment of truth among other aims. The fetish is, so to speak, the agent of morality in detecting sin; it never detects virtues.

A form of so-called fetishism gives purification. Savages have never distinguished between ill and evil. Purgative waters cleanse, hence purify; that is, they renew the weakened virtue or power of a man. Water thus becomes, as a fetish-object in a broader sense, a national purifier, often a "war-fetish" before battle, when virtue or power is most needed, or again an annual purifier, to cleanse and renew after a year's waste. Our Creeks had such a national annual purgation; in Africa the water-fetish serves as war-medicine. But fetish is not really the word to use here.

Fetishes are not usually specialized. They help in various ways, but sometimes are used in one shape for one purpose. The Jamaica Obeah still gives both oracles and immunity from wounds. But the Hayti Chemi, little figures, a sort of teraphim, are mainly oracular though also generally preservative. Obeah and Chemi both came first from Africa. The "fetish of faithlessness," buried under the Dahomy threshold, causes faithless wives to suffer exactly as described in the Mosaic "law of jealousy"; but the same fetish has other uses. There is another religious element

which has a counterpart in fetishes. This is the deprivations and hardships to which the worshipper binds himself, or to which his parents have bound him as a child. The saints of our church never were more particular in fasting and self-castigation than is the African fetish-worshipper. At birth he is pledged to do or not to do certain trivial things, like stepping over a stream, wearing long hair, sparing some animal, not eating some food; or he takes such vows upon himself. But in either case nothing will induce him to break the obligation. The vows seem to have no connection with morality (most of them are silly), yet they themselves are moral, since the idea of renunciation and of fidelity to a vow is there. The poor Negro "binds himself"; he has a bond, a religion in the sense of obligation. It is ethical misconduct to repudiate his vow.[1]

The distinction between a fetish and an idol is formal. At the extremes there is a difference, but there is a point where idol and fetish coalesce. Behind the fairest Greek statue lies the idol, behind that the carved log. The Damara ancestral fetish is a bough from a tree sacred to the ancestor; while in Korea we find a log with a rounded top, prototype again of the true idol. Earlier than this may be the sacred ground, such as that where the Australian Churinga are stored, though as in Lappland and Africa it may be the fetish that makes the ground holy. Fetishes sprinkled with oil, rum, or blood are treated as idols are treated. Generally, however, the idol works for the group while the fetish works for its owner alone. But the fetish may operate for the group, as in Polynesia, where, once a year, the fetish-

[1] Ames, *Psychology of Religious Experience,* Boston, 1910, p. 131, holds that primarily "the only misconduct was breach of custom." This is according to the taboo-interpretation of religion and ignores the individual as he should not be ignored. So sacrifice is not merely a redintegration of the group and valuable only in consolidating the social union. The single fetish-worshipper has his private purgation and sacrifice which seem to be as primitive as the tribal rites.

stone works like a national god[1] through the king for the people. Also the Thugs' pickax in India is a tribal fetish. Phallic stones in India are true fetishes, but they become idols when carved to represent the god himself. Phallic elements were in the American "medicine" and probably in the Roman *bulla*. They imparted power.

Many savages have no idols, Bushmen, Patagonians, Veddas, Andamanese, and Australians, for example; but Saussaye is wrong in saying that in the lowest stage of savagery idolatry is "altogether lacking." The savage of the lower Amazon has carved figures on his canoe and, as we have seen, some of the lowest Africans have rude post-idols. In the "banana zone" idols are common, representing men and animals caricatured, often without arms or legs. Apotropaic pictures and figures of the gods adorn the huts or boats of Redskin and Polynesian. Even the prehistoric art in the caves of France may, as Reinach has suggested, be for magical purposes. Yet not necessarily so, for primitive art may exist without such intent. The Eskimos during the winter make pictures, but not idols, nor are their pictures religious. Eventually higher religions usually adopt idols. Thus idols abound in India after the sixth century B. C., and perhaps before; there are possible allusions to idols in the earliest literature. Greece had idols before Homer, and Homer's statue of the goddess, though unique, is prayed to as an idol.[2] But the highest religions again discard idols and pictures as objects of worship, to which even some Greeks objected. Mohammed discarded both; while the Roman Church has expressly forbidden (since 787 A. D.) the worship of images. Ancestors and saints in pictured or imaged form are found in India and China and probably the Roman funeral masks represent ancestors. Ancient Egypt and modern New Zealand prefer images of ances-

[1] Like a god, too, it is kept wrapped up, except on the annual occasion of manifestation.

[2] For non-idolatrous races, see D'Alviella, *Des origines de l'idolatrie* in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions,* xii. 2.

tors; China prefers pictures. India painted and carved, indifferently, gods, men, horses, and dogs and worshipped every image it saw. Abbé Dubois could not determine whether his Hindus worshipped the "actual substance" or the divinity in the idol. It is merely a matter of intelligence. Louis XI. worships the lead doll on his hat, as the Hindu peasants adore any carved figure. Only an intelligent person distinguishes between symbol and symbolized. The foreigner may make a mistake here. The Roman thought the Quadi worshipped their swords; in reality they worshipped the divinity carved thereon. So a Punjabi today has *puja* (worship)[1] apparently of a sword though really of the goddess embossed on it. So, too, the ancient sword-dance was in Tiu's honour, not an idle exhibition of skill.

A fetish, like a god, may be no more than the means of a meal and worshipped as such, for hunger is a powerful stimulator of religious feeling. But it is not hypocrisy when the Hindu clerk today bows to his pen in the morning as his means of livelihood. He worships it as the farmer worships his plough and as the Toda worships his buffaloes; the implement of a living is a means of life and that is divine. Habakkuk remarked on this long ago (i. 16): "He sacrificeth unto his net and burneth incense unto his drag, because by them his portion is fat and his meat plenteous."

The unimportant question as to whether fetish-figures or idols were originally stone or wood, must be settled for every place separately.[2] The important question whether

[1] *Puja* indicates both veneratio (doulia) and latrio. A superior man or a god receives it. The missionary might compromise on it as a sign of respect, not necessarily "worship," yet actually worship when applied to a god, a most convenient word.

[2] See especially the chapters on Greece and India and America. Here need be mentioned only the Lappland Saidas, made indifferently of stone or wood. When such a Saida, image, is of wood it is a sort of inverted xoanon, that is, it is a tree-trunk placed upside down, so that the roots represent head and hair. The stone Saida is a veritable herm, rudely outlined, standing in the open, which then is holy ground. Saussaye says "only by consecration does the inanimate image receive divine power"; but he forgets the

the fetish-log and idol are originally apotropaic images *i. e.,* spiritual scarecrows, must be raised but cannot be answered categorically. The Hindu Rajput sometimes wears, or carries, an image of his ancestor, which originally he worshipped as the image of a beneficent ghost; but nowadays this image is regarded merely as an amulet to keep off ghosts and evil spirits.[1] This is an historical example of the way a ghost may become a defender; it needs only a step to make him as defender rather a fearful or scarecrow type, as described by Horace (*Sat.* i. 8): *Olim truncus eram ficulus . . . deus inde furum aviumque Maxima formido.* The connection, however, is close between the saint or Greek god who guards his state, and the images of the Aru Islanders, who "preserve the house from evil spirits by figures of snakes, lizards, crocodiles, and human forms, on a post, and an image of wood rudely formed."[2] Such guardians are the Assyrian Shedu who keep the way to the palace; possibly also the Lagash cones (so Heuzey); but these have also been interpreted as votive offerings, conventionalized figurines of deities (Jastrow). Terminal stones appear at times to have been of this nature, demoniac forms to frighten, rather than protecting gods. But as a general theory of the origin of idols the apotropaic explanation will not suffice. For in the ante-idol stage of the African fetish-log, the primary notion is not that of a frightful form. In fact, when it is smeared with oil and blood, the chief purpose of such a graven log is to attract benevolent spirits, who come to lick the blood and oil and remain, taking up their abode in so attractive an object.

Saida, which is not consecrated and is divine, though not *per se*, since its power is that of the Saivos or gods.

[1] Sir John Malcolm, *Central India*, London, 1823, i. p. 144.

[2] D. H. Kolff, *Voyages of the Dutch Brig of War Dourga*, London, 1840.

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CHAPTER FOUR

RELIGIONS OF AINUS AND SHAMANS
NATURISM AND ANIMISM

THUS far we have seen that savage belief in superhuman powers is expressed either by the worship of a free spirit, which may be a ghost, or by the worship of a material but supposedly sentient willing object. It is often difficult to decide which, for one or both of two reasons. The savage is wont to express himself vaguely. His attitude, again, is interpreted according to a preconceived opinion. In Africa there are certainly both those who worship ghosts, and these seem to be in the majority, and those who worship natural and artificial objects as if they were spiritual beings; but the two attitudes do not seem to be mutually exclusive and sometimes they are confused. We shall therefore devote this chapter to two types which set the matter before us more clearly. In our interpretation we may safely be guided by the fact that actions speak louder than words, that is, the rite speaks more clearly of past belief than does the uttered creed of today.

THE RELIGION OF THE AINUS

The savages found in Japan and called by themselves Ainu, that is, the "men" (or people) but mocked by the Japanese as "dogs," *aino*, were hairy-skinned aborigines, who afterwards sought safety in Yezo. Some are now in Saghalin. These Ainus were obviously influenced to some extent by the Japanese (they still revere a Japanese hero Yoshitsune) before they were visited, in the last century, by the missionary who came to Yezo before the arrival, in

1878, of Miss Isabella Bird. Though with them but a few weeks, Miss Bird lived on terms of intimacy with them, found them very gentle, won their confidence, and drew from them apparently honest replies to questions of a religious nature. Ten years afterwards, Rev. Mr. Batchelor arrived in Yezo and discovered in their religion those higher ideas and precise notions which Miss Bird had denied them. Mr. Batchelor accounts for the discrepancy by supposing that the savages were intentionally reticent until he came. But Miss Bird says they were eager to tell her all they knew. When she asked about a future life their reply that they had no distinct ideas on the subject was evidently not intended to guard a sacred mystery. On the other hand, Mr. Batchelor etymologizes the word Kamui (Japanese Kami), though it is a general word, applied to any "spirit," good or bad, as "he who covers"; argues from this that the Ainus originally knew God as Heaven or Coverer, and finally, as having known God, credits them with having been monotheists, though they are now degraded "polytheists."

Apart from this quaint interpretation of Ainuism, Mr. Batchelor has, however, done excellent work in adding to what Miss Bird and others had observed. He has also given us some valuable legends which, though he has not noticed it, confirm the account of Miss Bird.

The Ainus take little interest in the ghost. Food is not placed in or by the grave and only women have anything to say to the dead, whom they fear but do not worship. They have no very definite belief as to a future life. The dead go into animals, or go under ground, and are supposed to take with them implements broken, hence as dead, for use in the world of the grave. Mr. Batchelor opines that the Ainus think "heaven" and "hell" await respectively the virtuous and the wicked; but he adds somewhat naïvely: "To hear the people talk, one might be tempted to believe that the Ainus think heaven itself to be in Hades." To hear the people talk was Miss Bird's way of understanding them,

and her conclusion was that the Ainus vaguely believed in a vague future in a vague place.

The chief interest of the Ainus is in this life, not in the next, and the powers they recognize are not God and gods, but nature-powers, usually translated spirits, but in reality intelligent powers expressed in phenomena, either natural, sun, sea, river, cloud, tree, rock, sand, disease; or artificial, hut, pot, knife, etc. Every one of these has, or rather is, an intelligent power, not always good or bad, but usually to be made good or bad by human influence exerted through offerings. Good is what does man good; evil is what harms him. Some, such, for example, as diseases, are always evil; others are always good. A great body like the sea or a tree has various good and bad expressions, the more vivid the more personal. One such power-expression of the sea is almost a spirit who drowns a man; another saves him. Less vivid, a tree has a thousand powers or souls; that is, every limb and twig is its own soul-endued power. Expressed too animistically, a thousand or so "spirits" are in every tree. Many of the so-called spirits are not free spirits. Each is bound not only to its own environment, a purely local power, but bound up with its material. There is no sun-spirit, only a spiritized sun; no cooking-pot spirit, only an intelligent cooking pot. It is not the "spirit" of the dead bear that is addressed but the bear himself, and it is not his "spirit" that is sent away, but the bear.[1]

The savage is a practical man. His religion consists largely in making the best of his unavoidable neighbours. The Ainu honours most the most useful, sea, fire, and the bear, each as a spiritual potency. He dislikes most the old female of the marsh, whom he does not worship but calls ancestress or aunt, and who inflicts him with hideous diseases. This is a functional Potency. His ritual is scarcely

[1] Stories of free "spirits" abound in the collections made by Batchelor and Chamberlain. They are called "gods" as well. Such spirits may exist, though it is questionable, in the Ainu's unaided imagination, but the non-free potency, not recognized at all by these authors, is the instructive element in this religion.

more than pouring libations of *saké,* the use of (Japanese) "god-sticks," and the "worship" of the useful food he eats.[1] In sympathetic magic, images called *inoka* are used as elsewhere and call for no special remark. One buries the image to bury the foe.

But the process of "eating the god," though it is scarcely that, deserves serious attention. Millet is the chief cereal. Like every other phenomenon it is alive, intelligent. As an animal is killed, so the millet is cooked. Then the cooked millet is addressed with these words: "O Millet, thou hast grown well for us; we thank thee; we eat thee." This is as near worship as the Ainu comes; but in this simple ritual there is a distinct recognition of the cereal as a beneficent power.

Mythology requires imagination. It is not well developed among these savages. Millet does not become Demeter. In fact there is little real mythology. Serpents come from a sky-serpent, probably lightning as a serpent. Ants come from a putrified dragon. The peeled wand or god-stick is cut into six shavings and six are the worlds; or there are six above and six below. An eclipse is caused by an evil power, but to avert the eclipse the Ainus fling up water, regarding the sun as fainting and needing revival. The fire-spirit can cure sickness.

In mourning, hands are washed to clean off the death-infection and hair is shaved or dishevelled to escape notice. Graves are avoided. Women may not know incantations and may not utter their husbands' names, lest they acquire power over the name-hypostasis of the person. Evil spirits are driven off by swinging knives; as when a man is drowning, the spirit being the water-evil. The couvade is practised and tattooing, but no reason for it is known.

Ordeals, of hot water, hot stone, drinking medicated water, are like those elsewhere. Only one is peculiar. A

[1] To guard against evil or wild beasts the skulls of bears and foxes are placed upon poles in a sort of sacred hedge. The fox-skull is also used as an oracle, its jaw pointing to a thief, etc.

cup flung over the shoulder must land right side up or the thrower is guilty. Important is the fact that in all ordeals the sentient object decides the case; it is not acting as an agent for a higher power. Among ordeals the most religious is that of the fire-ordeal, because Fire *per se* has become almost a goddess. She is the witness to a promise, as of marriage, and is especially invoked with a little ritual: "We drink *saké* to thee; we give thee the lees; keep evil from us; send us good." To make sure that the Fire understands, a messenger is sent to her in the shape of a burnt stick. The whole content of a Vedic Fire-hymn is virtually contained in the simple address. This message-motif also is note-worthy. So, as will be seen, the dead bear is really sent as a messenger to the bear-ancestor.

In the case of all these spirits we should use the word power rather than spirit. The "water-cap spirit," for example, is really only the potency-filled cloud itself. Very clear is this in the case of the "vegetation-demons," which even Mr. Batchelor recognizes as vague potencies rising like mist from the ground and conceived as male and female powers of productivity. Air-spirits, potencies, are clearer because more visible in effect. As the Ainus say, "they give much trouble" (storm, hail, etc.). Fuji, the Fire, is inseparable from her material self, but as a vivid friend is more personified. She is even given a husband, namely the house-guardian, represented by a stick placed in the corner of the hut where heirlooms lie, not inaptly compared by Mr. Batchelor with Penates, and possibly, as he suggests, ancestral in character, though this remains doubtful. Evil spirits, to use this word, as a class are called *nitne,* "oppressive," that is, troublesome; or, as Mr. Batchelor puts it, "Ṣatan and all his angels are called *nitne kamui.*"

It is doubtful whether the Ainus have any totemism at all. The individual totem is not a totem but a fetish made of a willow-stick cut to look like a backbone, and supposed to preserve the owner's soul, like other such soul-recepta-

cles. The mystery of the soul and backbone is widespread. In Greece, for example, the soul is in the backbone, and the buried backbone is revived as a snake; hence the close connexion between the two in Greek mythology.

Mr. Batchelor says a boy once vaunted himself to be the descendant of an eagle and offers this as a possible example of a family-totem. But apparently only one boy ever thought of such a thing and, in any case, descent from an animal does not show totemism. No animal or vegetable clans exist. There remains the "national totemism" shown by the most celebrated item of Ainu religion, the bear-cult. This is not totemic, for the bear is not a clan-brother and his blood is drunk only incidentally, and then not always, by a few people; more to get vigour than to renew clan-life. The bear is called divine and is worshipped; but any animal is "divine" enough to be called so to its face. Nevertheless, in that the bear is slain by the people, and his body is shared by all, the ritual certainly smacks of totemism.

In brief, the ceremony is as follows: A cub is raised with care, well fed, and then at the stated time addressed by its slayers thus: "O divine cub, who art come into the world to be hunted by us, we pray to thee. We have nourished thee well, because we love thee, and now we are sending thee to thy father and mother. Do thou speak well of us to them. Tell them how well we have nourished thee and then, next season, come back to us and we will slay thee again." Then women dance about him, and men slay him, careful not to let the blood touch the ground, and, cutting off his head, they place some of his own body before it with other edibles, that the bear himself may share the feast, while they pass around the "cup of boiled bear" (brains and *saké*), which all must at least taste. Then Bruin is sent away by having his head placed on the "sending pole," around which men and women dance. The name of the whole ceremony is the "sending away." It is almost identical with that of the Lillooet, in British Columbia, who mourn the bear they kill

and raise his head on a pole, invoking him to send more bear-food; likewise a non-totemic clan-rite.

The Ainu feast is also one of invigoration and productivity rather than of blood-communion. Nothing in the ritual suggests clan-brotherhood with the cub except the cup-ceremony, but even then nothing is said to indicate this. Foster-kinship with the bear is due to the fact that the cub is always suckled by one of the women. The whole object of the feast is to get vigour from the bear for now and to secure more bear hereafter. Hence the "sending away." But, if not totemistic, this rite approaches closely the Caucasus type of totemism, in which the clan regularly kill the totem for food yet on special occasions sacrifice and eat one member of the animal totem-clan. This again differs from the Egyptian and Toda type, in which the totem has become more holy than wholesome and is not used as food.

The Ainus have neither gods, priests, nor temples. According to Rev. Mr. Batchelor, however, "they see the hand of God in everything. The world, indeed, is His temple, Nature His Book, every man His priest, and each chief His high priest," and not only this but they possess "a belief in one Supreme God and a doctrine of mediation." As was pointed out in the last chapter, it is of interest to find the prototype of higher religion in the lower, but it is not necessary to impute the technicalities of theology to the savage. What Mr. Batchelor means is that the bear is sent away to its mother with a message, and the burnt stick thrust into the fire acts as messenger to the fire; ergo, these savages have a "doctrine of mediation."[1]

Thus the vital facts in primitive Ainu religion are that these savages, whether or not they believe in spirits not phenomenal, do worship phenomena; that they treat their grain

[1] Professor Chamberlain and Mr. Howard have followed Mr. Batchelor's interpretation, though their Ainus are not the same. Mr. Howard's are in Saghalin and his understanding of them was quite different till Mr. Batchelor showed him how to interpret. A similar attempt has been made to interpret the Ainus as "Aryans" in race and language; but this also has failed.

as a sentient being; that they give food and drink to fire as to a person, to propitiate it; that they "send away" not a spirit but the bear, to propitiate the bear-people and get more bear to eat; and that they have no cult of ghosts. Of secondary importance is it that from the Japanese and from Christians they have absorbed some religious paraphernalia and some higher ideas, vaguely understood and retained, just as the Negroes have seized and held the idea of God given them by others.

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SHAMANISM

Under this name is understood a certain religious attitude conspicuous among sundry Mongolian tribes but found in many parts of the earth. The word shaman is in fact loosely used of almost any savage witch-doctor who becomes frenzied and has communication with spirits. In its original form it appears to be a corruption of the Sanskrit Shramana, which, indicating a disciple of Buddha, among the Mongolians became synonymous with magician. Shamanism today is the name properly applied to the religion of certain Ural-Altaic peoples, Finns, Hungarians, Turks, Mongolians, Tunguse, but chiefly those in the eastern part of northern Asia. Christianity, Buddhism, and Mohammedism have affected the purity of their beliefs and at present Shamanism is best represented by the Tunguse, who with the exception of the Manchus are all Shamanists. All Shaman-

ists have substantially the same view of the world. According to it, heaven, earth, and the place under the surface of the earth make a three-fold spiritual realm. On and above earth live good spirits; below or within earth live evil spirits, presided over by Erlik, originally a super-terrestrial man condemned to hell because he wished to be equal to the Creator, Kaira Kan, who is father and mother of mankind and lives in the highest of the seventeen realms of light. These are opposed to the realms of hell, seven or nine in number. With Kaira, in the upper world, live the great Kans (lords), gods, good spirits, and blessed ghosts. Below earth live evil demons, kobalds, goblins, gnomes, swan-maidens, and unblessed ghosts. After Erlik's fall, Kaira created earth-men, the nine ancestors of the nine races. Gods emanating from Kaira are those living below him, for example, Bai Yulgen, in the sixteenth heaven, Kysagan, in the ninth, and Mergen, who with the (mother) sun lives in the seventh heaven, while the (father) moon lives in the fifth heaven. There is a demiurge creator in the fifth and Bai Yulgen's two sons are in the third heaven. In this third heaven live also the souls of the blessed, and there are the "sea of milk," or the spring of all life, and the mountains of the gods. Earth itself is Jersu, a community of spirits as an animate whole, at whose navel lives Jo Kan, a spirit whose power is almost equal to that of Kaira, besides whom there are other high lords, seventeen in number, like the seventeen mountains and seventeen seas. Where the seventeen seas unite, lives the Ocean Kan. There is also an Altai Kan or folk-god. Only seven of these lords have the same names everywhere; the other ten, perhaps later growths, are named differently by different tribes. They, like the heavenly lords, are helpers of men and creative powers; but only the earth-lords can be approached directly by ordinary men, who offer them gifts or revere them by casting a stone on a pile or sing them a song of praise. To honour these kindly Jersu, earth-powers, there is no need of an intermediary priest.

Far different is it with the great lords of the realms above and within earth. These can be approached only through the mediating spirits of the dead. Thus the good gods above must be approached through the Somo, the nine ancestors that guard men. But, and herein lies the key of Shamanism, only certain families can control the Somo and other spirits. The power, however, is not inherited but inherent in certain families. That is, the power is not passed on from father to son, but each son of the favoured family is in turn seized with an ecstasy and becomes inspired, till in this state he is able to act in the capacity of an intermediary between man and the spirits. These are the Shamans. In producing rain, they sometimes call on Kaira Kan to open the sky, but always at the same time they call on the forefather. In other words, Kaira Kan may be omitted, but never the ghost. Shamanism is therefore primarily a cult of spirits, conceived as ancestral ghosts.

Despite the theory of gods and the lofty cosmogony, which may be due in part to Buddhistic influence, the spirits invoked are not generally of the upper but of the lower world. Erlik himself, the prince of evil and of death, is called Father Erlik, because though a foe of man, "all men belong to him and he at last takes their lives." To Erlik are attributed all misfortunes, from poverty to death, and because of this power man honours him, calls him father, and makes offerings to him. Although the spirits of light are more powerful than those of darkness, the former need little attention, because they are good and kind; whereas evil spirits, if not appeased, would constantly do injury. In consequence, the shamanistic cult consists for the most part in placating evil spirits. In this it resembles the cults of Akkadians and Dravidians; but its special feature lies in the close connexion between man and his ancestors through the ecstatic Shaman. The Shaman's power is not his own but that of the Manes infused into him. He is not possessed by the devil but by the spirit of his ancestor. When thus possessed he ascends to heaven or descends to hell (ancestral spirits

being in both spheres) and influences the powers as he will. The Shaman also arranges the sacrifice, purifies the house of death by driving forth the ghost, and acts also as physician, weather-prophet, and soothsayer. All these offices belong to his *kamlanie* or shamanizing (*kam,* Turkish for Shaman). His indispensable instrument is a drum with which to coerce spirits; but too he is usually adorned with bits of iron and other apotropaic tags and bobs, perhaps of fetish character.[1] Though rather feared than liked, he is looked upon as a necessity, since apart from obtaining good things from the spirits, man's happiness depends upon the Shaman's ability to satisfy spirits of both classes, for the following reason. When a man is born, Bai Yulgen sends a good spirit, first to draw his life from the sea of milk and then to guard and guide him. But at the same time Erlik sends a devil to mislead him. After death both spirits accompany the soul to the judgment-hall below and as one has followed the suggestions of either spirit one joins the blessed or damned. But virtue is not enough to give happiness, which consists in possessing good things, for both in heaven and hell the spirits, as in Egypt, are envious and desire his goods, which they may steal from him if not placated by means of a Shaman.

A sacrifice to Erlik can be made anywhere, but one to Bai Yulgen must be made with more or less secrecy in a grove. The ceremony lasts three nights. On the first, a horse is slain, without bloodshed;[2] on the second the Shaman ascends or descends to the spirit-world by mystic ceremonies, in which the Shaman rides the *pura* (soul) of the slaughtered horse. At various stages he utters prophe-

[1] They do not seem to be used as real fetishes, however, but as ghost-scarers simply.

[2] So the Ainu bear in strangled, and the Hindu horse in the old Vedic sacrifice. In none of these cases, however, is the ground made taboo by the blood. Possibly, as with the Ainus, where it is wiped off very carefully, the ground would be so taboo that it is safer to regard it as not touched if the blood is immediately erased.

cies in an ecstatic condition till he reaches the abode of the spirit sought, whom he beseeches to ward off evil or grant some good. The third night is devoted to carousing with the offering of libations. It is a matter of indifference to the Shaman whether he go up to heaven or down to hell. Shamanism therefore is not purely diabolical, a devil-worship, as it is often considered, but a cult of spirits; though the office of ghost-scarer, who purifies the house, is as important as any and one most frequently exercised. To bless, to offer homage to the Jersu, even to prophesy and make rain are in the capacity of others, but only a Shaman can make sacrifice to the great gods and devils and purify a house. Yet, unless the influence of unlucky stars must be averted, the Shaman has no part in ceremonies of birth, marriage, or death. There is practically no worship of material objects. It is clear that most of the cosmogony and ranks of gods are secondary. Shamanism is at bottom ghost-worship, a cult of ghosts or ancestral spirits as fundamental as is the nature-power-cult of Ainuism. To be noticed also is the prominence of the evil spirit and the necessary extasis of the mediating priest, who works only through spirit-possession, the spirit being always ancestral, never a nature-spirit.

If we strip off the Buddhistic accumulation, which from the name of the Shaman to the rôle of the Evil One are secondary elements, we get to the foundation fact, which is that the ancestral spirit is a friendly creature, who watches over his family and communicates with them by means of an inspired mediator. Now if we take a still purer case of Shamanism, among an utterly simple people, we find this result abundantly confirmed. Such a case is to be found among the Veddas of Ceylon in their most uncorrupted state. Here the religious instinct expresses itself in an unquestioning belief that the father when dead still lives, guards, and guides his family in the hunt; and that he is communicated with through a common meal and the mediation of an ecstatic Shaman, whose dervish dance by auto-

intoxication makes this actor imagine that he is really speaking as possessed by the dead Yaku (ghost). Likewise in the arrow-dance, the aid of the ancestor is sought by the same means. Here also it is assumed that the ancestor is well-disposed. Only contact with the outer world has taught the Veddas that the country is full of inimical Yaku.[1]

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[1] Several features deserve more than the allusion permitted by space, such as the importance of hair-vigour in the Shaman, the instruction given to the "fit" pupil, and the gradual exaltation in Vedda belief of one greatest spirit to godhead. The sacrificial communal meal becomes so charged with spirit-power that the remnant is even rubbed upon the noses of the hunting-dogs, not to speak of the persons of the family, to heighten their ability (compare the Hindu *ucchishta,* the potent remnant of sacrifice). The original belief as to the dead seems to have been that only the stronger spirits survive to an indefinite period; others fade out, probably after a few generations. The etymology of Shaman given above is not certain, though probable.

CHAPTER FIVE

POLYNESIAN RELIGIONS

I. SPIRITS, MYTHS, AND CHARMS

THE spirits, generally malevolent, of the Polynesians are strongly anthropomorphic. So romantic, and at the same time realistic, is the conception of these spirits that Polynesian mythology reminds one of the heroic tales of Greek gods and goddesses. In both there is a poetic element which beautifies the ugliness of the inner belief in treacherous, filthy, cowardly gods. We enter here a different plane from that of the Negro's religion, one reflecting the higher intellectuality of the Ocean race.

The Polynesian spirits are somewhat confused with ghosts, yet they are formally distinguished from them and in fact are generally nature-spirits, not usually natural objects worshipped as such, but objects manifesting free spirits conceived as almost human in form and character. To them as malignant beings are ascribed not only disease, death, and great misfortune, but even the slightest untoward accident. This, too, is Greek. In the account of the funeral games in the Iliad, every hero whose chariot upsets or who has a fall due to his own lack of skill, lays it to the interference of some malicious spirit (goddess). The Tahitians ascribe the slightest misfortune to a devil's ill-will; the Maori gods are great devils, who appear in lightning and storm but differ only in size from the little devils in noxious insects and reptiles: "thick as mosquitoes the devils surround us." But some do good at times or are merely capricious. In general, Polynesian spirits, though fickle, are by predilection malign. Some undoubtedly are now ghosts

that were originally nature-powers; for, like the Finns, who have euhemerized their gods, the Polynesians show a tendency to adopt into the family some non-ghostly spirits.

There are even traces of the actual worship of natural objects. Prayers and offerings are addressed to reptiles, to rocks, to rivers, and to trees, quite directly, and trees are adorned with red ochre and cloths as signs of worship; while the word religion is said to mean "sacred tree." [1]

On the other hand, the secret societies indicate a cult of ghosts. The ancestors were imagined as reptilian troglodytes and both they and their descendants as ghosts give fertility. The ghost-form is almost exclusively the object of the Melanesian Tamate (society), but the Melanesians are not so primitive as the Polynesians. Yet the usual idol, a stick adorned with a carved head, and put in the ground as a tutelary power to mark property-lines, is said to represent gods not ghosts. Totemism, also, is weakly represented, perhaps in genuine form only in Samoa. Papuans and Solomon Islanders are related to animals but not totemistically. So the common worship of eels is not a sign of totemism. Animals appear as incarnations of both ghosts and gods. Thus the lizard is a spirit or god, not a ghost-spirit. There is also a pronounced litholatry with some phallic cult, which may also be reflected in the Putete circumcision-ceremony of New Zealand and the corresponding Fiji rite.

Gods in any case have a divinity synonymous with devilry. Thus the Atua (god) is a spirit of disease, plague, and thievery; *atua ika* are fish-gods or reptiles; and a sea-monster, *he ika,* was regarded as a dead chief famed for cruelty in life and regarded as still more malignant in death. Departmental gods are found here, spirits presiding over pains in the head, in the breast, child-birth, etc., and Maru is at once a god of war and a disease-demon, whose priests are fat because, though insatiable, he, like an African god, leaves the gross part of the sacrifice to them. It is immaterial whether one calls these spirits gods or devils.

[1] Compare Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui,* London, 1870, p. 104.

The root-idea of divinity is expressed by "pith," that is, power. That is the reason why there is no distinction between god and devil; a spirit has pith or power, whether good or bad. Moreover it is only a question of degree whether man is not divine. A man losing heart is said to "lose his pith" (his spirit), the same word translated "divinity." In the poetic cosmogony the gods are creative spirits. Before heaven was uplifted from earth, there were only "Night and dark gods"; they were succeeded by Rangi, Heaven, and Papa, Earth, the parents of men. For Rangi created man in his own image by kneading clay with his own blood (life).[1] But other gods were makers (creators); Tawiri, of storms; Tane, of trees (he is also the general male principle of generation);[2] Tangaroa, of fish, but also of day. This last god has one sacred grove and, by some scholars, is regarded as the chief god, because most widely recognized. Other tales ascribe to Ra the origin of other gods and of men and mountains. On the other hand, Turi is a demi-god ancestor and Maui a culture-hero. An indigenous worship of stars is referred to the effort of one native "founder" of a special religion. Ordinarily, stars, like clouds, are souls of heroes; the more foes they have slain the brighter they are. Stars, moon, sun, etc., are denizens of ten heavens.

Opposed to Night (chaos) of the underworld, the chief gods are those of day and light, Motoro, light and love; Ra, the sun; Vatea, another "father of gods and men," half fish and half human, without grove or idol or sacrifice, because he represents what to the Polynesian is illimitable majesty, Ocean. Probably different clan- or district-gods account for the variety of creators of the same things. To turn to the lower mythology, there are small white fairies, spirits of hill and mist (quite Celtic), who seize women;

[1] Taylor, *op. cit,* p. 117. Rangi is creator; Rongo is war-god.

[2] This important principle is complemented by the female principle, regarded as destructive, like the Chinese sex-opposites. Compare also the *destructive* female power in the Hindu Kali, "wife" of the god of life and destruction.

and giants, not ghosts, of the caves and mountains, sometimes represented as dragons, who cause land-slides. To the dark spirit Night the Polynesians pay as much reverence as to the light-gods. Another spirit, elsewhere poetical, here real, is Echo, who has a cult. Meteors are souls; eclipse, a demon; the gods, like men, carry clubs and fight, light against dark. The dark half of the month is sacred to Iro, god of murderers and thieves, who has a charm-song: "Let deep sleep overcome this house; sleep on, owner of the house; threshold, sleep on; insects of the house, sleep on," etc., much like one of the Vedic Hymns (Rig Veda, vii. 55).[1]

Many Polynesian myths resemble those of other lands. Eneene seeks below earth the beloved wife who has died and brings her back; the moon-goddess has intercourse with her human lover; Tawaki stamps a hole through the stone (sky) and lets out the waters above, causing a deluge; then, killed by his brothers, he is resurrected and ascends to heaven again.[2]

No lofty sentiment inspires the blessed who sit in heaven. Their chief delight is to mock and drop filth on those below in hell and watch them in their struggles to get out. Ngaru was a hero who overcame the "demon of the sky," preventing him from further destruction of men, for whom he used to angle. Most of man's tormentors, however, came out of an opening on earth, till fair Tiki stopped it with her own (sacrificed) body, "for love of mankind." This opening leads to Avaiki, where base men's souls are cooked and eaten by the fiend Miru. Originally Avaiki was "down" west (sun-down). Until it acquired the meaning of down below (earth), all shades went to Avaiki; the feet of the buried still lie westward. Later only nobles or braves went thither, "following the sun" to heaven; common men went to the world below, to be "eaten by gods."

[1] Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, London, 1876, p. 150.

[2] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

Annihilation awaits all but the brave. But some still think the soul lingers by the body and offerings are placed in the grave. The Fiji Islanders, perhaps Papuans, believe that the soul has the same body after death. It passes over a "path of shades," drinking the fount of forgetfulness, a Lethe which causes even the mourners to forget their grief. They affectionately strangle their parents while still strong, lest senile decay make their life unpleasant hereafter. In New Guinea the Papuans make an image for the dead man's soul to live in, not from affection but to keep it out of mischief.[1]

The "leaping place" of the dead is where, when a sufficient number have collected, after the sun goes down, the leap to heaven is made. By means of a narrow bridge the souls first pass the river Waioratane, but here the bridge-keeper may send a soul back (explanation of resuscitation). Then they individually leap up and so become stars or clouds. The only moral content lies in the fact that the brave alone ever get as far as the bridge. There must have been a concurrent belief in metempsychosis, for many of the gods are ancient heroes and also take animal forms. But such a belief is now held very vaguely. Some think a man's spirit is reborn in his son.[2]

The burial rite was elaborate, for it required eighteen Karakias (spells) and, after the first burial, was completed by cleaning and painting the bones, which were then preserved. The head was often embalmed. There was no rite for marriage, the girl becoming taboo, sacred, for her husband at the wedding-feast, without any spell, probably because she was usually stolen. Tribal relations, however,

[1] Basil Thomas, in *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* 1895, p. 349f. In regard to the chiefs, it is to be noticed that the priests called "mouth-pieces of Rongo," the war-god, were distinct from the military chiefs and might neither fight nor be tattoed (Tahiti, *tatu*, "mark," a decorative not religious sign, according to Gill, p. 95 and Taylor, p. 394).

[2] Taylor, pp. 233, 299. In the East Indian Archipelago, the good native hopes when he dies to become a crocodile.

were so loose among the Maoris that sometimes the groom renounced his tribe and lived with his father-in-law, fighting against his own tribe or horde. Death-dances at funerals resemble those in Mexico, but do not prove connexion.[1]

The Polynesian priesthood was graded, though no priest was more than a wizard. Yet Tohungas were lower than Ariki, who were high-priests of divine power defied only by the strongest chiefs. But even a woman-chief has been known to counter-taboo a tabooing Ariki and overcome him. Tahiti had a graded priest-corporation, and the lower grades, Areois, were strolling players who acted religious scenes in the life of the gods, under the patronage of the god Oro, to whom were given the first-fruits of harvest. Songs and dances received priestly recognition as part of the "play." It is uncertain whether the harvest-spirits active in these performances were nature-spirits or ghosts.

The cult is conspicuous for cannibalistic human sacrifice; it is offered to most of the gods, especially to Rongo. Remains of the victims were distributed to chiefs as title of land-ownership. The priest's power was enormous; whoever interfered with his prerogatives was afflicted with hydrocele or other diseases, which, however, might be cured by a Karakia, a kind of incantation used to avert all troubles and bring all blessings, for the individual and for the state, on occasion of harvest, hunting, battle, etc. The Karakia is often only a hymn of indefinite thanks. Thus for hunting: "Give thanks above and below, give thanks to the Mother" (goddess). These Karakia were counted by stalks, the rosary-idea, and the gods entered images to

[1] Such connexion has also been based on the fact that a South American paddle is "Melanesian" in appearance or that *lo* means a spade in Mexico and in New Zealand. More important are the idols and temple-ruins found in New Zealand, which indicate either foreign influence or great decadence. According to Mr. Best (*Man*, 1914), New Zealand was settled about 900 years ago by eastern Polynesians who combined with the native lower type of Fiji-like savages. The Maori could have learned fortification-building, building-sacrifice, and cannibalism from these (Maruiwi).

reply to them. The priest played the Shaman, as medium between men and gods. With writhing body and rolling eye, insensible to the world, he spoke the oracle.[1] Movements of limbs, birds, and dreams were also oracular.

Not only before war but at its close was a Karakia necessary. Especially to lift the war-taboo against wives, which was entrusted to a special god, Tu. In war all a man's strength is required; hence the soft delights of home were formally tabooed by Karakia, till it was over; then a second Karakia lifted it. Another parallel to foreign usage is that of the scape-goat. Over one man was sung a Karakia, which bound on him by proxy all the sins of the tribe, which he carried in a stalk of fern. This he let float down the river, carrying away the people's sins. Another Karakia is pronounced at baptism, when a child is eight days old and a name is given him. The boy is subsequently "confirmed" (Dr. Taylor's expression), that is, dedicated before battle to the war-god with a Karakia exhorting him to be virtuous (brave). With a girl the name is given under this formula: "Give her a name! What is this little girl? She is a living breath, the breath of a great chief coming from heaven; for lo! the sky has breathed forth" (to make her soul); an interesting counterpart to the Hebrew idea of soul as the breath of God. In regard to the name, a man has several. One is given purely for personal reasons. For example, one man was called Mawai (cucumber) because he could creep so craftily upon the ground. In India a similar name meaning gourd has been taken to prove "vegetable totemism"!

To sum up the externals of Polynesian religion, there is no doubt that these savages worshipped ghosts as ancestors, or that they also worshipped natural phenomena, nor much doubt that they so confused the two classes that neither they nor we in many instances can say to which class the object worshipped belongs. Some scholars even regard all the spirits as ghosts. As to the philosophic pantheism

[1] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

attributed to these savages by Taylor and Gill, it is partly due to the idea of *mana* and partly to a natural reading-in of higher ideas. According to Taylor, the Maori believed that the world came from swelling, which made thought, which produced memory, desire, spirit, and matter. At first all was darkness and nought; till from nothing came swelling (conception), increase, and then breath (spirit), which made air, atmosphere, and then the eyes of heaven, that is, sun and moon, out of which came sky and land united, till Ra (sun) made gods and men; "and Turi was the first man to come from Hawaiki" (to New Zealand). This seems to be a double account. The sixth creation is formally stated to be gods and men, as if the original series had been thought, breath, darkness-world, light, sky-earth, gods-men, but at best it is a philosophy doubtless more or less "interpreted," though it remains a fair parallel to Rig Veda x. 129, which has a somewhat similar series. What is most interesting, however, is the fact that here, as often, savages explain the world by natural evolution. Our California Indians do the same.

In the religious thought of the Polynesians, death is an extreme form of sickness. The line is drawn not between life and death but between strength and weakness. A Fiji Islander stands in a tree-top when a member of the family has died and calls to it, "Come back, come back," as if it might return. Elsewhere death is a sleep. To kill is to "put to sleep"; an extinguished fire "sleeps."[1]

Totemism of a peculiar sort is found in Fiji, where a man's father's plants and animals are the man's totems, of

[1] See Dr. W. H. R. Rivers in the *Hibbert Journal*, 1912, p. 393; and A. M. Hocart in *Man*, 1915, No. 5. It is perhaps questionable, however, exactly how the phenomena here should be interpreted. The Chinese also call "come back," and putting to sleep is a Hindu euphemism for killing. The general belief that death is only extreme weakness is an illustration of a common savage idea. Conversely, old men are called "ghosts" by some Polynesians, as having already become pure spirit. Yet only as lacking strength, not as a Buddhist or Yogi becomes, while still alive, a spiritual power.

which he may thus have a number. This is evidently a property-taboo passing into a form of totemism.[1]

II. MANA AND TABOO

Mana (both vowels are short) is inherent power, sometimes spiritual, a Polynesian synonym of our Indian Wakan, Orenda, etc., and a savage equivalent of the Hindu Brahma (power). Taboo (Samoan *tapu,* Hawaiian *kapu*) is a tab or mark indicating that a thing is not *noa* or common, but set apart for private use. A woman is *noa* till married, then she becomes taboo for (sacred to) her husband; if you steal her, you break taboo. Taboo connotes Greek ἅγος and ἅγιος, Latin *sacer,* holy or accursed because awesome. Its sign, a red rag, is virtually a *Noli me tangere.*

The failure to distinguish between holy and devilish, or accursed, lingers long. In Luke xxi. 5, the temple is adorned with *anathēmas,* only a vowel's length from anathĕmas, both indicating something "set up," as devoted, to God or to the Devil, holy or accursed. The Jews say "the Holy Scriptures *defile* the hands," render them liable to cleansing from the awesome touch. So with spirits. What is ghostly is ghastly.

But the notion of taboo is so general and the word itself so thoroughly anglicized that we need only notice some Polynesian exaggerations of taboo and some European exaggeration of the taboo-theory. Although taboo is found everywhere, it is systematically over-stressed in Polynesia. Nowhere else is man so taboo-ridden. Here it can be studied with greatest ease. Let us imagine ourselves thinking *à la* Polynesia.

All things have power; often concealed. Of spirits it is unnecessary to speak; they and theirs are all naturally awesome, sacred, taboo. Even the priests, who serve spirits, are so filled with spiritual power that they may not be touched, nor their food tasted; they must wipe their hands on their own hair or on their own dogs. Not so much lest

[1] See A. M. Hocart in *Man,* 1915, No. 3.

they injure others, but lest their power be captured by others, who might use it against them. Whoever shows great strength has inward power, *mana*. Whoever possesses power naturally rules; his *mana* is extremely dangerous. Whatever is not understood is dangerous. Many animals are dangerous; all mysterious things are dangerous, especially the mysteries of life and death and the spiritual world. It is best not to meddle with them, but to taboo them. So thinks the savage. That *mana* is often virility-power is probable; its complement is the female power. The best defence against magic is a drastic gesture implying that one casts his virility against the magician.[1]

But there is no universal system of taboo, no one way of thinking about it. Scholars who have gone on the theory that there is a world-wide taboo-system have gone wrong. They cannot understand how savages in one part of the world can contradict their system. Why should one savage wash and one refrain from washing after a burial? Why should one savage allow a girl who has reached adult age to mingle freely with people and another shut her up? They suggest absurd theories to account for such discrepancies. The simple truth is that the same situation strikes one savage in one way and another in another way. The girl, for example, has a sudden access of "power"; she may be dangerous, and is confined, so some Polynesians think. Other savages, like the African Warundi, argue that her power adds to the family or tribal power and should be spread abroad, and she is led about to "bless" the community.

A second common error is the one already exposed. It is that *mana* is an universal, almost pantheistic, spiritual power, of which every individual has a share. No unaided savage ever generalized thus. Each individual has a power, not a share of a world-power. There is a tree, a rock, a man, each with power, not a general tree-power, etc.; still less a general tree-rock-man-god power.

[1] See *Man*, 1914, No. 66, and compare the oath by the thigh in Hebrew law.

A third error is that all taboos are religious. But wherever priests and kings are, there religious motives are apt to become political. So it is with taboo. Originally a harvest is tabooed till the first fruits are religiously gathered. The taboo thus becomes a sign to prevent permature harvesting. But, at the same time, the sign of taboo itself, a red rag or something of the sort, is utilized to scare robbers. The private individual acts on this discovery and how much more the priest and the king? They taboo, for their own convenience and for wealth, whatever they wish to keep to themselves. So in the taboo-system we must recognize that same intermixture of religion and cunning which has exalted other priests and kings. The augur winks at his fellow in Polynesia as well as in Rome.[1]

A fourth error is that taboo always implies the fear of a spirit. Waitz, Schultze, and other writers of the last century have made this error and Wundt still acts upon it, to the great detriment of his work.[2] In its most primitive manifestations taboo is either spiritual, *atua tabu,* or non-spiritual, *mana tabu.* In New Zealand these two classes are formally recognized. The spirit or god has a power tabooed; or a man, garden, tree, river, has each in itself a power against which one must guard. In Mikronesia, where primitive taboo has been developed far beyond its original simplicity, taboo is generally one against spirits.

The aim of religious purity to a savage is to keep his own power or spirit, either by guarding against its loss or its weakness, caused by adverse influences. Food-taboos

[1] The exaggeration of this truth leads to the error of Taylor, *Te Ika a Mani,* that all taboo is due to priestly craft.

[2] Wundt, deriving taboo from totemism, explains all morality as due to a fear of the ancestral ghost (in vermin as well as in animals). His work is a good example of taboo extravagance. Wundt teaches for example, that the reason civilized man avoids reptiles and vermin is that he has an inherited dread of his ancestral ghost (located in the vermin). Compare Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie, Mythus und Religion,* Leipzig, 1906, ii. 308. Other modern writers occasionally err in making *mana* always a *spirit*-power (so in *Man,* 1916, No. 46).

are very minute for this reason, but it is not only an *atua*, which might slip in and injure, that one guards against. There is also danger in the food-power, the same power that inheres in nails, hair, blood, etc. Mana is as contagious as small-pox and to be guarded against in the same way. Pure taboo is quite limited; most of the cases cited are really secondary, like using a rag solely to establish ownership. In pure taboo it is usually a question of life and death. Thus blood is life and ground where blood is shed is taboo. Food is life; hence a harvest-taboo. But when a chief taboos his people with the sole object of making the lazy fellows work, that is secondary. Wine was taboo in Egypt because it was blood-like. But the African yam-taboo, like that of some animals in Australia, is purely hygienic and secondary. Indigestion may be a devil, but when the old Australian may not eat pork and his son, of middle age, may eat, it is because one cannot, and one can, digest it.[1] But in taboos of blood, birth, and death there is a real if vague dread of a mysterious potency.

Many simple taboos are due to the twisted logic of the savage mind. A knot is difficult. Hence knots and things like knots, crossed legs or arms, are capable of restrictive influence. Therefore there is a taboo on all such things when there is labour or an illness especially dangerous. Illness is itself a knot and in Scotland one prays to the Devil to loosen the knots of sickness, just as in India one prays to Varuna to "loosen the knots." But a knot is not necessarily evil, since restriction, of excessive rain-fall, etc., may be useful. Such a knot-taboo is more logical than religious; its interpretation is rather magical than spiritual. Name-taboos involve the person; whose name is part of himself. Hence innumerable taboos, either to prevent a person from controlling another whose name is used, or to prevent a person from appearing. In South India, a wife will not

[1] In higher religions, if the pig is associated with the underworld, it becomes taboo from a new association of ideas, with under-world potencies.

name her husband; most Hindus today will not divulge their real names. In Africa this is called the *hlonipa,* "taboo of naming oneself." In Australia there is a secret name, for safety. To prevent sudden appearance, tigers are not called tigers in India, and the Devil is called Old Nick in Scotland. This is not religious in itself; but it may easily have a religious application. Thus in Polynesia the common people were not permitted to know the real name of the great Maori god Io (compare the Hebrew parallel), for the same reason that forbids an African to name his king. It is practically equivalent to boasting that one controls him. In Australia the dead are not named, "Lest they hear themselves called and return," or, as our Indians more courteously say, "No one would stop them on their heavenward way." From name-taboo many common words used as names may become taboo, without any other religious reason.[1]

Marriage taboos are manifold but not all are religious. Brother and sister must marry, in Egypt and Peru, for economic reasons; endogamy often precedes exogamy and marriages are arranged which, to us, seem incestuous; or are prohibited which to us are allowable.[2] Food-taboos, too, are often due merely to food-vows.[3] A kingly taboo cannot be established merely because of Homer's ἴερον μένος, for ἴερος, before meaning "divine," meant strong, in itself a good example of how power is interpreted as holy. Dr. Frazer mistakenly concludes that sentinels were "sacred," because this ἴερος is applied to them.

[1] But it does not follow that linguistic gaps prove taboo. Meringer thus thinks to "prove" taboo, and hence totemism, for the Indo-Europeans, because they have in part lost the word for bear; *Ind. Forsch.* xxi. 296f.

[2] For Frazer's theory that incest is thought to disturb nature (a doubtful conclusion), see his *Psyche's Task* (2 ed. 1913).

[3] Or to other secondary taboo reasons. Thus the Navajo fish-taboo is due to the belief that the Navajo is descended from a fish, not to an original fish-taboo. The Bengal fish-taboo comes from a local rain-god who was once a Mohammedan saint! The Eskimo fish-taboo is purely economic.

Many guesses have been converted into positive assertions in the domain of ancient religions. How much real taboo there was in Nazarite and Essene religion it is now impossible to know. But there is more than enough guess-work in regard to modern religions. Thus we are told that the dirty savage would never wash himself but for taboo, that a new-born baby is washed for taboo, that care for the dead is all taboo-work. But many savages in hot climes bathe for pleasure; so do animals, as they clean themselves. The Sankrit word for cat means a cleanser, and even a cow licks clean its baby; while decaying bodies are repulsive, and in warm climates the third day after death makes a corpse an object to be got rid of, taboo or no taboo.[1] The savage must be given credit for some sense, if not for decency; also for some human nature. Scholars who ascribe to taboo all caste-systems, self-adornment, and even umbrellas, should study man and history. Castes come from dividing political entities and from different occupations. In both cases taboo arises after, not before, the caste. Every savage and even some animals affect shiny things. No savage but loves a silk hat. Umbrellas in India were not carried till late in the historical period and then for the purpose of protecting a king from the sun. Anthropologists find savages whose priests flatter their king by saying he carries an umbrella to protect the sun from His Majesty, and the anthropologist, who is often as guiltless of history as the savage, believes this.

As a matter of form some taboos are temporary, some permanent, as well as primary and secondary. Temporary taboo may be a mere matter of precaution. If a stranger arrives, he is temporarily tabooed till the visited tribe see if he be spiritually dangerous, a temporary quarantine against unknown *mana*. Of this sort are public taboos set on a river or wood for special reasons for a limited time and then removed by Karakia. Permanent taboo is that, for exam-

[1] This is the usual time-limit. Forty days may elapse in a cold climate, as with the Scythians.

ple, of a priest or a king's house. Many taboos arise from conservatism and the principle that what is custom is holy. Taboos surrounding old Irish kings are simply ancient customs sacro-sanct because of immemorable antiquity, not because they reflect original taboo. It is taboo to break the custom; but that is another matter. The Hindu king was told by law when to go to bed; but being an Aryan he never obeyed the rule enough to have a taboo created. On the other hand, the Egyptian king so regularly went to bed when he was told that his twenty-fifth descendant regarded it as a divine law and had a bed-hour taboo which he feared to break.

More important are moral origins reverting to taboo. The taboo becomes a categorical imperative. Theft as breaking taboo becomes legally sinful. Yet here also the anthropologist has exaggerated. He professes to derive all moral laws from taboo. Adultery, murder, theft are not (he says) sins *per se;* they are sinful only as violations of taboo. But does a dog recognize taboo? Does he not punish the dog that steals his bone? Is not murder, the slaying of a member of the group, avenged from self-protection or sentiment (the tigress slays the murderer of her young) more than from taboo? Does only a taboo-fearer kill the man who takes his wife? Such taboos, against theft, murder, and adultery, exist, but because the act is an injury, that is, a wrong.[1]

Dread and dislike begin in the lowest organisms. When such an organism in the biological laboratory shifts its position from blue light to red, the foundation for taboo is laid. Higher up, man shifts from what he dislikes or fears, blood or death, imagining in it some mysterious potency. Then he begins to create spirit in things and avoids those

[1] A missionary once asked a savage to explain 'wrong.' He explained: "When another man steals my wife." "Excellent," said the missionary, "and now explain 'right.'" He explained: "When I steal another man's wife." Morality's basis is personal advantage; only a wider outlook can widen the concepts right and wrong.

he dislikes, namely the unknown or uncanny. Even before the organism invents the idea of spirit, it shies at the unknown, as a horse shies at loose paper, instinctively avoiding all ill, which later becomes evil. Battle-blood alarms no savage; but blood appearing in consequence of processes not understood calls for taboo, which at bottom is an expression of dislike (often merely because unlike leads to dislike) or of fear. It may or may not be religious. Medhatithi, an old Hindu commentator on divine law, shows his sanity when, in explaining taboos against going to bed with wet feet and swimming a river, he remarks, "not of religious moment." That is, taboo is practical and may be religious. Taboo did not originate ethics, as Dr. Jevons has tried to persuade us, but it has legalized and strengthened morality. It has done this, as man has risen from fear of a mysterious power to fear of a more defined spirit-power, by eventually putting the fear of God into the sinner.

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CHAPTER SIX

RELIGIONS OF NORTH AMERICA

THE ESKIMOS. CENTRAL TRIBES. CULT-HEROES. TOTEMISM. RITUAL OF SOUTHERN TRIBES

In America the highest culture was attained midway between North and South; in the North the closest approach to civilization was made by the much-encircled Iroquois, who had an especial aptitude for political and ethical development, resulting in the Confederacy of Nations and a superior moral code. The mental friction produced by all-round antagonism often seems to engender intellectual fire, of which a clearer religion is a manifestation.[1] The missionaries asserted that theft and lying were practically unknown vices among the Iroquois. Their political superiority is unquestioned. If they had not been interfered with by Europeans they would probably have established an Aztec-like hegemony over Eastern America. Conversely, the outlying parts of the country, represented by Eskimos and Athapascans or, in South America, by Fuegians and Patagonians, present the lowest extreme of intellectual and religious savagery. There seems to be no racial difference to account for this, as the whole country since the Stone Age has been occupied by intermingled long-heads and round-heads. Some have fancied that aboriginal tribes used Atlantic stepping-stones and came from Europe. More probable is the theory that the country was settled from Asia by the North West passage. But wherever the people came from, there is no certainty as to the provenance

[1] Compare the intellectual superiority of mid-placed groups, such as those of Athens and Saxony, in their respective periods.

of their religions. We must accept them as American till stronger evidence for foreign extraction has been shown than the landing of a Japanese junk in Mexico (in 1845), the resemblance of totem-poles to Malay idols, and the similarity between Peruvian and Egyptian monuments and heliolatry. Parallels are always pleasing but they often delude.

To begin with the outer circle. The Eskimos appear to have reached Greenland as emigrants from Alaska by the way of Hudson's Bay, or, as some think, they came from the latter locality. These lowest Americans, allied to the Aleuts, are about on the religious level of the Fuegians, somewhat higher than the Andamanese and Australians, somewhat lower than the Siberian Shamanists. They have no idols, no God, and no theory of creation; only the Greenlanders say that woman was created from man's thumb. There is no real worship of sun, moon, stars, or any animal. Bancroft, speaking of the Westerners, says, "Their whole religion may be summed up as a vague fear, finding its expression in witchcraft."[1] Our name for the Eskimos means omophagous, an Algonkin epithet; they call themselves Innuit, the "people" (compare Ainu, etc.). Brinton thinks they were the omophagous people who lived about 1300 in what is now Rhode Island and Virginia.

Witchcraft is at least characteristic of the Eskimos. Their witch-doctor, Angakok (Tungak) chiefly detected wrong-doers; but he was not respected nor feared like his African brother; nor was he a religious agent of the people. He acquired power by the help of animals seen in dreams or of spirits, but he could not control vital forces. In Greenland, women also acted as Shamans, but in general these proto-priests were men. Evil spirits expelled at the end of winter are the objects of their special regard. Women go from house to house and stab these demons (Tuña), as Greeks routed demons. The spirits escape through a hole

[1] Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, San Francisco, 1882, iii. 151.

and are then corralled near a fire, around which sit men, who hear the charges against them and shoot them into the fire. The men then brush the infection off and rest easy till next year. Spirits are audible when ice-floes crack (noise-spirits), a crude form of phenomenal gods.

But ghosts also disturb the Eskimos. They seek to enter warm houses when winter begins, as in Teutonic myth, and he whom they catch dies. Human ghosts chase men; canine ghosts chase dogs. They bring all sorts of ills. There are also rock-spirits, hill-spirits, etc. A sort of animal-mythology has grown up in some parts of the North and the Central Eskimos have a Sedna, a spirit of ocean who controls seals, etc., which are her amputated fingers. Some Northern Eskimos believe in Tornassuk, a spirit who rules all spirits. Sedna is a sort of goddess. She supplies seals and, if they do not come, the wizard must find out who has offended her. She rises from the ground and is thought of as mistress of Adlivan, the underworld. To her and to her father go the dead. Yet, like any other demon, she is expelled when she comes from her place below; a festival celebrates her retreat. But, as she is liable to rise again at any time, the Eskimos wear amulets to protect themselves from her. All spirits are propitiated by gifts of food and clothes. This is the only sacrifice, except that an atonement, introduced by a confession, is made to Sedna, when a no-work taboo has been violated. She is thus far a moral spirit.

The brave go to a happy world and so do unfortunate women — a reward of valour and a compensation. Religious motives and beginnings are thus not unknown; but magic predominates, while sympathetic magic is important. Ducks and ptarmigans, represented by youths born in summer and winter, respectively, have a tug of war and the victory decides the coming season, whether mild or severe.

Labrador Eskimos recognize the great evil Death as a spirit. Each individual, man or animal, has an owner-spirit and a ghost-spirit, which, when Death seizes him, enters another body; but also a third spirit which may go

to another world or be annihilated. Each body-part has its own "soul." There are no really ethical spirits; they are all bad or liable to become bad (hurtful) when offended. The souls of the brave, dancing as northern lights, are seen in the sky, where the moon hunts, but is not worshipped. Some Eskimos ascribe rain to urine from a "sky-woman." But there is no uniformity in belief or reports, since some are said to regard the sky as a cold place and the underworld as warm and comfortable, more desirable than the sky as a future residence. In the East, guardian spirits give the wizards power to mediate between men and spirits (a faint approach to Shamanism). The dead are buried anywhere; disregard of dress and hair and ceremonial idleness are the mourning-rites. Song is common but not religious. Danish, Moravian, and Russian missionaries have destroyed or modified primitive belief among the Eskimos of Greenland, Labrador, and Alaska. The beliefs explained above, unless otherwise specified, are those of a more general character. Totemism has been found among them in a restricted area.

The primitive animism and undeveloped Shamanism of these Eskimos are the underlying religious characteristics of most of the North American tribes. In the West, the Athapascan tribes have a crude belief in evil spirits; southward they borrowed a higher culture. These tribes, notably the Navajo and the allied, not parent, stem of Apaches, settled in New Mexico in the fourteenth century, and in the seventeenth over-ran the Pueblos, from whom they took some cultural elements. Other northern tribes believe in sacred animals. Thus from the Columbia Thlinkits the cult of the Raven as master of life (or creator) has spread to the Plains. The Pueblos, Zunis, and Hopi, related to Cliff-dwellers and Mound-builders, belong to the Shoshoneans, as do the Diggers and Comanches, and are connected through the western tribes with the Nahuans-Aztecs, with whom they have in common an advanced zoolatry and nature-worship. An inner zone is made by the Siouan tribes (southern Atlantic states to the Mississippi, Crows and Da-

kotas), broken into by the Apalachians or Muskhogean Creeks, Seminoles, and Chocktaws of the South and by the Louisiana Natchez. Within this zone again, all was Algonkin from beyond the Canadian line to Tennessee and from Montana to Maine, except as the Algonkins themselves enclosed the Iroquois, whose earliest settlements extended along the basin of the St. Lawrence. The Algonkins included the northern Chippeways (not Athapascan), the western Cheyenne and Blackfeet, the Sacs, Foxes, Delaware Leni Lenape, and Shawnee, besides New England tribes, and are represented in history by Black Hawk, Pocohontas (Powhatan), and King Philip. The Iroquois included the southern Cherokees, western Hurons, Susquehannocks, and lesser tribes besides the Five Nations [1] of the Confederacy, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas, Onondagas, and Senecas. They occupied New York, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and shared with the Siouans the Carolinas and Virginia.

The ruder savages, both North and South, have in common a vague conception of souls, a belief in ghosts and in animal-spirits and in the same nature-spirits recognized by the Greenlanders. Gods of higher phenomena are generally lacking in the outer circle, or are borrowed, but demons of wind, rain, and sea, for example, are recognized by the Caribs, and in Cuba the Tainos even had a sun-cult. The Floridas and Iroquois also revered the sun. The Siouan tribes, within the savage zone of Apaches and Comanches, have a primitive fire-cult, religious ritual, and perhaps phallicism; [2] while the still more advanced Algonkins have an elaborate culture-myth, and prayers for mercy and for forgiveness. Reasoning and talking beasts, lycanthropy, anthropopathic vegetables, rocks, and rivers, belong in common to all the Northern tribes, the higher culture retaining the

[1] Afterwards six, as the Tuscaroras of Carolina joined the Confederacy in 1712–15. The Wyandots (Huron-Eries) were first opposed and then subject to the Iroquois or "Iroquoians."

[2] The medicine-bags contained phallic material; but the phallus is not the object of a special cult.

lower. Tutelary spirits as protecting gods were recognized by the higher tribes, not as always kind but as amiably disposed if not thwarted, to whom thanksgiving was made.[1] But there was no fixed pantheon.

The Caribs, from whose name comes the word cannibal, were only one of many bands of American cannibals. Cannibalism here, however, was not religious. Like the savages of the Amazon and of Fuego, the lowest races ate their friends and foes as an incidental food. In Darien men even ate their wives and children, and bred children to be eaten. There is here no "religious" thought of preserving individual or tribal strength; human beings were eaten as animals would be eaten. In the North, however, sacrifices were made of human victims, and after a war foes were eaten by the Iroquois and Algonkins, not merely as a food-supply, but from a magical motive, with a distinct idea of absorbing power. Thus the Pottawottomies, as late as 1812, cut up and distributed an Englishman to be eaten by the tribes as a magical sustenance. At the same time it is clear that even the Iroquois were on occasion mere irreligious cannibals. The name Mohawk implies as much.

Idolatry appears at its highest in the huge idols of the Aztecs (below); but it is not unknown among the Amazons, and in the Antilles there were grotesque but real parallels to the ancestral figures or tablets of the Chinese. Some of the northern tribes have a cult of tree-trunks resembling a man standing upright, a sort of xoonon.[2] Totem-poles also are *eidola* of supposed ancestors. Some of the Plains Indians had "dolls" (idols) and painted the evil spirit on one side of the wigwam and the good spirit on the other, to be safe on all sides.

Totemism in America is of secondary character and offers no solution of the problem of its origin. This perhaps lies

[1] Francis Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, Boston, 1879, p. 315. In expressing thanks there is a (pluti) prolongation of the cry, with resolved first vowel.

[2] Compare Réville, *Religions des peuples non civilisés*, Paris, 1883, and Catlin's *North American Indian*, London, 1845.

in the animal as food-supply, hence regarded as parent and a divinity; at first eaten, then sanctified.[1] The word is said to mean "token." Properly it indicates a relationship between a human and an animal group. The individual animal is the helpful brother of the man and is of superhuman ability, often regarded as from the same ancestor, who is revered, but hardly as a god. Yet the animal may be revered without being a totem and the totem may be a mere badge. Magic ceremonies for procuring food among the Plains Indians are not totemistic. The great Iroquois and Algonkin tribes show no sure examples of totemism. The Algonkin Foxes had seven totems, but did not descend from any of them. The Cherokee killed his totem freely, though with a show of ceremony. The Pottawottomies ate their totem. Domestication of animals (the dog and bison) did not result in totemism. Among the Navajo and Apache tribes there are only faint traces of the practice. In general, in better organized communities and where food was easily obtained, there is less trace of totemism. What takes its place in the North West and among the Siouan tribes is the animal as a personal guardian. A young man selects an animal, guided to his selection by fasting and prayer, and after killing it regards the species as a totemic animal. But there is no natural relationship. So the Yukon Eskimo boy has a private guardian spirit-beast, as the Peruvian has a "brother" beast-image. The Siouan religious societies bear animal names, but their Dakotas and Omahas show only a possible survival of real totemism in tracing descent from certain animals. Vegetable totems occur in the Middle West and East, but they are not "relatives" of the clans. About the only tribes having a cult of the dead as tutelary spirits are the Californians, Dakotas, and Zunis. A clan-ancestor may be an animal, mythological, not real with preposterous attributes and he may be pleased to see

[1] In the lowest totemism the totem is eaten regularly; then it is eaten ceremonially; then not eaten at all. See above, p. 52; also a paper by the writer in the *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, 38, p. 145f, 1918.

his descendants dance in skins like his, but this is an honour paid to a grandparent, not a general "ancestor-worship." The Redskin dead as a class are not worshipped with such a dance. So in South America there may be an ancestral clan-god, an animal or star, who is "danced" while ancestors in general are ignored. Neither fear of ghosts nor a decent regard for the lately deceased is ancestor-worship; nor is general ancestor-worship proved by skin-clad or masked dancers.

Totems favoured in Alaska are bear, wolf, whale, and frog. To the east all sorts of animals become totems but are also revered without being totems, such as the vulture, a California totem, raven, crane, owl, as lord of the dead, wolf, hare, and snake. Serpents, like pigeons, represent souls of the dead and Hurons and Algonkins regard the rattler or other "grandfather" snakes as their kin. Mound-serpents in the south-west represent tutelary earth-snakes. The Creek earth-snake, which was adopted by the Hurons, wore a gem on its head and its "horns" were big medicine. Conspicuous is the rain-serpent (lightning) as a fertility-demon associated with the thunder-bird, which Algonkin and Iroquois made into thunder-folk. Dogs were sacrificed to the Lake-serpent. Mythical birds make the wind.

Oneida means the place of the holy stone. Sleeping giants and profile rocks created historical myths, but, apart from these, there were potent stones just as rivers, waterfalls, etc., had each its potency and were revered with food and tobacco offerings, presented to the unknown power called Oki, Wakanda, or Orenda. To this class belongs the Manito, which in the East was sometimes a spirit but was generally synonymous with the vaguer Dakota Wakanda.

There is in the North no philosophical religion till, among the Zuni, Awonawilona "evolves from himself the universe," and he is probably not wholly a native god. The powers spiritual were controlled largely by medicine-men, who assisted the chiefs at the festivals of moon and maize,

and at dances for war, crops, and hunting. Even the advanced Hopi, who were related to the Zuni and revered sun, moon, fire, rain, and mother Earth, had no Supreme Spirit. Still less did the northern tribes have this idea.

It is a common belief that the Algonkins and Iroquois revered a Great Spirit as God. But what happened in Africa happened in America. The good missionaries took Tantum and Squantum as "good and evil" spirits. But Tantum is merely "a great spirit," Manit, and Squantum is an angry spirit. Among the Passamaquoddies this "dualism" expressed itself in the form of an Evil Wolf and a "good-natured Liar," a clownish spirit who deceived his foes like Ulysses and like him got a reputation for it. Yet this Liar, Kuloskap, has also been enlisted as a proof that the natural Indian had a God. Natural Indian, because the Indian of today, especially when he is a college-graduate, is no more a natural expression of Redskin belief than Mr. Batchelor's Ainu expresses that savage's original conception of spirit. The Redskin, it is said, "sought the solitude and there communed with God." When an Indian sought the solitude for spiritual aid it was to get a vision of some animal that would serve as a totem or to consult with the Great Hare, or some other culture-hero, or to drum up weather. This Kuloskap, for example, was father and model of the "drummers" (wizards), who could govern the weather, cast spells, sink below earth's surface, become serpents, and in this guise approach women. The eastern Algonkins believed in any number of small spirits; they saw a spirit in every tree and waterfall, but, till the missionaries discovered him, they never conceived of God.[1]

In general, real gods are few in the North. One tribe usually has four or five, the Four Winds and an animal-

[1] The two Algonkin spirits called Mechee and Gechee, who live respectively in a cave-hell and a solar-boat heaven, and the Two Brothers, whose son guides souls to hell and is the divine son of a "woman from heaven" are a mixture of native and missionary ideas.

spirit regarded as the ancestral hero.[1] Totemism, zoolatry, and Shamanism characterize the cult; polytheism and advanced solar worship belong to the South. Real ancestor-worship is not a marked American trait. The cult of a Michabo or Hiawatha has long enough been mistaken for the "worship of a Supreme Spirit of Light."

These two beings are typical. Michabo was not a light-god but an idealized animal; while Hiawatha (Iroquoian) was possibly a real man, though also idealized. Creator-animals, however, are sometimes more than one, even in the same tribe. Thus the Mohegans had three, bear, deer, and wolf. Michabo of the Algonkins resembles the culture-god of Mexico, snake, sun, and hero all in one. Stories of creation result in many myths of origin, several deluge-tales, and a general theory of troglodyte ancestors, which last may contain historical truth. The Shawnees are the only Indians who think they came from another land, led across a flood by the Turtle. Myths of creation led to many religious spectacles of dramatic form. Direct descent from a dog was claimed by the Digger Indians. Similar origins are ascribed to various tribes, but the totem, as already explained, is not identical with the ancestor.

In matrilinear tribes certain deities belong to women, who have the charge of sundry rites, as among the Iroquois.[2] Tutelary powers are opposed to those who use their Orenda for an evil purpose, that is, disadvantageous to the individual or tribe. Sacrifice thus becomes an attempt to secure power; communion with the deity is an occult rite for the same end.

The priesthood of the Indians ranged from medicine-man

[1] For example, Michabo. It is this spirit that Dr. Brinton regarded as "god of light" and on the strength of which he postulated moral dualism.

[2] The Iroquois were especially regardful of women; property was inherited through them; they had charge of rites in connexion with the earth-power and the "wise women," as in Germany, were consulted by the chiefs. The murder of a woman cost twice that of a man.

to chief pontiff, according to the general culture of the tribe. Among the ruder northern tribes there was no regular corporation of priests, only irregular jugglers and medicine-men. The Nez Percé among the Shahaptians had hereditary priests, but these Indians were more cultivated than the surrounding Chinooks, although without agriculture and living in communal houses like the Chinooks. Among the Pueblos, on the other hand, there was a war-chief and a peace-chief or priest, the latter being assisted by magicians, and cult-societies having mythic traditions and a religious pharmacopia. Among the Muskhogeans, the Choktaws had a priesthood handed down from father to son without restriction, whereas the Nez Percé priests were both male and female and the priesthood was limited to priests who gave favourable prognostications. The war-chief was ostensibly the master of the medicine-man; but in times of religious activity he never did anything without the latter's consent. The Algonkin Shawnees kept the priesthood in one family or totem clan, as did the Iroquois Cherokees, till the insolence of one family, the Nicotani, thus honoured, became so great that the tribe slaughtered every member of the family and handed over the priesthood to another. The Chippeway (Algonkins) had a college of elders, but it was more a historical society than a religious priesthood, though it contained priests. The nearest approach to a departmental priesthood in the North was the distinction made by the Algonkins between the conjurer, Meda, the prophet, Jossakid, and the ordinary medicine-man, Waubeno; and the distinction made by the Iroquois between men and women as priests or medicine-men of spirits in general and priestesses of earth-powers.

In the cult, the most universal elements were prayer, smoke, sacrifice, fast, bath, and dance. Prayer accompanied initiations and was exercised on ordinary occasions, when offerings were made or wishes were directed to the gods. It was often no more than a series of ejaculations, sometimes a silent meditation. The simplest sacrifice was

the daily offering of smoke, which lent also a religious force to the peace-pipe. The Indian offered four puffs to the Four Winds or Directions, which, with the national Hare, were the only real gods recognized by the eastern Algonkins in 1626. The god of war was worshipped by the Iroquois with human victims (as were the ghosts) and such a god was recognized also by the Pueblos.[1] Ordinary sacrifices were those of food or dogs and other animals.

Cult and mythology are influenced by the number four, which represents the cardinal points or four winds as beneficent spirits of the sky in antithesis to earth. A Siouan boy is placed upon a stone representing earth and then the priest prays to each of these Four Gods of Weal in his behalf. Four is a holy number with the Sioux, Algonkins, etc. Clan-divisions and religious dances are found among the Northern Indians in fours and eights; four or eight ancestral beings are named by the Navajos, Shawnees, Iroquois, etc.

The fast and bath often went together, purgation, sometimes medicinal, by fasting being followed by a ceremonial bath, either in the form of a sweat-bath for the individual or a bath in a lake or river by a tribe at certain seasons. This religious exercise, to expel demons, was also medicinal. Disease and evil went away on the water. After burial, infection was washed away by the Navajo. The Cherokees, like the Aztecs, Mayas, and Peruvians, had a form of baptism, when the name was given. Baptismal sprinkling, that the child might be "born again," horrified early missionaries. Water-cult, apart from the bath, is universal (worship of stream, waterfall, etc.). But one aspect of water, the Fountain of Youth, was not indigenous; only healing springs were known.

[1] The Pueblos were influenced by Spanish and perhaps by Mexican culture and their religion is probably not all native. They worshipped a god of light, of war, earth-gods, sky-gods, a goddess of love (Mexican?), and master of life, as a group of great gods ranged over countless lesser spirits of nature (as well as ghosts).

The fast also introduced the dance, producing an ecstatic state. The dance was of universal religious application; it was accompanied by song, the latter occasionally recognized as praise of a god, but usually of historical character, when not a mere ululation. Religious dances, known in the North on all festive and warlike occasions, were elaborated in the South, but even in the North they led to dramatic shows, such as Penn describes as "antics," that is, round dances with song and pantomime. The Pueblo Cachinas were regular dramatic dances, representing creation and other serious mysteries, performed by masked actors (priests) with a public chorus. Exorcising, conjuring, and dancing all went together among the Algonkins, whose tribal hero Michabo was adept at all these performances.

The cult as a whole is apotropaic but, at the same time, propitiatory and largely for the purpose of gain. As propitiatory is to be regarded the simple prayer or offering with which the Indian reacts to the supposed presence of a possibly inimical power, on sight of a new phenomenon of impressive character. For gain, prayer and sacrifice are offered to tutelary powers not naturally inimical. In fasting and prayer together there is also the feeling of entering into communion with the spirit, especially a totem-spirit. It is difficult to determine whether religious expression is ethical; thanksgiving appears only in the highest forms of native religion. Some certain expression thereof is attributed to the Iroquois, but the ruder savages, those on the western coast, do not know what it is to be thankful even to man, much less to spirits. Probably the highest expression is the prayer for mercy and help, e. g. of the Algonkin; or, as *do ut des,* of the Iroquois Huron: "Spirit of this place, we give thee tobacco; so help us, save us from the enemy, bring us wealth, bring us back safely."

American eschatology ranges all the way from agnosticism to the joyous certainty of the Sioux, who believe in three souls and a heaven

Where game is always plentiful
And winter knows no cold,
Where trees will bear perennial fruit,
And squaws will never scold.

Occasionally there is found a tribe without notion of future life. Thus an Oregon tribe (Pend d'Oreilles) believes in the guardian spirit and in a divine old woman, the cause of all their woes (also a belief of India and Yezo), but has no word for soul and no conception of a future life. The soul to most Indians is "shadow" or "breath," but vital forces or souls were often multiplied. The Siouan "third soul" either went to the heaven described above or to a temporary hell or purgatory, where trees bear only icicles. Thence returning, however, it came to earth and received a new chance, but, if again wicked, returned to hell. The more civilized Algonkins and Iroquois believed in two souls, one remaining at the grave and one going to the (Huron) Happy Hunting Ground, unless it was a weak, evil soul, when it failed to get anywhere. Some Oregon tribes had a soul in every part of the body and the island Caribs likewise imagined a soul in every pulsation.

The spirit took four days to reach its goal and was lighted thither by torches, lit by the mourners, which also served to terrify evil spirits (like our corpse candles). Bones were collected with a view to resurrection. Buried articles were broken, to "kill" them, as in India. The passage to the next world among the Hopi was by the underground Colorado cañon, out of which the tribe originally emerged. Often there is a log to cross over a swamp and automatically the coward (sinner) falls into the mud and disappears for ever, while the brave goes to glory. The parted way was marked for some Algonkins by a lightning-flash and by the appearance of a spirit to lead the good to bliss (cf. the Persian Bridge). In the West, the Athapascans suspended the dead on poles; the Chilcoots buried, and the Babines cremated the corpse. Some of the Plains Indians also placed the dead on

trees or a staging. The Algonkins burned the great, knowing that they would go to heaven; but doubtful or ordinary people were buried, that they might come back after staying with the shades and, finding their growth-soul ghost amid their bones, be reincarnated in human form. It was this growth-soul that was eaten by foes for nutrition of soul in themselves. The soul-strength in the hair was thus carried off by scalping; the scalped brave being the slave of the scalper in the next life. If mean shades were not drowned in mud they led the life suitable to cowards and diseased people. The Huron's bridge to the next world was guarded by a dog; a common notion, based on the obvious fact that dogs eat the dead. Algonkins and Dakotas (Siouan) believed in a snake-bridge to heaven, perhaps the Milky Way. Coast-dwelling Athapascans thought a boat conveyed souls. Animal metempsychosis after death was not usually recognized, though always possible; in life a medicine-man could become an animal (were-wolf). The Siouan Dakotas believed that, to become a first-class wizard, one must have been reincarnated four times in the same body, "dreaming of gods between times," when borne about by winds, and thus learning occult secrets. In this way they also imbibed the sacred language of the spirits.[2]

The general marks of mourning were mutilations, breaking of finger-joints, gnashing, discarding of ornaments, blackening the face, sacrifice of property, and putting clay upon the head. The hair was unbound, sometimes cut off and thrown into the grave. Hair-cult is a marked feature.[1]

[1] All the way from Algonkin to Aztec the wizard affects a secret language described as "affected." Probably it was like the Hindu "god-language" (old dialect), but also it was enunciated in a "bird-voice," an unintelligible murmur. Generally, a divine voice is a low confused sound, not like the voice of gods in India, who shout with a deafening noise, unless they are disguised, probably because they are still natural phenomena.

[2] Hair is an index of vigour, vitality, ability. Hence the Mandan (Siouan) with the longest hair became chief. Horse-hairs were sometimes utilized to lengthen a man's own hair and aid him in securing leadership.

To insure life it was buried in deep vegetation or hung upon trees. Widows mourned by cutting off their hair, eating little, and screaming a good deal. Some tribes slaughtered dogs and slaves at the grave.

It will be advantageous in conclusion to turn from the general or universal characteristics of American religion to a more special consideration of some higher groups. As we have seen, in the case of the Iroquois, to gain Orenda (spirit-power) is the object of sacrifice. Tutelary powers are thus implicitly opposed to spirits using Orenda for evil. The festivals of light and of maize first drive away sin (evil) and then induce weal. The sacrifice with a dog is for the purpose of revitalizing the powers of life; hence too the old fire is renovated. The god of life is at the same time the god of vegetation and in Iroquois religion he stands opposed to the god of winter and death. A number of gods are solely nature-powers, Wind, Dawn, Fire-dragon, etc. From such a religion we can draw but one conclusion, that nature as exhibited in phenomena is deified by savages, who do actually feel themselves encompassed and protected by nature-spirits, with whom man may become allied and with whom he may commune. The Cherokees (Iroquois) may be described as polytheistic zoolatrists, perhaps totemic, who, while they recognized an antithesis of good and evil powers, knew nothing of an Evil Spirit as opposed to a Supreme Spirit, till taught otherwise by the whites. They had no idea of God, Devil, Heaven, or Hell as ethical conceptions. They had tribal gods living above the visible sky, but these were neither good nor evil. They connect closely with the Aztecs in believing in animal types as divinities and interpreting nature in animal terms, the lightning being a horned serpent, the hawk, dog, and spider as divinities being archetypical types of the corresponding actual animals, and the rabbit being an ideal spirit. Further, they resemble the Aztecs in worshipping elemental gods, sun, fire, water, etc., and natural objects such as stones, and in ascribing divine nature to a plant (ginseng), while

they regarded as a Red Man the phenomenon of lightning-thunder.[1]

Of the Algonkins sufficient has been said in general; but some traits of the Cheyenne may be noticed, as the sun-dance here gives a vivid picture of that mixture of prayer and magic which is found in most fertility rites. It also shows that the cult of the sun in this form is a cult of phe nomena, not of ghosts. The rite unites war and fertility The sun-dance is to reanimate nature, vegetal and animal. This is and always has been the chief religious rite of the Indians; it may be called Nature's renascence. The rite of the Cheyenne is not, like that of the Siouans, a tribal, but an individual act, a vow fulfilled in return for a danger escaped. Its ceremonial constituents are the pipe, dance, song, and sweat-bath, aided by the rattle, drum, and paint. The rite is one of sympathetic magic but is united with a call for divine assistance. Thus, at the Fifth Paint, the priest spreads the sacrificial straw, or sage-brush bunches, in four heaps around the altar and in one for the sun. The four are of course for the direction-spirits. On these dances the patron (maker of the New Lodge of Life), praying to the Four and to the sun, while others sing and offerings are made; in conclusion they give thanks (to the gods). The same spirit infuses the general dance of the people, who dance through sundry songs till they are reeling and staggering in an effort to attain to the Four Gods of direction. They break the fast with purification by purgation and a sweat-bath, and with the ritual pipe. Painted lines on the body represent sun, moon, and stars and are "roads of prayer" to the heart. Torture by suspension is now practised in a modified form by the Cheyenne; formerly it was undoubtedly the custom to swing with the sun; the object of the whole rite being to perpetuate the life of the tribe, as a dramatic representation of creation or rather re-creation,

[1] Their religious-medicinal "literature" was reduced to writing by a native, "Sequoyah," in 1821. These Cherokees are southern Iroquois of Virginia (now removed).

to renew life in answer to the prayer of him who has vowed the rite in the name of the tribe. It is the Great (Medicine) Spirit that answers this prayer. The rite was taught them of old by their culture hero.

As we approach Mexico we come nearer to the cult and belief of the tribes of Central and Southern America. Among the ceremonies of the Hopi are to be observed the rites at the winter solstice: maize, chewed first (saliva as strength),[1] is put into a bowl containing heart-powder and other ingredients; meal is cast into the air, like smoke, for an offering to deities; asperging, smoke, fast, song, dance, and prayer make the rite. The dance is here widdershins, against the sun, because the dancer heads to the place of departed spirits. Masks with frog-figures for fertility are worn by men dramatically suggesting human fertility scenes; the god of generation appears decked with corn and rain- and sun-signs with actual vegetables attached, around whom dance the group. Drums, whistles, rattles, and crook entice rain; willow-wands with feathers are fastened to or placed near animals and trees "for increase." The four direction-spirits are represented by colours, North, yellow; West, green; South, red; East, white; but "above" and "below" are here added (black and variegated). Corn and rain-rites here prevail, not ghost-rites, of which there is scarcely a trace, except food placed at the grave. Symbolism remains from magic (smoke as a cloud, drenching with water). Like Mexican belief is that in the Plumed Serpent, the male counterpart of Mother Earth, a god of the underworld; and that in the ancestral culture hero. Peculiar and interesting is the phenomenon of paired gods, each male having its female form or being androgynous, rarely two males; but, as in Mexico, there are two brother suns. Such a pair, as ancestors of the race, is worshipped; but the cult

[1] Thus in the preparation of the Peruvian intoxicant *acca*, the maize is first chewed by women, then boiled and fermented (the saliva is "medicinal"). Markham, *Incas of Peru*, London, 1911, p. 127.

of an originating pair of this sort by no means implies a general "worship of the souls of the dead," as Fewkes thinks.[1] Noticeable too is the Hopi idea of the sky as a bird-man or bird-snake. Sacrifice is made mainly to deities, as in Mexico, and Southern also is the form of ritual purification. These elements unite or bridge the religions of North and South, as the Algonkin sun-rite of torture and the Siouan swing-rite, to strengthen the sun, lead to Aztec heliolatry.

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[1] *Journal of Am. Folklore,* xi. 194.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RELIGIONS OF MEXICO, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA

Cultural centres are found in Mexico, Yucatan, Guatemala, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru; their interrelation is not certain. An opinion widely disseminated is that they were originally independent growths and that later some of them united to form a new syncretistic religion. Others imagine external influence imported across the ocean. A third opinion is that each of these local religions has been more or less influenced by immigration from the north, affected by, and in turn affecting, the native local religion. The Guatemala Quichés were related to the Yucatan Mayas, who seem in turn to be remotely connected with the Indians of the Antilles and the Louisiana Natchez, as the Bahama Indians are related to the littoral Brazilians and Venezuelans. The Mayas had old settlements about Vera Cruz and elsewhere in Mexico. On the western coast, a branch of the Shoshoneans appears to have drifted south in successive waves of immigration, until, ascending the Mexican table-lands, they pressed back the anterior Mayan culture. These savage invaders were the Nahuans, a branch of whom is represented later by the Aztecs. They absorbed more or less of the older culture called Toltec, either Nahuan or that of the Maya (Totonac or Huaxtecan on the eastern coast) and their advent may be referred to about the sixth century A. D. But the ruder Nahuans (Chichimec) were absorbed by the Aztec confederacy in the fifteenth century. In the western part of Mexico the Zapotec, like the Mixtec, represent a pre-Aztec civilization (Nahuan or Mayan). From this western coast it is possible that emigrants by sea affected the culture of the coast of Ecuador and Peru.

Maya (Quiché) civilization can be traced back to 400, possibly 200 A. D.[1] and is represented by the culture of Vera Cruz, Copan in Honduras, Quiriga in Guatemala, and Mayapan in Yucatan. It here includes the allied Quiché culture. Thus the same god appears with different names. Tohil is a Quiché culture-god appearing as a thunder-god but corresponding to the Votan of Tabasco and to the Yucatan Kukulkan, who in turn is the literal equivalent of the Aztec Quetzalcoatl, the "feathered serpent," a culture-hero deified and identified with the god of peaceful civilization. In Maya tradition, Kukulkan was a wise man who led his people and finally departed from Mayapan in Yucatan in a western direction, that is, to Mexico. He is said to have come to Chichen Itza and then to have founded a new town (Mayapan) and built a great temple (Chakanputan), after framing laws and making the wonderful calendar, which still remains as a monument of Mayan intelligence. His symbols, bird and serpent, unite the ideas of air and water (the serpent as water and fertilizing power) into one conception of light and life, as a bird alone regularly represents the Yucatan sun-god and a snake the water-god.

Even more important is the Mayan "father of gods and men," who came from the East and appears as a god of healing as well as of creating. This was Itzamna, whose spouse was Ixchel, the Rainbow, goddess of birth and medicine. Itzamna was later identified with the Eastern Sun and represented life and knowledge. He was the archpriest and inventor of writing and books. Next in importance stand the gods of agriculture. There was a maize-deity, from whose head sprouted corn, and four giants or gods of agriculture supported the sky. The agricultural deities were more important than in Mexico, though of kindred sort. They were the great Chac and several subordinate little Chacs. Like Tlaloc in Mexico, Chac was first of all a thunder-god. Another fertility god of the Mayas

[1] S. G. Morley, *Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1915, thinks that Mayan civilization was "fairly on its feet" by 200 A. D.

steals maize, as does Tlaloc, and like Tlaloc the Maya gods of this class carry axes, symbol of thunder-gods, and are associated with the (also Northern) rain-serpent.

A marked feature of Mayan religion is the number of goddesses, who, as in Celtic religion, appear as patronesses of arts, as of jade-culture, of fabric-colouring, etc., as well as patronesses of hunting and even of suicide, a death that was estimable and led to heaven. Animals were revered and even vegetables were supposed to be animate and consequently worthy of religious consideration. But, to get increase, all animals had to be sacrificed by proxy, that is, one of each species was killed at a great spring celebration. With the same object, there was a celebration at which once a year objects were renewed; as the fire was also extinguished and renewed. Although by far not so blood-lusty as the Aztecs, the Mayas with their typical incense-offering had many animal sacrifices, in which the heart of the victim was seized and burned. A dog here usually, as in the North, takes the place of the Aztec human victim, especially as an offering to the fire-god. Several Mexican customs were eventually adopted by the Mayas, such as the use of the bow in battle, the shooting, as a sacrifice, of war-captives, and probably even the custom of offering human victims. Each department of industry had its peculiar god and the general affairs of men had each its own divinity. Thus the god of travellers was the North Star; hunters and fishers of Yucatan had special gods; while disease-gods were generally venerated. A number of gods presided over evil and death. With the great death-god, called Skull and Bones, were associated sundry war-gods, who presided not only over war but also over sacrifice.

The Mayans, like the Vedic Aryans, looked upon heaven as a restful place under a sacred tree; hell to them was a cold subterranean place past the four rivers (directions) of four colours, where lived lords forever tormenting earth-growths above them. This place in Quiché is called Xibalba, but another Mayan name is Mitnal, ruled by its like-named

god, the same with the Aztec Mictlan and its special ruler. Owls and bats were the special birds of hell and served as ghostly messengers.

Noticeable is the fact that the high priest was originally the ruler; and that the war-chief, elected for a term of four years, was revered like a god; also, that war-god feasts are virtually fertility-sacrifices, the canine victim's heart being then magically treated for the express purpose of securing rain. The dance, with which for five days the fertility-festival concluded, was without application to ghost-cult. The canine victim appears at all sorts of sacrifices, even at that to Hobnil, god of bee-hives. Blood-spilling, except at sacrifice, was regarded as displeasing to the gods, and a propitiatory bloodless offering was made by hunters to offset their necessary disregard of this fact.

Festivals were marked by singing and dancing and at times, as at a feast for luck in war, by the drunken orgies which characterize those of Peru. The year was well filled with festivals, especially at its beginning and in the spring. Like the Aztecs and South Americans, the Mayans had traditions of creation and deluge. Kukulkan, who was celebrated with dancing and song, was one of the creators and the Quiché Hurakan was another.[1] Men were made after animals, of clay; but they were so unintelligent that the gods drowned them in a deluge. They that escaped became monkeys. A second creation then made men of maize; the general tradition is that men were eventually compounded of maize and blood.

Fasting for thirteen days, with a new fire, marked the beginning of the year, in July, when incense and other means of purification were employed in the temples.[2] The object

[1] Peculiar is a religious dance on stilts in honour of Itzamna, to avert disease and other evils. From a related West-Indian form of Hurakan (god of storm and fertility) is derived English hurricane.

[2] The temples of stone still show the marks of derivation from wooden structures. Wooden idols were regarded as holier than stone, probably because earlier, and they too were purified for the new year in an elaborate rite.

of all Mayan rites was to avert divine wrath and gain "food, health, and long life" from the spirits. In general, the Mayan religion resembles that of Peru rather than that of Mexico; its temples and its predominatingly agricultural aspects are more like those of the Peruvian Chimus than those of the Nahuan Aztecs. On the other hand, Mayan religion is in close touch historically with that of the Aztecs and has a similar mythology, especially in regard to its culture-gods.

Exactly what was the connection between these different groups only specialists may say, and they disagree. Probably the pre-Aztec Nahuan was nearer to the Mayan than was the Aztec. The Nahuans were originally nomads opposed to the sedentary agriculturists they overcame, but as so often happens they were culturally overcome themselves by the conquered. The Aztecs, however, retained much of their own savagery, for instance the practice of shooting war-captives as sacrificial victims. Their religion thus consists of two early elements, worship of nomadic and of agricultural deities, to which is later added the cult of priestly creations, mystic deities.

The earliest Mexican cult, of springs, lakes, etc., has left a few traces. A "salt goddess" was celebrated in summer; cave-temples, some oracular, and human sacrifices were known to the Mixtec and Zapotec tribes. Agricultural deities were generally female or androgynous, sometimes associated with, perhaps later, male deities, whose wives or sisters they have become. So the original Maize goddess, Chicome Coatl, is reckoned a sister of Tlaloc, whose victims were flayed. Centeotl, primarily a female, became "son" of Tozi. She held in her arms her daughter, Young Corn (Xilonen), in whose honour were performed rain-dances in June.[1] On the west coast, Cueravahperi was a

[1] Centeotl was called Lady Serpent and Mother ("grandmother"). Her victims were first made to scatter maize; then they were flayed and the pieces of their bodies were used as fertility-charms. Flaying, for sacrifice, began in the eleventh century. Human sacrifice was already "Toltec" (very ancient). With

fertility-goddess, whose victims' hearts brought rain. Characteristic of these cruel females is the flaying of their human victims, whose skins were then worn by their dancing priests, an inchoate vegetation drama, analogous to the duck-ptarmigan contest of the Eskimos and the similar but veiled performances in higher religions. Here at least there is no question of ghosts. The last-named fertility-goddess offers an illuminating example of divine expansion. As female spirit of fertility, she became the deity of maize and other plants, including medicinal herbs; hence patroness of physicians and midwives and of the hot bath; while as food-mother she was exalted as mother of the gods, and clothed in serpents as fertility-signs. At the maize festival, the maize itself was first decapitated and then the victims, representing maize, were also decapitated; after which their hearts were cast into hot springs, to produce rain-clouds. Her festivals were in March and April, but also later, as if to renew her waning strength.

The oldest Nahuan human sacrifice merely had the victims' blood enhance vegetation by falling on the ground as they were shot. Fertility in a wider sense had two representatives, a love-goddess called Xochi-quetzal, wife of Tlaloc and stolen by the Nahuan god Tezcatlipoca, and the Huaxtec goddess Tlazolteotl. The former was a corn or earth-spirit, and patroness of love, flowers, and embroidery. The latter represented an odd combination, being goddess of sensuality, confession, and penitence; she may have had lunar associations. The moon, son of Tlaloc, was a birth-god associated with the special Rabbit-gods of fertility. Gods and goddesses, connected both with moon and harvest, also represented the octli (agave, aloe) and other intoxicating plants. They are expressly called countless because "there are countless ways of getting drunk."[1] The reli-

Xilonen, compare the Greek Kore; compare also the Greek custom of the adoption of agricultural female spirits by the later gods, Hera by Zeus, etc.

[1] Literally "four hundred rabbits," i.e., countless fertility-spirits.

gious importance of intoxication lies in its giving communion with the deity by ecstasy, in contrast to communion by eating the god. The Totonac custom of eating dough images of the god implied the latter communion; which was more drastically effected also by eating the victim offered to and hence identified with, the deity; whereas the tobacco-communion (in Tarascan) was a form of drunkenness-ecstasy. Ordinary drunkenness was not approved. Even a god, in Tarascan, was thrown out of heaven because of his drunken habits. As with Hephaistus, the fall made him lame.

All these fertility-demons, the octli-demons and higher spirits, were under Tlaloc, the greatest god of the early period, to whom were sacrificed a man, representing the male serpent-god, and four women, representing Mayauel, Xochi-quetzal, and other fertility-goddesses. He is the god of the Eastern Paradise (Tlalocan), where warriors go,[1] and, as rain-god, presides over the dropsical and drowned; but also, as thunder- and lightning-god, he has a mountain dance-festival. He has but one eye and his victim's heart is cast into a lake; that is, his water-nature was perhaps originally part of his general sky-nature (sun as eye?). A pre-Aztec god, he was worshipped, over all Mexico and beyond it, as a god especially connected with serpents and fertility. His assistants, the Tlaloque, emptied celestial vases, smiting them with noisy rods (compare the Vedic Parjanya; rain and thunder). When it is said that, despite his general beneficence, he "stole the maize," we may assume that he

One of these, Mayauel, wife of Patecatl, was worshipped by the Huaztecs, notorious drunkards, as having four hundred breasts. This was the form of the maize-mother Centeotl and seems to show that Mayauel also was originally a general fertility-goddess, later restricted to an octli-deity. Like Ayopechtli, the birth-goddess, she rides a tortoise. Xochi-quetzal (above) as a male (Xochipilli) deity is god of flowers, dance, song, and games, and becomes a sun-god.

[1] Women who die in childbirth go to the Western Paradise. In Borneo the two classes, of heroes and such heroines, go to one paradise and marry!

stole it from a precedent deity. At his May festival, his priests might steal from any one; they quacked like frogs. His wife bears him cloud-children. He alone has five of the annual twenty-five festivals. Before his image his worshippers, clad in animal-skins, danced a ceremonial dance once in eight years; while before the god stood a tank full of snakes and frogs, caught in the mouth by Mazatec (district) men, who then, like the Pueblos, danced, holding these reptiles in the mouth.[1] His later wife was Running Water; small figures called Tepictoton, representing mountains, were sacred to him.[2] His first wife, Earth, was stolen by the Aztec god (above). His most pitiable victims were troops of little children who (first in 1018) were made to weep when driven to be sacrificed, that their tears might make more rain in the February ritual. In the later Aztec myth of ages, Tlaloc is allotted first place after the two Aztec gods, as "third sun" (era), which shows that before Aztec dominion he was really the first.

The myth of the Five Ages was pre-Aztec and originally portrayed ages of Earth, Fire, Air, and Water, leading to the present fifth age. When the Aztec gods were all converted into forms of the sun, Tlaloc was also so converted, the ages were then termed "suns," and the second and third ages were inverted, perhaps to give precedence to the favoured culture-god. The ages, as finally arranged, were first, that of Tezcatlipoca (as sun), which ends with the destruction of giants and men through jaguars; second, that of Quetzal-coatl, when men became monkeys and a hurricane ended all; third, that of Tlaloc, when men were destroyed by a rain of fire; fourth, that of Chalchiutlicue, when the deluge came and men became fishes; and fifth, the present age, which will end with an earthquake.

[1] Eight years seems a long interval for this ceremony. It is probably astronomical. Compare the Charila (Delphi) eight-year fertility or earth-mother festival, and the paper by W. S. Fox, *Am. Philolog. Assoc.*, 1916, p. xviii. Joyce, *Mexican Archaeology*, London, 1914, p. 74, has compared the Pueblo rite.

[2] These are not "Lares and Penates," as Réville explained them.

The Aztecs, like their northern relatives, held the sun as a god, and this god they found revered also by the agricultural peoples whom they conquered, though the latter also worshipped earth-goddesses. The Aztecs then adopted the goddesses, as wives of their gods, and made the gods forms of their sun-god, who measured their year, and by whom, and earth, was taken the primitive Mexican oath (touching and eating earth as one swore). The general signs of the sun-god are quetzal-feathers, disc, yellow, and east; he was *the* god, *teotl.* As in Chibcha belief, his lady was the moon; he is sometimes represented as "son of Quetzalcoatl." For him, when born, all other gods sacrificed themselves, in order to feed him. Hence now men are sacrificed to feed him, not in his own but only in other forms. It is remarkable that Tonatiuh, the sun *per se,* is thus without a temple and sacrifice, though prayers are offered to him four times a day and night. He is identified with the Aztec gods, who absorb all the sacrifice of the sun.

But older than these sun-forms are the primitive Xiutecutli, called Ue-ue, the "old, old" god of Fire, portrayed as black-green-yellow and having a golden mirror, who was revered in the domestic cult of the Tarascans and by the Nahuan Tepanec in the form of a *papalotl* (butterfly), or as a man with a snake. He received a daily libation and offerings and a yearly sacrifice. At the end of every year, and again at the close of the fifty-two year cycle, a fresh fire was kindled, on the bare breast of a prisoner, "to make the sun rise." As a male god, Fire dwells in water (like Agni), but as a female this god received human victims, who were first half burned and, before death, were pulled out of the fire, that their still beating hearts might be extracted for sacrifice; locks of their hair being preserved as talismans. Besides these human victims, Fire was also revered, in the last month of the year, with animals burned alive.

To these pre-Aztec deities must be added the culture-god Quetzal-coatl, the feathered-serpent, who represents pre-Aztec or Toltec civilization. Though the teacher of arts,

as of agriculture, for he found the corn afterwards stolen by Tlaloc, he was outwitted and driven out by the Aztec god. But his Messianic return from the East was long looked for, till the Spaniard appeared as his reincarnation. Coiled up as a serpent he sleeps, as represented in stone, till he wakes to bring a new era; or, as a man with a bird's head and extended tongue, he is identified with the Wind, Ehecatl, or Whisperer, Tohil, or breeze from the east, which brings spring. He is averse to human sacrifice, except as his priests draw for him their own blood. His temple is not a pyramid but roofed and domed, with a simulated serpent's mouth as entrance. His priests wear white and teach the arts, a race apart from the black-robed Aztec priests. His image is kept covered, like a medicine-bundle. As wind lulling to sleep, he is also invoked by thieves!

The Aztecs of course gave precedence to their own great gods. Out of the pantheon of two or three hundred gods, there were some fifteen in human form and seven or eight in animal form who were chief; of these, two were pre-eminent, namely Uitzilopochtli and Tezcatlipoca, the monstrous "brother" gods of the great ziggurat of the City of Mexico. The former was the Humming-bird, called also "hair of the Sun," for he was mysteriously born of the Sun and of Coatlicue, the vegetation-goddess as earth-serpent, whose other sons are both the "unnumbered stars" and the pre-Aztec hunting-god and cloud-serpent, Mixcoatl. With Coatlicue, after slaying her unfilial sons, the Humming-bird at last ascended to heaven. He was, as Mextli, also the warrior-god of the Aztecs. His small image was borne before fighters by his black-robed priests,[1] whose hair was never shorn and who were ordained to his service by being smeared with a child's blood. The servants of this god were the chief priests of the Aztecs and his service as war-

[1] So in Peru, the Chancas carried into battle the image of their founder, Uscovilca, and in Colombia the Chibchas carried mummies of famous warriors, to inspire courage and bring victory. Compare the use of the tabernacle in battle.

and-sun-god demanded an unceasing flow of human blood. His festivals, in May, August, and December, commemorate him as the god of the spring and summer; he had a flower-feast in August without victims. At his December feast, his image in dough was eaten in communion by his worshippers, after many victims had been slain.

Tezcatlipoca was the god of the smoking mirror. He has been interpreted as the winter-sun who drives away vegetation; at all events, a cold and gloomy god, black and red in colour, who gives hard laws and punishes offenders with disease and death; a god who, like the Vedic Varuna, spies on man. He wanders through the city by night, needing seats placed there for him. He is identified with Mixcoatl as inventor of fire and is connected with Tlazol-teotl as a god of sin and confession. He also appears as the sun and has a sacrifice in order to the reviving of the sun. It must be as sun and not as law-giver that he is ever young and the god of banquets. His colours and his mirror make him appear as a special form of Fire (above). His image also has serpent associations, though not fundamental, for he has a face "like a bear." He is the embodiment of law and harsh justice, nor is it quite obvious that, as Réville thinks, he represents any natural phenomenon. His statue has a gold ear into which pour smoke-clouds of sacrifice representing prayers.

Another famous god is the "flayed" Xipe, yellow like Centeotl (above) as maize-god, but because of his colour turned into the goldsmiths' god, to whom were offered flayed captives as victims, their skins being carried a month by the captors. He is also a war-and-fertility god.[1] The planet Venus was a war-deity in the west. Travellers and merchants had as god of their class Yucatecutli, to whom, represented by their staves, the merchants prayed for success.

[1] In March there were gladiatorial fights in honour of Xipe, the captive victims' hearts being torn out; sometimes they were shot to death. The heart and blood were fertility-charms.

Besides such gods, the Aztecs worshipped creator-gods of the eighth heaven, who, like Brahman, were rationalized beings, not supposed to be active, and hence were not much worshipped, and with whom the national god, Uitzilopochtli, was eventually identified; or they served as medicinal gods, who sent and cured diseases, like Apollo; though there was a special "healer" god. Also female demons, like the Hindu Mothers around Shiva, were generally supposed to send children's diseases. Such demons were usually the souls of women who had died in childbirth; they served the war-god and, since war-gods are associated with lightning, they appeared as lightning-flashes.

The death-god, Mictlan-tecutl, like the Hindu Yama, was placed underground (but in the north), where he and his spouse devour those who die of old age and disease; the lords of this place being fiends who torment earth. The passage to it is across deserts, through crashing hills, winds that cut like knives, and it lies beyond four (sometimes nine) streams, coloured yellow, red, blue, and white. Tlaloc (above) has an eastern paradise, though he is in the south, and this (Tulan East) is at the source of four rivers. As already explained, warriors and those who die of water-diseases (dropsy, etc.) or lightning go to him. Warriors go also to the Sun-heaven, descending afterwards to earth as humming-birds. The soul or "shadow-breath" going to Mictlan is escorted by a red dog; in Peru by a black dog. At death the dead man is clothed in the robes of his god and is guarded by paper amulets, as in Egypt. Some souls go to Tulan West, where the sun goes down, as in North America. There are thus various places for the dead; but, except for the fact that disease brings its own fate and bravery a better, there is no ethical content in the conception of the hereafter. The gods were not regarded as immortal.[1]

[1] The Aztecs, like the Hindus, had an annual (September) "return of the gods," indicated by a foot-print on maize, when a drunken orgy ensued called "washing the gods' feet," and slaves were burned alive. But it was always a question whether the gods would live longer than the Cycle.

The religious shambles called a church was presided over by an organization of priests, monks, and nuns, who lived in convents. The priests made sacrifice, but also taught school. Baptism, absolution on confession, and communion by eating the god's image of dough, or, by proxy, the victim, were practised. The cross was the Four-fold Tree of Life. The teocalli were pyramidal, ascended by outside steps, five to nine stories high, surmounted by altars. That in Mexico City was eighty feet high; on its altars burned sacrificial fires almost perennial. In the city were six hundred altars. Thousands of priests devoted themselves to securing victims. They taxed the community for their services as diviners (by means of snakes, arrows, seeds, water, etc.) and as butchers of men. Tarascan had its hereditary priests and two high priests served Centeotl among the Totonac. The Zapotec high priest was so charged with spiritual power as to be dangerous to touch and he was kept secluded, to commune with the sun and give out prophecies. The Aztec priest sometimes served as a soldier and originally the military and religious chiefs were one. But the priest also appeared as a scholar, an ascetic, under rigid discipline, a teacher of youth, inventor of a calendar,[1] often a celibate.

The idea of a Supreme God, lacking among the Aztecs, occurred to a Nahuan, king of Tezcuco, who died in 1472. In his grief he cried, it is said, "There must be some god to console me"; but not finding one he invented the "Unknown god," to whom, as "cause of causes," he built a nine-story temple representing the ninth heaven of his Unknown, to whom he "sacrificed" only incense and flowers. Perhaps this tale is true. A philosophic interpretation of divinity may well be granted to the inheritors of Toltec culture. But anyway this reformation no more replaced the old gods than did the earlier Egyptian reform. It may not

[1] The Aztec calendar was ruder than that of the Mayas, but it counted 365 days of the year, of which the last five were unlucky and ominous. Boys in college, girls in convents, were taught till the age of fifteen. Some of these priests were vegetarian monks, Quaquacuiltin.

have been intended to oust them. Bloody sacrifice and life-communion with gods never ceased. Even the gentle Quetzalcoatl, who was opposed to human sacrifice, had his priests offer him their own blood. The resulting idea of the cult remained: the gods need human blood.

The basis of this Mexican religion coincides in many particulars with that of the northern savage. Thus the Four Directions or Winds of the North are still preserved in the serpent-cross.[1] In Mexico, as in Peru, the intoxicating plant, like Soma, has become divine and intoxication to be moral must be religious. The wizard of the North and rarer priest had become a priest indeed in Mexico, but not yet with an hereditary priesthood, as in Colombia, where the priests evolved a caste-system, like that in India. The tabooed Zapotec high-priest (above), became, among these Chibchas, a secret ruler, secluded as a Lama. All the other priests formed a caste, who acted as Shamans, judges, and executioners. A second caste was that of warriors; a third, that of traders, agriculturists, and craftsmen; the fourth being tributary nomads. Perhaps the greatest advance among the Aztecs is in the prayer-formula. This prayer at the inauguration of an Aztec king is cited: "O god, may this king use the wisdom thou hast given him, not for his own good, but for the good of his people, and do thou keep him from oppressing us." Another Aztec prayer runs: "May thy chastisement, O god, be that of a father or mother; not from anger, but to the end that we may be freed from folly and vice." One never knows, however, how much the European renderers of these prayers are drawing on real material.[2]

[1] In Yucatan the Roman Church has converted the Four into church-spirits, dominating wind and weather. The red god of the East is St. Dominic; the white god of the North is St. Gabriel; the black god of the West is St. James; and the yellow god of the South is Mary Magdalene. In cross-form the four are united in the Svastika Tree of Life, or Weal, to whom a bird, called a cock, was offered, as in Greece to the healer Aesculapius.

[2] Compare Garcilasso's Peruvian prayer: "O thou who hast existed for ever and shalt exist for ever, who hast by thy fiat cre-

The religions of South America include the lowest animism and the high worship of a Cause of causes, as man passes from the savagery of cannibal tribes living in treetops to the culture of Peruvian Amautas, "professors," and inventors of the mnemonic *quipu*, dramatists, architects, and statesmen. On the whole, civilization is here confined to narrow limits rather closely connected geographically and in touch with the western coast, where legend says that there was immigration from abroad. Similarity of artistic work and other indications may support the legend that the western littoral received its first culture from early northern sources.[1] The religious type of the higher culture resembles that of the Mayas rather than that of the Nahuans, as the people are agricultural and pastoral rather than nomadic. But it may be an independent civilization altogether, as it was certainly higher. The Mexicans never conceived the state founded by the Incas. Aztec political power was that of a central tribe extracting forced tribute from outsiders, not that of a great state civilizing its neighbours.

Most real to the South American is nature-worship, not in an exalted sense but in the sense that his fears or hopes are attached to natural phenomena by a belief in their will to work him ill or good. The Yurupari noise-demon, heard in the forest and deprecated, is an example. The Brazilian Tupan, whom the missionaries called their "God," is another; he is merely the lightning-spirit. To the Patagonian, stars are spirits; to the Araucanians, they are ancestors. In Brazil, the Botocudos keep away evil spirits with fire and shoot the storm- (or eclipse-) demon with arrows. They

ated man, be thou in sky or earth or cloud or depth, our saviour. grant us life everlasting." Garcilasso was intent on showing the Peruvians at their best and one cannot avoid thinking that he perhaps bettered that best. But he may have been scrupulously correct. Peruvian culture was certainly extraordinary.

[1] Joyce cites the use of turquoise, obtainable only from New Mexico. See T. A. Joyce, *South American Archaeology*, London, 1912, pp. 188, 207. Yet this source was not necessary, since turquoise is found in Chile. See *Man*, 1914, No. 21.

believe that the moon sends them evil, but the sun sends good. Good and evil spirits are worshipped by the Araucanians also, who too have a thunder-spirit, like the thunder-people of the North, and a volcano-spirit, as well as animal gods.

A higher culture is found among the Colombians. The Quimbayans of this region are indeed very primitive, having neither a cult of animals or of plants, nor temples nor idols. But the Chibchas or Muiscans, of the same region, like the natives of northern Argentina, sacrificed children to the sun and rain-god and had religious masks, marked with tear-lines, like those of the savages of Jamaica, which suggests that "the fundamental ideas underlying the religions of a great part of South America and the early population of the Antilles were closely akin."[1] They had a cult of stones, lakes, trees, and perhaps of ancestors; but their earliest gods, as greater spirits, were Sun and Thunder. A primitive recognition of a Creator has been asserted for them and for other South Americans; but it is not clear that this is another god than the tribal progenitor, who is often a beast or a material object (star or sun). The Chibchas recognize a culture-hero called Bochica, whose rules were so strict that a cult-heroine, Huitaca, who may be the Moon, taught in opposition a religion of joy and dancing, till the Creator, who rarely interferes in human affairs, turned her into an owl. But she was still potent enough to help the Bogota god Chibchachum to cause a deluge, till Bochica appeared on a rainbow (the Rainbow being otherwise the goddess of women) and opened a path for the waters with his golden rod. Then the Creator turned the Bogota god into the giant who supports earth, and whose uneasy movements cause earthquakes. The inhabitants of Colombia and of Ecuador also worship stones and snakes; the snake as lightning appears here as in the North. The Chibchas had a god of agriculture, whose idol was wrought gold, a god of

[1] Joyce, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

boundaries, and one of trade, who together with Sun, Moon, Mountain, and Lake, received sacrifice. Jewels, men, incense, and fire were offered to the Sun, but chiefly children, as in Mexico. Mexican also was their shooting-sacrifice, but here of slaves or of talking parrots, the victims representing the god, so that his blood fertilized the land. Idols and fetishes were used and pilgrimages to the sacred lake caused enmity between tribes to cease, while intoxication *en route* was regarded as a religious rite. So in Ecuador we find a worship of Sun and Moon as chief gods, along with that of a war-god; while serpent-worship is connected with both lake-cult and hero-cult. In general, cultural phases were religiously represented. The mass worshipped whatever could reasonably be feared or revered, from stone to star. Inland, because most useful, the Sun was chief god; on the littoral, the Sea was the great god, with the Moon to share his honours. "Sun-worship probably was not practised on the coast before the Inca conquest."[1] Human sacrifice was universal till the Incas stopped it. On the coast the victims were flayed, as in Mexico.

The priests of the savage tribes were generally men, but in Patagonia generally women. At the worst they were Shamans exorcising disease by noise, as in the extreme south. The higher sort divined (by twitching of fingers, dreams, cries, etc.) and interceded with gods by fasting on hill-tops and making offerings to the Sun of hair,[2] etc. Some priests were not allowed to touch earth or be seen, so dangerous was their mystic power.[3] Among Chibchas, women had great influence (they might even beat their husbands), which may account for their cult-heroine. In northern Colombia, Antioquia, there was also a similar cult-heroine, Dabeciba. A combination of agriculture, women, and snakes has

[1] Joyce, *op. cit.* p. 66.

[2] Here again the hair is connected with the sun. Like the Aztec priests the Incas wore their hair long (this was their prerogative).

[3] Compare the Zapotec priest mentioned above and the Inca, who went out only in a litter, ostensibly because he was the incarnate sun who is carried through the sky.

been noticed among the Iroquois. The Chibcha chiefs were themselves divine and appointed the priests to the snake and water-cults.

The sketch just given resolves half the mystery that used to surround the religion of the Incas of Peru, which was once regarded as unique, whereas it really rested upon supports common to the religions of neighbouring provinces and got its strength not from novelty but because it was racial. Both to the north and to the west, on the coast, there were already temples, idols, established priesthoods, rituals, pilgrimages, and especially lake-worship and the cult of sun (or sea) and moon, as supreme powers. There was also an acknowledgment of Creator-gods superior to evil spirits, not to speak of that substratum of religion found all over the continent, belief in the mystic power of stones, trees, vegetables, snakes, animals, and fertilizing gods of rain, as well as that material culture best seen in Colombia and Ecuador, that is, inland and on the coast, where arts and trades flourished before the Incas came to Cuzco.

As the Incas cannot be traced back of *circa* 1000 A. D. and as the Nahuans had overthrown and partly absorbed "Toltec" civilization four hundred years before that, and as the oldest civilization is on the coast, it is not improbable that Mayan immigration started the culture known as Inca, which it closely resembles.[1] Even the solar origin of the Incas was not new. Tunja in Colombia was ruled by a king who was "son of the Sun" and married his sister, just like the Inca. The Inca derived from the Sun through the Mighty Man, Manco Capac, who suddenly emerged from the cave of Lake Titicaca with the golden bough planted later at Cuzco, and from his sister, the Moon, called Mama Ocllo as a human being, wife and sister of the Sun and

[1] The theocracy of the Incas merely intensifies traits found elsewhere. It was in fact an aristocracy. Only an Inca might be high-priest, be a polygamist, or even be educated (exceptions occur *with permission* of the Inca). Only Incas were exempt from capital punishment. Divine prestige came from the idea that the army was the army of the (Sun) Lord. Cf. Réville, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

patroness of the arts.[1] Except (Venus) Chasca, who was a long-haired male page of the Sun, all the stars (planets) were servants of the Moon, while Rainbow was the servant of both gods. Earth and food-producing powers were especially revered by the Peruvians.[2] Maize was a divinity inland, fish on the littoral (one key to totemism). Maize was worshipped in the form of a figure made of the plant, as was coca, and adored as "Mother." The Earth-deity was propitiated with llama-idols containing food and was worshipped in caves. The people believed in the Sun-god before the Incas came, but also in Conopas and Huacas, material forms of vegetation-demons, divine animals, spirit-stones, etc., as in Mexico. Especially prominent in this cult is that of stones, truncated pyramids by preference, representing ancestors perhaps, but probably of wider bearing.[3] Any stone, even if struck by accident, was placated with offerings.

Dances were performed to the Sun-god at Rimac in June, when the dancers appeared to be "out of their senses." A girl was sacrificed and the "renewal of fire" performed. Apparently there is no trace of ghost-worship in this greatest event of the year. The dances were not ghost-dances. To this agricultural religion, mainly a cult of earth-powers and reproduction-rites, the invading Incas added the cult of themselves as sons of the Sun, at whose temple, as that of the greatest god, were performed sun-rites and others not solar. Thus in September there was an apotropaic rite, namely a public race in all directions ending with a washing-off of evils. Those not in the public race assisted by driving off evils with torches and dance, a night-rite, which yet took place at the Sun-temple.

[1] The two are also interpreted as primeval male and cosmic egg.

[2] The serpent-cult is strongly marked. There is an underground snake-god of concealed treasure. The Inca emblem is two entwined snakes. Compare the serpent-mother of the Nahuans and the serpent-cults of North America.

[3] The Conopas were fetishes called "brothers," images of animals and plants as personal guardians but also used as fertility-charms, especially in llama form.

To conciliate religious parties, the Incas accepted the most popular previous forms of tribal cult, the Collas' lake-cult and the Quichua sea-cult on the littoral. Lake Titicaca in Peru was as popular a divinity as Lake Guatabita in Colombia, where a political centre resulted from religious pilgrimages to the lake. In Peru there was a local lake or water divinity ("be thou male or be thou female," says an old hymn) called Viracocha, probably the greatest god before the Incas came to Cuzco. With her — or him — was identified a local western god Iraya, who, like a North American culture-hero, went disguised as an animal. Similarly, on the coast, at Rimac (Lima) and Pachacamac, there was the sea-god of fishes, and he too was adopted by the Incas as soon as their power reached the sea, though even at Pachacamac the Incas built a sun-temple above the town, to show that the Sun surpassed the Sea (a legend tells of the earlier enmity). Each to his own people these gods were the best; the synthesis was partly political, partly inevitable. It resulted in the god being no longer a mere fish-god, a mere lake-god, a mere sun-god, but a god representing lake, sea, and sun, called Viracocha (of the lake), Pachacamac (of the sea), and the Sun (of the Incas), but often called by two or all of these names, Viracocha Pachacamac.[1] The Lady of the Lake was of course the wife of Viracocha (probably his own original form, *cocha* as lake). Her temple is now a chapel of the Virgin Mary.[2]

It is tradition that the Inca Yupanqui, in 1440, A. D., reasoned out God as a necessarily Supreme Being, who dispatched the sun on his path, daily "sent like a servant,"

[1] As Pacha-mama is earth-mother so Pacha-camac is earth-mover or shaker (ocean), not "all-mover as soul of all," as Joyce thinks.

[2] Hymns to iracocha are given by Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, Philadelphia, 1896, p. 155, and Markham, *Incas of Peru*, London, 1911, p. 199. Réville, *op. cit.*, p. 186, correctly interpreted Viracocha as water-god in 1884. It may be he who "shatters the water-jar" of the sky. Later writers have seen both in him and in Pacha-camac original Creators. An euhemeristic legend represents litholatry as superseded by the cults of water and sun in turn. It has a basis of truth.

or, as if without will, "shot like an arrow." No Inca in his senses would have promulgated such political folly, for the Inca power rested entirely on the belief that Incas were vice-gerents of the highest god, the Sun. It may have been philosophically discussed whether the sun-god was under the orders of another god who was to be "worshipped only with the mind"; certainly no effort was made to extend the worship any further. It sufficed to make the sun's disc representative of Sun as Light, Inti, and to see in this Sun-Light the Supreme, or the representative thereof. His temple and even the whole village faced east. His divine spouses were vestal virgins, practically spouses of the Inca. All the great feasts were in his honour, though his sister-wife, Mama Quilla, the Moon (in human form known as Ocllo) was also revered, as goddess of weaving and spinning, and minor festivals were permitted in honour of her and of minor deities, such as the Planets, Pleiades, and Rainbow, who had their special chapels and cults. The Rainbow (god) was feared because he made dumb those who watched him.

As descended from the Sun, Fire was greatly revered in the mirror-form, but also in rock-form and volcano-form. The Huacas (above) may have received additional reverence from the fact that the natural earth-home of the Fire-god was in stone. At the ritual "renewal of fire," it was brought out of the (flint) stone or conducted from heaven by means of a mirror, both forms being identified. There was also the feeling that oracles spoke from rocks and caverns. Rimac itself means the Murmuring (Voice), of rock or earth.

But the Peruvians had still another great god, not localized, as were Viracocha and Pachacamac, but not, as were they, raised to universality by combination with the Sun-god. This was the many-named god of the club, stone, and sling, the thunder and lightning god called Illapa (Inti-allapa), whom the Incas made subordinate to the Sun, while they permitted him to retain his ancient festival. As of the

Mexican Tlaloc, his abode was on the mountains, and his thunder-stones were everywhere revered as potent fertility- and love-charms. As personified Lightning, he was son of the first divine man and born a twin; wherefore all twins were sacred, that is, sacrificed, to him. Unholy (taboo) became the place that Lightning struck; men struck by him went underground; but all Incas went to the Sun. Ordinary men, if worthy, might also go to the Sun; but otherwise, like those struck by lightning, they went to Shadow-land, Supay, literally the Shade, to whom as a god children in some districts were sacrificed. Their course thither was conducted by a black dog and led over a bridge of a hair. Diseased persons had a special abode after death (a belief of Mexican and Huron also); but there was no place of punishment. The dead were buried in caves or under towers; expecting resurrection, according to Garcilasso de la Vega. A sort of embalming or mummification was practised by the Peruvians and mummies were placed in their temples, carried in their processions, and taken as fetishes into battle.[1]

In the legalized Inca cult, the minor gods had smaller temples around the Sun-temple, the House of Gold at Cuzco. The high priest was the brother of the reigning Inca; other priests were either Incas or local priests of special gods who at the same time acted as subordinate Sun-priests, like Levites. As among the Chibchas, the priesthood was hereditary in the female line. Especial priests examined animal entrails (*haruspices*) or divined by flights of birds (*augures*), maize-heaps, spiders' legs, water, and "odd and even" tests. As the Incas expressly forbade human

[1] Mummification, sun-worship, brother-and-sister marriage, and megalithic temples are the chief items emphasized by those who derive Peruvian culture and religion from Egypt. The combination is a strong one. Yet, as we have seen, megalithic buildings are found elsewhere; sun-worship is found everywhere (so to speak); incest is not local; and mummification in Peru, as in Egypt, was rendered possible by the extreme dryness of the atmosphere. *Adhuc sub judice lis est.* Another practice of the Peruvian was tattooing; but it is not necessary to derive it from the Pacific.

sacrifice, it is clear that it was a previous Peruvian practice. The usual "sacrifices" were vegetables, fruits, coca, and *chicha,* an intoxicant, which are offerings used elsewhere in South America. On the coast, headless skeletons (of women) show that the locally prevalent worship of Sea and of Moon was probably not without its human toll. In Colombia, the Quimbayans sacrificed prisoners of war, as was done in Antioquia. The Chibchas regularly set their temple-posts on the bodies of sacrificed slaves. This savagery was reduced at Cuzco to the sacrifice of a llama, a dog, a rabbit, or some other animal, offered to the Sun as a burnt offering or eaten raw by the worshippers. Almost the only human sacrifice occurred when the Inca fell ill and his son was sacrificed to save the father's life, or when children were sacrificed to give him a successful reign, or, in outlying places, to make an offering to Supay. This was as nothing in comparison with the slaughterings in other parts of South America and Mexico, and on the whole it must be granted that the Incas went far in mollifying religion.[1]

But what the Peruvians lacked in cruelty they made up for in debauchery, especially in drinking and its attendant vices. A religious festival or pilgrimage always ended in a drinking-bout lasting for days. Thus the harvest festival closed with a drunken orgy. The festivals, however, also show appreciation of asceticism. The most interesting of these is the summer-solstice (December) festival, when the young men to be initiated into the tribe were flogged, dances and races followed, and men dressed as animals opposed women in a rope-dance with a four-coloured rope (black, white, red, and yellow). This ceremony concluded with the piercing of the ears of the youths, prayer (ejaculations), and

[1] Voluntary suttee was permitted to wives, especially to those of the Incas; but sometimes images were substituted for the real victims. The vestal virgins of the Sun were actually virgins only till their marriage with the Sun represented by the Inca; but if untrue to their vows, they were buried alive, like Roman vestals. If worthy, they received civic and religious honours, especial escort, etc. There were 3000 of these "Elect of the Sun" at Cuzco alone.

sacrifice. The winter-solstice festival (in June) was devoted to adoration of the Sun, preceded by fasting and followed by a Saturnalia of debauchery. One has but to compare Colombian custom to see that all these popular festivals were racial rather than national. Thus at Tunja there was a year-end festival in which twelve men, representing months, in red, sang a death-song around a man in blue (black). In the Bogota harvest festival, men dressed in animal skins had a sun-celebration with prayer and the use of masks. The elements of all celebrations were races, games, intoxication, and licentious carousing. Savagery as cruelty appears chiefly in agricultural (fertility) rites, as when in Ecuador human sacrifice took place at the annual sowing, and then it is obviously a logical piece of sympathetic magic. There is scarcely any recognition of spirits naturally evil. The northern Tamahi of Antioquia in Colombia had an evil deity, Canicuba, besides a good deity as creator, Abina, but neither was worshipped. These people were chiefly agriculturists and developed great advance in weaving and dyeing, feminine influence prevailing.

An interesting question arises in regard to the identification of man and god in these southern tribes. Bochica of the Chibchas was a cult-man who, like Quetzalcoatl, finally disappears, here "to the east," and then is worshipped as a god; his footstep is still visible on a rock. His laws were codified by the earliest historical chief, Nompanem of Irica; his sister, who ruled next, was followed by a chief called Idacansas, who had power over diseases and the elements and thus started a cult marked by pilgrimages which practically made him a god, or, at least, a divine priest. Here we have not a priest as chief but a chief as priest. At Tunja also, two chiefs became Sun and Moon and were duly celebrated. Another chief here had a tail and four ears and had from the sun the power to metamorphose animals and men, virtually a divinity of a sort. Probably the Inca chief also did not assume political command as priest, but as chief, and then, as Sun's son, assumed priest-

hood. This is certainly the case in the North, where no priest *quâ* priest becomes a sachem.[1]

The ethical content of American religions is distinctly higher than that of the religions hitherto examined. Clan-morality is everywhere strict and often involves other clans. That is, truth between tribes, as in treaties, was observed, though of course it was usually a virtue to deceive, despoil and murder others. A certain connexion between ethics and spirits is observable in the implicit assumption that the tutelary spirits are present when conferences take place; but most of the tutelary spirits and culture-creatures are themselves famous for their knavery. In Mexico the mirror-god sees the sinner; but there is no close connexion between god and good. Baptism or ablution is to get rid of ills rather than of sin. The fast is recognized as a means of "purity" of the same sort. Before a Peruvian pilgrim might enter the god's temple at Pachacamac he had to fast for twenty days; but this was to make certain, by a sort of quarantine, that he did not pollute the temple with bad influence. The Incas had a system of "confession," but it was not religious. The inquisitors were church-police in the service of the system, which utterly destroyed individuality and private initiative. They decided whether each individual who came up for confession had withheld anything the church-and-state ought to know. The hereafter was not morally conditioned; there was no ethical balance to be struck beyond the grave; though there was doubtless the feeling in Peru, Mexico, and Bogota that the highest gods were morally higher than the demons who plagued men from below earth. But it is noteworthy that the hymns to the Sun and to Viracocha express only the worshipper's awe without any ethical implication. Communion with the god, by eating him, or his image, or his victim, or, as in Peru,

[1] The general derivation of kingly power from priestly power seems to rest on a misapprehension. Every king, as *pater familias*, is, like a father, at once head of earthly and heavenly affairs for his family; but he does not become father by being priest.

by snaring a drink with him, had the purpose of physically strengthening the communicant, that is, it was religious without being moral.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

RELIGION OF THE CELTS

In the last chapter we passed far beyond the confines of Savage Religions and reached a plane even higher than that upon which we are now to enter, the religions of certain barbarians, midway between savagery and civilization, namely, the inhabitants of northern Europe, from the time of the Christian era to that of the Middle Ages, almost synchronous with the more advanced types of South America. Although these barbarians are linguistically connected with the higher Mediterranean group represented by Greeks and Romans, they are religiously distinct, since from the earliest historical period the inhabitants of Greece and Italy had been profoundly affected by the far older cultures of the Mediterranean littoral and of Mesopotamia. It will be necessary therefore to ignore whatever Aryan unity may once have bound together Greek-Roman and German-Celt and treat separately the two divisions of northern and southern Europe.

To the northern division Celtic religion serves as the best introduction, because much of what the Celt believed was once the general belief of Europe. When the Aryan-speaking peoples spread from eastern Europe southward and westward, they took as their own the land and religion of the prehistoric natives, giving them in exchange a new language and a new culture, partly that belonging by inheritance to themselves, partly that which they had absorbed from Scythia and elsewhere, on their long migration. Thus the mixed inhabitants of future Gaul, France, Spain, Northern Italy, and Great Britain had thereafter a religion combined of indigenous and imported elements. In the course of two

thousand years of westward progression the Aryan factor must have become a thin stream irrigating the vast field into which it emptied (much as the Aryan element thinned out as it flowed into India), a field which had its own religious springs, indicated by the survival of monuments still marking their former activity, the trepanned skull, the exit-hole in the cromlech (from which graves the soul might crawl), the toys and implements found in graves, *menhirs,* and perhaps the pictured magic of immemorial caves.

Such vague indications of religious belief reach far back of the entry of the Celts into western Europe. Perhaps about 2000 B. C., the Celts, an offshoot of the eastern Aryan-speaking tribes, between the Carpathians and the Steppe, then located about the Danube, began to migrate further west and south. One branch invaded Asia Minor and Greece. Another streamed south-west through the Tyrol and settled in Italy.[1] A third spread over Gaul about 800 B. C., Spain about 500 B. C., and at the same time, extending northward, invaded Britain, first about 500 B. C., and then again about 300 B. C. Of these two northward streams, the first became the Gaelic (Goidelic) or Irish Celts; the second, the Cymrics, Britains, and Belgians.[2] These two subdivisions stood to each other linguistically as the Romans stood to the Oscans, Volsci, and Umbrians, the Gaelic division pronouncing a q where the British-Belgian said p, and u where the latter said ü. The older pronunciation is that of Roman and Gaelic (compare Ionian k with Attic p), as contrasted with that of Volsci and British. In fact, the Volsci and Welsh (compare the Volcae tribe of Southern Gaul) may once have been "Hawks," as the name perhaps means, of the same stock with the same name.

In modern terms, the Irish preceded the British by sev-

[1] Probably from this Celtic stock came Vergil, Catullus, Livy, and other "Romans," whose families originated in the province of northern Italy. Vergil's spirit is more Celtic than Roman.

[2] Tacitus distinguishes the red-headed northern Caledonians, who were like Germans, from the swarthy Spanish-like Welsh and the Southerners, who resembled Gauls and Belgians (*Agricola,* c. xi;

eral centuries and were pushed west by the later wave of immigration, which had perhaps come more directly from the Rhine and other eastern parts of Celt-land. The longer acclimatization of the Gaelic Celts would have resulted in a closer contact with the primitive European stock and may account for some of their religious characteristics. The later British, represented now by Welsh and Cornish, entered Britain about the time iron was introduced there, *circa* 300 B. C., a thousand years after England's Bronze Age began. By this time the Celts of Gaul had already come into contact with the civilization lying south (south-east) of them through commercial routes which had been followed for centuries. In fact, remains in Ireland show, as early as the Bronze Age, influences which have been described as "Ægean, Scandinavian, and Iberian."[1] Such contact, at least that of later days, tended to civilize them but also to undermine their native virtue and religious belief. By the time Caesar came directly in touch with them, the most popular god of the Gauls was no longer a warrior's god but the god of arts and journeys ("Mercury," thus defined). Incidentally Caesar informs us that the Gauls were very religious and believed that all things happened by divine will. He tells us, too, more specifically that they worshipped healing gods like Apollo and three great gods, whom he identifies with Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva; also, that they derived their origin from Dis Pater.

Modern scholarship has been inclined to ignore the importance of such statements in favour of the *a priori* view that all higher gods are secondary creations. To get to the bed-rock of Celtic religion we must remove the upper layers. This assumes what is upper. Historically the great gods are as old as any we know in possession of the Celts. If they agree rather well with phenomena common to other

compare Caesar, *B. G.* v. 12). The Gauls were of the same linguistic stock as the British, *sermo haud multum diversus;* but had become lazy and were less war-like, *segnitia cum otio.*

[1] See *The Bronze Age in Ireland,* by G. Coffey, London, 1913.

branches of the same stock, it is reasonable to conclude, not that high gods come before others, but that the Celts may have brought high gods with them. Little localized spirits stay behind when a people migrates; when resettled, the same people picks up new ones off the ground where they grow.

Of course, a Roman would be apt to make mistakes in describing outlandish gods. Some of the Celtic gods described as "Jupiters" have a disc, some a hammer or bolt. In identifying all these gods there is a good deal of uncertainty. Nor need we lay too much weight on etymological equations. Yet some of these, approved by recognized Celtic scholars, are, if certain, instructive as well as interesting.

The father of Ossian (Ossain) was Finn,[1] who in turn is son of Cumhal, Irish for (the god) Camulos, whose name lingers in Colchester (of old, Camulodunum), and the word *camulos* appears to mean sky, etymologically equal to German *himmel*. Euhemerized gods are a feature of Irish mythology and there is nothing strange anywhere in the reduction of a god to an historical hero (the Persian epic is built upon such heroes). Thor and Donar again may appear in Celtic Taranis or Taranacos, a thunder-god. But apart from the slippery ground of linguistics there is tolerable certainty that Belenos and Sulis represent sun-god and sun-goddess, respectively (Belenos of Gaul, worshipped by the Druids, becomes in the *Morte D'Arthur* a mere king). Then there is a Vintius, probably a Wind-god, though called Mars. Lucetius is a light-god, perhaps lightning. The Mars of the British called "war-brilliant" (Belatucadros) shows no sign of elevation from a low-down "spirit of fertility." What shall we say, too, of gods named "the all-wise," "he of brilliant energy," "the enduring" (persistent), dubbed by the Romans Mars or Jupiter? The gods called "the highest" and "thunderer" are at least as old as any Celtic gods we know.[2]

[1] He corresponds to a British fertility-god, Gwyn ab Nudd, and the Welsh king of fairies.

[2] Ollovidios, "all-knowing," is called a Mars; Ambisagros, "en-

There is reason to believe that Celts and Romans consorted together, before becoming "Celts" and "Romans," for a long period. They have one or two grammatical forms not shared by other Aryans and indicating a closer connection than that between Roman (Italic) and German or Slavic. Roman and Celt had much in common otherwise. Both were war-like, yet both from their earliest history were agricultural. Ambactonos was a very venerable Celtic god of farming. But there was no farmer-caste. When a Belgian warrior stopped fighting he returned to the plough. The Celts, too, as well as the Gauls, had been expert metal-workers for centuries before Caesar invaded Britain (in 55 B. C.).[1] Both worshipped trade-gods and smith-gods, sometimes under the form of fire-gods, who patronized arts and represented recondite wisdom. As sundry Celts derived through the mother (matrilinear), they naturally made much of goddesses and had Mother and Queen divinities, such as "Diana" (so named by Romans) and the "Ops" called Rosmerta, who represented nature-power and productivity, not as mere spirits but as high Powers. There is also a Mother of the Gods, Anu or Ana, perhaps equivalent to the Gaelic Danu, Mother of Light-gods (below). How many Celtic gods were raised to godhead from man's estate we do not know. Some gods may once have been

during," a Jupiter. Iovanucaros, "lover of youth," is a god paired with Mercury, who is also "the wise," Visucios. The water-god Bedaios is also called a Jupiter. These various Jupiters, etc., are probably expressions of belief in a general sun-god and god of weather ramifying into sky, thunder, light, etc., embodied with a local clan-god and healing-god. They are chiefly of Gaul. The "all-wise" (etc.) gods are epithets individualized as separate persons.

[1] Britain became a Roman province in 43 A. D. It was abandoned in 410 A. D., by which time trade-route culture, which had existed long before, had been largely reinforced by direct contact with the Romans, whose own religion had previously been Hellenized and Orientalized. Traces of Oriental-Roman cult remained in Britain long after the Romans withdrew. Even in Tacitus's time, the better British of the south of England dressed like Romans, spoke Latin, and were building forums and baths.

human. One of the leaders of the Boii was "deified" after death.

It is therefore impossible to see primitive Celtic only in the much later tales of giants, fairies, and magicians in Ireland and Britain, tales which, were they primitive, would still be of doubtful interpretation. If we seek as indicative of Celtic character the most wide-spread phenomena, they are the worship of a few great gods over a wide area,[1] the employment of magic, the influence of the priesthood, and a general but localized belief in special terrestrial divinities, silvani, animals, rivers,[2] springs, etc. In Gaul and lower Germany the cult of Mothers, generally a Mother in three forms, is prominent, which in the British Islands becomes a belief in fairies. Groups rather than individuals are often honoured, or feared, like the Dusii, evil spirits plaguing women, as elsewhere ghosts and storm-spirits are wont to be honoured *en masse* rather than by individual names. Honour was paid not usually in temples but in groves, *nameton,* although Celtic temples were not unknown on the Continent and idols were common in the case of individual gods, such as the three mentioned by Lucan as Teutates, Esus, and Taranis, who were individually worshipped with bloody sacrifices. Of these, Teutates is possibly a tribal god, whose name suggests, what is otherwise suspected, that Teutonic and Celtic elements combine in many "Celtic" phenomena. Taranis (above) is the Mars or Jupiter of thunder. Esus is the tribal god of the Essuvii (in France; "interpreted" as a solar or a vegetation-spirit); his name appears to be one with that of certain Irish divinities (Aes). A British culture-hero of local fame, Gwydion,[3] though it is not certain that he is Woden, yet agrees remarkably well

[1] Such as Lug in England and France, Ogma in Ireland, Gaulic Ogmius, and Epona (equa), the goddess of horses.

[2] Such as the Dee (Deva, goddess); Sequana (goddess of) the Seine; Belisama, "most warlike," goddess of the Mersey. The river itself was the local deity.

[3] Gwydion's Castle in the Milky Way (in the star-cult of the Welsh), which, however, is also "Lug's Chain."

with the Germanic god in name and characteristics, as both were distinguished for war, poetry, magic, and the ability to raise up men from vegetable growths. Mabon, of the Arthur legend, is one with Mapones, the "great youth" form of that medicinal "Apollo" revered as a god of healing springs under the name Borvo (Bourbon), the "boiler." Other such Apollos are Moguns, whose name survives in Mainz (Moguntiacum), and Grannus, the Apollo of Aix-la-Chapelle, who is paired with "long-lived" Sirona, an earth-goddess, as Silvanus is paired with Silvana, and Borvo with the probably animal-spirit Damona.

The last named deity, like the Epona already mentioned, shows that animal-worship was wide-spread among the Celts, who wore skins and engraved images of the boar and serpent; but the bearing of these facts is by no means certain. They do not prove, as has been supposed, that the Celts were totemists, nor is this proved by the further fact, mentioned by Caesar, that the Celts did not eat the hen, goose, and hare, although they kept them as domestic animals. The hare, for example, was used in Britain for divination, which might have secured its inviolability as an article of food. The goose may have been sacred, as in India, through evincing a heavenly nature by its lofty flight. Caesar does not mention as taboo the pig, which some Celts will not eat. This may have been divine either as a fighting-animal, the wild boar, or as a rooting animal sacred to under-world deities. Its love of acorns alone would make it perhaps sacred to the oak-tree revered by the Tree-priests (Druids). Many of the divine animals or deities of animals are unexplained or even doubtful in meaning. Tarvos, the bull,[1] and Moccus (the boar?) and even Mullo (the

[1] The Tarbfess was an Irish (Ulster) tauric festival or "bull-feast," in which a man ate of a slaughtered white ox and then, gorged, slept and dreamed, while four Druids repeated magical verses. The man the sleeper saw in his dream was then made king of Ireland, Windisch, *Irische Texte*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 200. This shows a lingering divinity in the bull, as well as a lingering (magician's) power in the Druid.

ass?) are probably deities or sacred animals, the last perhaps as a war-animal, like March, the horse of war (compare Mars).[1] Snakes were burned at the summer festival, but the horned serpent seems to be revered. Artio of Bern is either the local bear-goddess, like Artemis, or a culture-goddess (from *ar,* to plough, daringly supposed by some scholars to be related to King Ar-thur). The raven was sacred; the crow was regarded as a prophetic, but not perhaps as a divine bird. Yet in this whole domain of animal-worship there still remains more dubiosity than certainty.

Like the Romans and their neighbours, the Celts laid great weight on the flight of birds and course of animals for purposes of divination, and snakes were used for the same purpose. Further they observed celestial phenomena and employed yew-rods to the same end; but both the other priests or soothsayers, *vates* to the Roman, and the Druids examined with special care the entrails of animals slain for this purpose and the nature of the blood.

Such divination was but part of the priestly duties of the Druids, whose rôle as philosophers and prophets was, however, probably much exaggerated by classical writers. Druidic "philosophy" consisted in magic and a belief in metempsychosis; they conducted the barbarously cruel sacrifices of the gods of clan and war and agriculture, consisting in burning human victims in wicker cages. It was their duty also to save the "soul of the oak" by amputating its mistletoe with a golden knife in moonlight; and distil from it a curative drink.

The priests formed no caste but were chosen from the youths of the people and elected their own chief. In Ireland they superintended the selection of a king. As prophets, they chewed acorns for inspiration and their sacred oak was a parallel to that of Dodona, whose leaves also gave oracles.[2]

[1] Moccus appears to mean boar (pig), but is called a Mercury by the Romans, as Mullo is called a Mars.

[2] A Gallic invasion may have taken place in Greece. In Asia Minor there were Gauls whose centre of worship was Dru-nemeton (Oak-grove).

They acted as political representatives of the people and after Caesar's time adopted distinctions of rank of which he says nothing. It is questionable whether the Druids had everywhere the like authority. Their Gallic centre of influence was Carnutum (Chartres), but they had also a British centre. That the Druids were not Celtic but a primitive priesthood disliked by the Celtic aristocrats is an hypothesis based on the belief that these aristocrats were "Aryan" and that the Druids were pre-Aryan magicians. They would thus belong to the religious stratum represented by the cult of rocks, trees, streams, and other objects of earth, as opposed to the Aryan element represented by the cult of sun and fire. But in Gaul they were certainly much more than the magicians of a despised primitive culture. The privileges of this priesthood consisted in exemption from duties of war and tribute; the right to punish offenders and even to ostracize recalcitrants. Their office made them the educators of the young, who were trained to memorize verses containing their sacred lore. They appear thus, especially as this education is said to have sometimes taken twenty years, in the light of Brahmans committing their sacred knowledge year after year to other Aryan aristocrats, chiefly of the warrior caste. In another point also they resemble the Brahmans, namely in the feud between them and the Celtic nobles. This led them to take sides with Caesar against their own knights. It was political and not religious intolerance which subsequently led to their overthrow, when the knights had made themselves Roman favourites. Then the Druids inflamed the national hatred against the Roman conquerors, who, however, not only reduced the Druids but also put an end to their "savage sacrifices." Classical writers sometimes distinguish between the Druids and prophets and poets or bards, as Caesar, who knew them first, does not. Probably the immolation of victims was performed by other priests (we know that other priests existed), and the bards may have been a class apart, or, like the Irish poets, bards and

magicians both, while diviners or seers were sometimes Druids and sometimes not. It is clear that the Druids, as the only organized priesthood, had charge of laws, human and divine, and that they arbitrated disputes and awarded penalties, exactly as did the early Roman priesthood. Permitted to excommunicate any member of the tribe, they were able to cut off any one who offended them from all social intercourse. They held court once a year in what was regarded as the centre of Gaul (Carnutum). They were acquainted with Greek letters but refused to commit their own wisdom to writing (exactly like the Brahmans). Their teaching in Caesar's time embraced the subjects of immortality, astrology, the extent and nature of the universe, and the power of the immortal gods. This last item shows that they worshipped greater gods than the earth-spirits. Their religious wisdom expounded the doctrine of immortality, and taught an eschatology summed up in the words that "Fire and Water will prevail," to end the world in a cataclysm. By the middle of the first century A. D. their power had been broken. In Ireland the word corresponding to Druid meant no more than a magician famous for malediction. In Britain and elsewhere there were later priestesses, as well as priests, corresponding to the Great Mother and Great Queen divinities, as well as to the groups of female spirits, such as the oak-spirits, Dervonnae, the water-spirits, Niskai, and the goddesses of cross-roads,[1] not yet individualized.

The festivals reveal little outside of the common (European) sun-, summer-, and harvest-rites of fertility and lustration, but they show a worship of the sun-god recognized by name also. At mid-summer and the "bright fire" (Beltane) festival of May-day, cattle were driven through fires and a deasil dance ("with the sun") formed part of

[1] Compare Welsh Rigantona, Great Queen (goddess) with Albiorix, world-king, Caturix, Battle-king, and other great gods known only by such titles but identified as Mars by the Romans. Some of the grouped goddesses may be Teutonic rather than Celtic.

the ritual. At Samhain, or New Year's, Oct. 31,[1] the harvest festival, lasting a week, with its new fire from the old, its savagery and licentious Saturnalia, reveals a cult of weapons and of the dead, the avoidance of evil spirits, injurious to animals and crops, perhaps, too, the cult of the Maiden, as in Greece, a spirit of vegetation in female form. Between these festivals came the feast of the sun-god Lug (cf. Lyons), celebrated with horse-races, and the driving of cattle through water. Its autumnal character would be associated with the decline of the sun and decay of fertility.[2]

Probably connected with some such spirit of fertility, magnified into Mother Earth, come the teachings, vague as they are, concerning the fate of man hereafter. The Celt has always loved the earth; even his other-world was terrestrial. The fertile Mother, who is also mother of all the lesser spirits of field and spring, is his Mother (goddess) also. There is no idea that men were created; they descended or ascended from Earth, whose consort is the Dis Pater recognized by Caesar, perhaps the god represented as armed with hammer and cup, symbols of fertility, and like the sun-god, wearing three horns. The hammer and ax were themselves worshipped in all probability at an earlier date. Dis may have been a male equivalent of Earth as her consort. When burned or buried the men who come from him or from Earth simply return to him to live happily. The

[1] With the Celts the night preceded the day and the winter the summer. Samhain or Samfuin was celebrated with a feast for three days before and three days after the day. At this feast the savages who celebrated exhibited the "tongues of the men they had slain," the greater number the greater glory. But as they cheated by substituting animal (ox!) tongues, it was decreed that each should unsheathe his sword, to test his word, for demons spoke from the swords in old times (Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 198).

[2] It still remains questionable whether the fire-practices, with fire-wheels, etc., were sun-rites or apotropaic. Dr. Frazer has now adopted the latter explanation. See the third edition of *Balder the Beautiful*, London, 1913, in which the author accepts the view of Westermarck, that the fire-festival was a purificatory guard against evil spirits.

lower earth-spirits became later the swarm of fairies and brownies, who in northern lore preside over field and house. Yet none of these is really older than the Mother herself nor than the great war-goddess Andraste, to whom Boadicea prayed when the Romans attacked her land. Historically at least the great deities are old as they are long-lived. Rigantona (Rhiannon) the Great Queen is of old the wife of the king of the underworld (Pwyll), who is friendly to the "sons of the sea" and opposed to the gods of light (so that Gwydion slays his son Prydéri). In the sixth century at Autun there was an image carried about the fields to protect them in idol-form. She was called Berecyntia, that is, Gaulic Brigindu, a goddess, who in Gaelic form was mother of Ogma (Ogmios, the god of the furrow and of eloquence), but primarily a goddess of fire and fertility. As Saint Brigit [1] in Christian times she still retained at Kildare a fire-service presided over in secrecy by thirty nuns, who acted as vestal virgins, guardians of the fire. She was daughter of the "good god," Dagda, whose characteristic was skill or cunning (compare Daksha, the dextrous god in India) in Gaelic legend, and consort of Bres, the god of fertility.

What little we know concerning Celtic belief in a future life is gleaned from Welsh and other northern legends. The dead may appear as birds. Usually, however, soul and body live hereafter in a happy land, probably below earth, where there are various kingdoms and kings who contend with each other as in this life. Exceptionally great men may be transported to the Blessed Island Avallon or a similar western home of the dead, but in Irish legends generally only gods and heroes go thither. At the same time, warriors are supposed to be influential from their tombs and

[1] Brig may mean flame or power. Brigit was one of the Minervas mentioned by Cæsar. She presided over healing and prophecy as well as fire and smith-work, either in person or as "another goddess with the same name." Healing and prophecy are combined here as in the Apollo-cult. Brigit herself is a female counterpart of the Hindu Brihas-pati, lord of power and patron of the fire-cult.

the heads of the slain are offered to the mighty shades, who must therefore live in or on earth. Oracles at graves are also known; the dead speak from the tomb. These views, one of an earthly paradise (the Celtic other-world is a "land of youth and beauty"), and one of the life in the grave ("the loveless land"), not to speak of the western Elysium, do not accord very well with the Druidic view of metempsychosis, and it is probable that the latter was not universal among the Celts. As debts might be paid in the next life, a man was apparently thought to be in some place where earthly conditions still hold. Stories tell how a mortal on earth might wed a spectre of the world below.[1] The fate of the dead was not conditioned by ethical considerations and even in the transmigration-theory of the Druids there was no idea of gradual purification, such as is found in Pythagoreanism.

Arms and ornaments were burned or buried with the dead and human victims also accompanied the soul, even the widows in voluntary suttee sometimes electing to die with their husbands. The dead were supposed to rise at the beginning of the year; Samhain Eve (Oct. 31) was the festival of the dead. Christmas Eve was called Mother-Night, when the Great Mother received the dead, probably originally one festival with Samhain. The Dis Pater of Caesar, son or consort of Mother Earth, may have been the god depicted as a huge dog swallowing the dead, but this is not certain.[2]

Of the misty myths of British-Gaelic legend that of the Holy Grail is the most important. It is an interpretation, mediaevally spiritualized, of the never-failing dish of the sun, as it appears in India, or of the "good god" Dagda, in Gaelic lore, whose guarded cauldron spins about; out of

[1] The future world is often located under a lake. Arthur's wife is named "White Spectre" (Gwenhwyfar), which "suggests that she too played a part in a story of the same kind" (Anwyl, *Celtic Religion*, London, 1906).

[2] Others think that Dis Pater is Esus, or Bile, ancestor of the Irish Celts.

which comes for men and gods food inexhaustible. In Welsh tradition it is represented by a cauldron of magic knowledge. Bran of Britain had a cauldron which restored the dead to life, like the well of Diancecht, the god of medicine of the Danu tribe. All these, together with Medea's cauldron and Arthur's Table Round, have been united with more or less plausibility as phases of sun-disc mythology.[1]

Dagda is the clever god of the tribe of Danu, mother of light-gods, Tuatha De Danann, defended by the sons of Fire, whose arms are forged by Goibniv (Welsh, Gofannon), a smith-god. Another son of Dagda is Angus, whose music led all to follow (Pied Piper) and whose kisses became birds. The Danu tribe led by Nuada (a sun-god?) was opposed by the Fir-Bolgs, whose gods were giant Fomorachs, till Nuada lost a hand and the Fomorach Bress married Dagda's daughter Brigit. Mile, son of Bile, eventually defeated the Danus, whose Nuada was slain by the Fomorach Cyclops Balor (his daughter married Diancecht). The Danus then fled to the western Isles of the Blest, those preferring to remain becoming fairy women of the mounds (Bean-Sidhe, banshees).

Bress and his Fomorachs have been explained as fertilizing spirits, but the Celts regarded them as spirits of storm and death. Perhaps, as scath-spirits, they were both giants and shadows. A defender of the Danu tribe was Manannan, a three-legged glorious god and also first king of the Isle of Man, patron of sailors and son of the sea, Ler (King Lear; cf. Leicester). His son is Bran, an underground giant-king, patron of bards, whose head guarded the land. Erin was daughter of the culture-hero Ogma. Boadicea (61 A. D.) was perhaps named for a Boudicca goddess of war, a "great queen," like Morrigan (Macha) and Nemetona, another war-goddess of Britain. Bran's

[1] Compare A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, Cambridge, 1914, p. 239 (more speculation than history). The Hawk as sun also enters into these speculations, Kirke, the Volsci as Hawks, etc., and the Troy-town circles. Compare the Welsh Gwalchmai and Gwalchaved (Galahed), Hawks of May and of Summer, respectively.

sister, Branwen, the "fair-bosom" British goddess, is regarded by some as a "northern Venus." The British equivalent of the Gaelic Nuada (above) is Nudd or Lud, who, as a king, gives his name to Ludgate and London. At Lydney in Gloucestershire the ruins of his sanctuary have revealed him as a god with a four-horse chariot and wearing solar rays, his name appearing here as Nud or Nodon. Lug, the long-handed Gaelic god of fire, may also have been a sun-god. He has already been referred to as one of the gods recognized over a wide area, his name (Lugos, probably the same) being preserved in Lyons, Leyden, etc. It is his son who became king of the Welsh fairies (above).

The Welsh Arthurian tales have left a deposit of dwarfs, fairies, and magicians in Brittany, of cognate stock, and a noble circle of knights and ladies in English and Continental literature. What the characters were originally it is hard to say. Arthur's queen, Guinevere, has already been explained as a spectre-bride. Lud was one of his knights and married his sister. Gawaine may be the sun. Arthur himself may have been a "Romanized Briton" or a culture-hero. Merlin is undoubtedly a primitive character (Britain at first was called Merlin's Place). His figure reverts to a time when culture-gods were gradually superseding older deities. Arthur scorned the defence given the land by Bran's head and the Saxon conquest was the result. But Arthur passed to Avilion (Avallon, Elysium) before the Saxons arrived and there is here no rumour of war, as in Ireland, prior to the coming of the present inhabitants. "Not by war and bloodshed but by justice and peace" did Arthur conquer the country. He taught agriculture, civil government, and literature by means of bards. According to Welsh tradition, the first "pillar of Britain" was Hû Gadarn, the ancestor of the Cymric race. The name Britain comes from Prydain, son of Aed the Great, who first established a settled government and was the second pillar.[1]

[1] Squire, *Mythology of Ancient Britain and Ireland*, Chicago, no date. Aed also means fire and he may derive from a god.

Yet what has been guessed about the Celtic gods is more entertaining than convincing and however interesting these myths may be, they give us no clear light on primitive Celtic religious belief. But they help to show more clearly its chief peculiarity, the humanizing tendency of Celtic religion. It brings the divine to earth.

From another heroic cycle, concerning the Red Irish of Ulster, scholars have drawn the conclusion that the old Irish kings were looked upon as divine. We know that chieftains were sometimes deified and that gods have descended to earth as kings, but it is not till the Irish legend of Conchobar that we hear of "terrestrial gods" (dia talmaide) as an epithet of chieftains and then only because these chieftains claim descent from the Tuatha De Danann. These god-descended kings are in fact no more than the "god-born" chieftains of Greece, except as they are original gods that have been converted into pseudo-historic kings. One of them, famous for cattle-raiding, is Cooley (Cuchullin), the son of Conchobar's sister, mysteriously begotten by the god Lug (above),[1] and he himself perhaps existed only in poetry. As son of the sun-god no one could look at his glory; his bodily heat was so great that it melted snow and boiled water. It is such "kings" who in Irish legends suffer the taboos (*gessa*) of which much has been made in the theory of the priestly origin of the royal power.

Cooley's warriors were attacked in Ulster by all the rest of Ireland, through the instigation of the queen of Connaught, at a time when they were lying magically ill (in winter, when sun-gods are weak?); but Cooley fought one chief a day and defeated each champion in turn, while Lug healed his wounds, till the Ulster heroes recovered from their "curse" of illness, brought upon them by Macha, the mate of Mor-

[1] His sister Dechtire becomes a bird and devours vegetation. She is also his charioteer. A boy she adopts dies and turns out to be the sun-god, by whom unwittingly she becomes mother of Setanta (Cuchullin). See Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 134f.

rigan, and routed the foe. This same Cooley slays his own son in battle without knowing it (like Rustum) and is slain by trickery after breaking taboo (here he eats dog-flesh).

Another cycle of stories relates that the god Camuios or Cumhal (heaven?) had a son Fionn or Finn, who demands the kingdom, from which the Gaul has ousted him, and heads a band of patriots, among whom is Ossian (Oisin), called Fianna ("Fenians"). These Fenians mingle with the fairies [1] and Dagda's son gives his daughter to Finn. Supported by the Tuatha De Danann, the Fenians finally defeat the king (of Ireland), who has united with the Gaul to dispossess Finn. After three hundred years, Ossian, who has meantime been living in the Land of Youth (Paradise) with the daughter of Ler's son Manannan, returns to his own country and converses with Patrick, who exhorts him to weep and repent. "Weep will I," replies Ossian, "but not for God, but because Finn and the Fenians are dead." [2]

Patrick came to Ireland in the fifth century and St. Columba converted the Picts in the sixth century, by which time paganism was declared by a contemporary writer to be extinct in civilized Britain. Christian records have received beliefs already influenced by German legends.[3] What we are fain to call Celtic in northern belief is often of doubtful origin, but despite wavering etymologies and daring equations, enough remains certain to establish the broad base of Celtic religion. Through forms generally local may be seen a prevailing faith in many gods, some of higher phenomena, more of terrestrial powers, a special devotion to nature in her earthly manifestations, not unconnected with the poetic temperament of the people and the spirituality of the Celtic

[1] Windisch has shown that the Fenians were not a primitive race before the Scots, as used to be thought. Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

[2] Squire, *op. cit.*

[3] Many mythological traits have been inherited by the Christian Church in Ireland, whose saints reflect mythological and Druidic attributes and whose legends have absorbed a mass of Celtic "lower mythology." See on this fascinating subject C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, Oxford, 1910, p. cxxix, *seq.*

saints. Perhaps, too, the domination of the priestly power (the Druids), as contrasted with the freedom of the Germans, may be a racial trait due to the mysticism of the Celtic character.

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CHAPTER NINE

RELIGION OF THE SLAVIC PEOPLES

In English we are wont to speak of any people east of Germany as Slavic, though we sometimes call the Lithuanians, Letts, and Prussians West Slavs in distinction from the Russians, Czech, Poles, Wends, Slovaks, and Serbians. The former should be distinguished as Baltic and the latter as Slavic groups, the Baltic peoples lying between Germany and the true Slavs.[1] The mythology of both groups is in part identical and they both belong to one linguistic family. The earliest reference to their religion may be the remark made by Tacitus concerning the Aestii (*Germania,* 45), who are described as East Germans worshipping the mother of the gods and carrying the figures of wild boars as religious insignia. The connecting link between the Baltic and real Slavic groups is their mutual adoration of Perkunas as chief god. He is the god of storm and thunder and was formerly regarded as identical with the Vedic Parjanya (rain-god); but the etymology is now suspect.

The first clear evidence regarding the religion of the Prussians is from the fourteenth century, at which time they are described as worshipping the sun, moon, stars, thunder, birds, and animals; almost every creature being to them a divinity. They are said also to have had holy groves and fields and waters, which were taboo to the people at large.[2] In general the Baltic group worshipped heavenly phenom-

[1] Among these are usually enrolled the Bulgarians, but they are Slavs only by language, being racially allied with the Turks.

[2] The original account (1326 A. D.) of this taboo says: *habuerunt etiam lucos campos et aqas sic quod secare aut agros colere vel piscari ausi non fuerant in eisdem* (Usener, *Götternamen,* Bonn, 1896, p. 81).

ena, especially the sun, moon, star of the morning, and dawn, but above all Perkunas, to whom sacrifice was made as late as the seventeenth century. Some mythology sprang up concerning him: his mother cares for and bathes the sun, whose daughter was loved by Perkunas. The sun may be the "horses' god" called Usinj by the Letts in the seventeenth century.

Offerings were made also to domestic spirits, notably to the house-serpent. Every aspect of life was governed by its special spirit or genius, such as the spirit of house, of hearth, of wealth, of birth, etc. The female spirit that watches over the bed of the mother is also a sort of Fortuna or luck-goddess, like the Roman Carmenta. Other spirits or deities guard and care for the field, the flock, the bees, the bride, the groom, etc. They may be described as sacred specialists.

We have already seen that certain religious phenomena are conspicuous in some environments while not unknown elsewhere, fetishism in Africa, taboo and mana in Polynesia, totemism in North America. So here, the special character of these spirits, as undifferentiated powers of an abstract, rather than personal, nature has been particularly emphasized. Usener and other scholars following his lead (since 1896) have made it the basic form of all religious phenomena, so that Usener himself derived all gods of the Indo-Europeans from prehistoric types of this sort, the closest analogue to the Lithuanian spirits being the Numina of early Roman religion. This is therefore the proper place to analyse the phenomena a little more carefully and see whether such far-reaching results as have been drawn from them are fully justified.

These Lithuanian spirits are described for us by missionaries and travellers of the fourteenth and following centuries, who briefly mention with disdain the various gods of the people they regard (rightly enough) as little better than savages; for such were the Prussians of six centuries ago, whose primitive religion was only gradually influenced by

Scandinavian and Christian thought, the Scandinavians particularly having introduced among all the Baltic tribes the great temples and costly images found there.

But even according to the accounts of the missionaries, it is evident that the Lithuanian deities were by no means such sexless abstractions as Usener represents them. We have already mentioned Perkunas (Perkuns, Perun), the great god of thunder and storm common to the Baltic and Slavic pantheon, and obviously the greatest or one of the greatest divinities. He was worshipped by some tribes on the mountain tops and to him the oak was sacred as the wood from which, in conjunction with the linden, fire was produced; so that these trees themselves were sacred, to men and women, respectively. Offerings were made to the oak as his tree, sick people climbing three times through the aperture made by the trunk and bough and leaving behind them as offerings clothes, knives, and other things fastened to the tree; or, in case money was the offering, it was placed on the ground before the oak. A perpetual fire was kept burning in honour of Perkunas. When a thunderstorm arose the old Prussians fell on their knees and cried aloud, "Pass us by, Perkunas." Sacrifices to him lasted till the seventeenth century as a rain-invocation, since it was he who sent rain. He is known as the god *par excellence*. This is surely no sexless Numen, for, as already stated, he has a mythology representing him as wooer of the sun's daughter. Even the Letts, who make "mothers" of most of the Lithuanian gods, do not feminize him. The priest, Vaidelotte, wise man, wizard, knew him only as a mighty male god impersonating the same natural phenomenon that has made parallel gods in other places. With him as a secondary god is revered Lituvanis, "rain-maker," also a male god, apparently an underling who makes the rain sent in storm by Perkunas.

Another natural phenomenon is Veyopatis, god of wind, whom the Letts turned into a "mother" god, Veya Mate. We shall have occasion elsewhere to speak of this procedure,

but it suffices here to call attention to the fact that this conversion of male into female deities results in a false appearance of matrilinear and therefore earlier social condition.[1] It is well known that the Mothers of the Letts are not earlier but later forms of male gods. But in both interpretations the deities are anthropomorphized sufficiently to be regarded as either male or female, not "sexless Numina."

Corresponding, or rather antithetical, to the god of thunder or the sky (Svarog, sky-god, is Russian), stands the figure of Zemipatis, the Earth-lord, who appears also as a female, Zemeluks, whom the dead serve, but chiefly as Zemininkas, the great god of the underworld, to whom a sacrifice was made at the time (November 2nd) of All-Souls, and in December or when bad weather was approaching. To him a cock and hen were sacrificed and prayer was made. Each worshipper laid upon the ground some of the food he was about to eat and "gave thanks" to the Earth-god, hoping also thereby to get further blessings from this male Hades, who, moreover, was the brother of the *dea terrestris* called Zemyna, a goddess who brings blessings to households and lands, and is also revered at burials.

Sun-worship is also a Lithuanian trait. Saule-le, the little sun, is the mother of the stars, also the bride of the sky. "In Lithuania," we are expressly told, "there was a race that worshipped the sun." An early myth represents him as a male god formerly captured and so invisible, till the stars with a huge hammer broke open his prison-house, and this hammer plays a part in the ritual of his worship. His name appears in various forms (Zvaigdukas, "Suaixtix"). In Kurland the peasant boys and girls at the solstice still run about with fire crying out, "Ligo, ligo, O Sun," that is, "swing" (again through the sky), an interesting reminiscence of the swing-ceremony, practised also by Hindus and American Indians, as a sort of sympathetic magic to help

[1] Matrilinear succession itself is not necessarily early; among the inhabitants of Borneo, for example, matriarchy is later than patriarchy.

the sun. Of moon-worship there remains a trace in the worship of Menu, the new moon, to whom the (eastern) Prussians still pray.

Among lower phenomena are to be noticed Akmo, the Rock (god), Bangputtis, the "wave-blower," a water-god, and numerous gods of the farm, such as Baubis, cattle-god, Babilus, bee-god, Bobilis, garden-god, Gurcha or Kurcha, the corn-genius, made of the ears of corn at harvest, but identified with Padrymbe or Autrimpus as god of moisture and growth.[1]

What is true in Usener's theory is that abstract personifications are also found along with personified phenomena. But this is not new; such spirits, Increase, Health, etc., have always been recognized. So the Lithuanian Budintaia (fem. but also masc.) is an "awakener," a spirit like the Vedic Savitar, and Bentis is "binder" as conciliator, the spirit that unites in harmony those travelling together (compare Lygiczus, "like-maker"). But alongside of these there are countless "lords," corresponding to the Vedic lord of the fields, such as "house-lord," "field-lord," "fountain-lord," "beer-lord" (Raugu-patis), who are not the things themselves but the lords or gods thereof; nor is the lord-form to be assumed as a "later" element. Fire is worshipped as "holy Ugnis," a male god, though the feminizing influence is felt also in the conception of fire as Ponyke or Our Lady, who gives omens; as omens are also drawn from the god of fountains and water, to whom snakes are sacred. The house-snake himself is no abstraction but a real animal god, as is Yvas the owl (as god) or Vilkas, the wolf, to whom an animal is sacrificed in December with a ceremony to keep wolves from the herd. Even the group-spirits like the Veles, ghostly forms of the dead as female spirits, and

[1] Compare Usener, *op. cit.*, p. 91, and Mannhardt, *Myth. Forschungen*, Berlin, 1884, p. 286f.; *Wald und Feldculte*, 1875, p. 190. As Autrimpus interchanges with Antrimpus, so perhaps Andra is to be read as god of storm for Audros (sc. *deva*) genitive of Audra, storm (Indra). With Kurcha, compare the maize-goddess figured by the American Indians.

Laumes, forms representing nightmares, are not abstractions but very living creatures, the former perhaps identical with the Vile, fairy-spirits, of the southern Slavs. They bring good-fortune, etc., and are anything but Numina, as they are passionate and unruly.

Other forms are those of the personal genius or "helper"; Puko, a sort of friendly dragon, who has a secret apartment in the house and, if served with food and drink, brings wealth to the house-holder; Ausca and Bezlea, Aurora and the corresponding sunset-light as deity. Gyvate, the house-snake, may be the ancestral ghost in the form of a snake, as *gyvas* means "living one," but this is doubtful. The house-lord called Dimstipatis is a sort of Lar, *fumi focique dominus;* but the regular word for ghosts[1] is Deives (cf. Avestan *daevas*), as "goddesses," and virtually the same word, Deivaites, designates the goddesses of springs and rivers (nymphs). An interesting parallel to the Hindu use of goddess as a general term for the plague-spirit is found in Diedeveite, "great goddess," the only name of the deity who brought the plague of 1571. There are also those thumbkin gnomes called Barzdukai, bearded men, who live under earth and give blessings, and the Krukai, similar dwarfs, distinguished by a red top, who dwell in caves and the house and bring luck. Along with these, but in no wise more primitive, are those abstractions on which Usener lays especial weight, Skalsa, Euporia, Vais-gautis, "fruitfulness-getting," Eratinis, adjective diminutive as god of lambs, *eras,* Dvargautis, "court-yard guardian," not to speak of Datanus or *donator (bonorum)*, Blizgulis, snow-god ("sparkler"), and the tree-gods called by the tree-name, such as Birzulis, little Birch, as god. Yet tree-cult is not the cult of a Nomen. We are told that the earliest missionaries in the fourteenth century were routed especially by the women, who resented attacks on their tree-divinities, which seem to have been especially favoured by them. Death is not an

[1] Swetas Meitas among the Letts are "pure maidens," as beings of the under-world.

abstraction and Giltine, which means death, is a goddess so alive that she is worshipped even now. She also as Deive, the goddess, is personified and has her hand-maiden, Magila, the Grave. It is true that Gotha, the goddess of increase of cattle, is an abstraction from the word for herd, and that sacrifice was made to her; and that we have companion-forms to Silvanus in Girystis, god of the wood, Laukosargas, guardians of the meadow. Further, Luck and Ill-luck are personified; Gondu at weddings is invoked by women and Pizius, invoked by men, is a phallic spirit; but these are no older, so far as the evidence goes, than the personified phenomena which have become the most important gods.

A natural but striking aspect of the Lett religion is the conversion of Christian powers into native deities. Thus Maria becomes an epithet of the "Mother of Cattle," who is invoked as Lope mate Maria. So in Lithuanian, *peklo,* hell, gives rise to Pikulas, Pluto, as a new god of the infernal regions.

As the Baltic Daives are allied to the Avestan *daevas* or evil spirits, so the general name for God in Slavic is Bogu, Persian Baga, as sharer or giver, the spirit called the "Phrygian Zeus," Bagaios. The only god the Slavs had was Perkunas, according to Procopius, though they worshipped rivers, springs, "and other demons." Their sacrifice was said to be for divination; which aim was otherwise secured by water, as to the coming harvest, and by a war-horse, as to the outcome of battle. The idol of the god who rode this horse at night was a many-headed effigy destroyed in 1168. His name, Svanto-vit, is thought by some to be no more than an adaptation of Saint Vitus, but his cult, as prophesying god of the Wends, probably contains original elements later foisted upon the Saint. The Svanto-vit festival at Rügen was an intemperate orgy of all the Baltic Slavs. Images, priests, and sacred groves distinguish the Polish gods, celebrated at fixed seasons by male and female worshippers, who sang and danced in their honour in an unrestrained

manner. They appear to have been gods of the seasons, spring, harvest, etc., and not to have been ghosts or mere Numina. The binding up of the last ears of the harvest into an idol of the harvest-spirit (Kurcha) is a general trait of peasant religion in Europe, found not only among the Baltic Slavs but also among the Germans. Much in Slavic, just as in Celtic religion, is the primitive undergrowth common to all the (European) inhabitants before Aryan culture began. Of this sort may be the spring festival, when a figure representing Marzan or Marana is drowned, perhaps to insure future strength by passing on his power.

How much Christian influence has made itself felt in Slavic religion is doubtful. John the Baptist has become Ivan Kupalo, the god of summer fruitfulness; Perun (Russian equivalent of Perkunas), the thunder-god, has conversely become Saint Elias; while Saint Blasius has become the god of herds, Volos. Idols were common, some of them costly. That of Perun at Kiev was destroyed in 988. It was of silver and gold, held a fire-stone, and an oak-wood fire burned ever before it. The underlying Slavic religion, however, is all pagan and it is apparently rather closely connected with Persian (Zoroastrian) beliefs, as not only the names but the practice testify, notably the common employment of a dog to catch the expiring soul, or, usage of the tenth century, to go with a man into the next world. If not buried, the soul, *dusha,* wandered in trees; but when cared for properly it went by way of the usual path of souls to the fields of the gods. As late as 931 A. D., a girl was buried with a dead man to accompany him on the journey into the hereafter. Among things buried with the dead the ladder is unique; it is for the soul to climb out of the grave. Burning was also practised as well as burying. The ship-like shape of the coffin indicates Scandinavian influence.

As opposed to the idea that all spirits are Numina or spirits of the field, stands a host of gods like Daj-bog, sun-god, Ogoni, Fire, Svarog, sky-god, not to speak of Domovoj, the house-spirit, and other spirits of wood and water, which

latter might be interpreted as of any sort, either as hearth- or ancestor-spirit, and either as singular or plural, since the Domovoj is a sort of Penates, helpful spirit(s) of the home. But sun, fire, and sky still linger in the names of the greater gods, to reveal their original form.

The southern branch of the Slavs (Servian, Slovak, Slovenian) has a mass of tales out of which old myths have been extracted with more or less dubiety, tales of nymphs and wood-maidens, of the love of the sun-god for the morning-star and of the moon's infatuation for the same charmer, though sun- and moon-cult are strange to the southern Slavs; especially tales of the Vile fairies (above), who tempt men, protect them, or destroy them. These are explained by some scholars as vegetation-spirits, though their functions, which relate them sometimes to the clouds and sometimes to the fate of man, as influential for good or bad fortune, scarcely corroborate this explanation. They are quite anthropomorphic spirits, falling in love, becoming jealous and envious, bewitching, and helping man, whose nature they share. Spirits of illness are also recognized and vampire spirits who suck blood, against whom magic formulas are available. The last are generally believed to be ghosts. Fate or Fortune is represented as a goddess by the Servians, who offer her libations and coins for good luck. There are also kobalts and similar spirits and among the Russians there is a demon of cold weather; while various rites at the equinoxes, harvest, and spring-time keep alive old pagan ideas of gods of fertility, the names of many of them remaining only in the (present) designation of towns.

But the remains of genuine Slavic religion are scanty and not very satisfactory for the interpretation of primitive religious notions. The Slavs have kept in touch with antiquity in preserving as gods the forms of Perkuna and Svarog and a few more great gods and in their adhesion to old seasonal rites; but the interpretation of the lower mythology and of the influence on that mythology of later thought and of foreign ideas is not certain. The solar mythology found in

Mannhardt's collections [1] has no great importance for primitive Slavic religious conceptions, as a specimen or two will show: "I look upon the sun as upon my little mother; so warm and pleasant is she; only speech she lacks"; "Behind the hill in the valley stand three silver gates; through one comes God, through the second comes the blessed Maria; through the third comes the sun with two proud golden steeds." The most instructive aspect of the religion as a whole is undoubtedly the large number of (Lithuanian, Lettic) individual spirits representing material genera, as Birch, Sheep, Bee, and the parallel with the functional spirits of the Romans and other peoples. Yet because the Lithuanians have a "corner" spirit of the space between hearth and wall (like that of the Ainus), we must not forget that "holy fire" is a greater spirit of wider application, nor can we ignore the wind-god Veyo-patis as equivalent to the Vedic Vayu, wind-god, any more than Slavic Bogu and Persian Baga can be ignored in the interpretation of primitive Slavic religion. The mediaeval accounts of the spirits are not of themselves satisfactory evidence that the spirits were understood by the reporters, and the spirits appear, through the reports, at so late a stage as to make any induction in regard to their original nature and function extremely hazardous. The most significant religious rite recorded of the Lithuanians is that alluded to above, in which Perkunas' worshippers pray to him to "pass them by," as if he were an evil spirit, which for the nonce he was. Of ethical quality in the divine nature there is little trace. The worshippers express gratitude and have spirits of concord (above); but the only spirit indicating moral obligation is the "supplicants' god," Ublanicza. Yet Bogu as "giver" recognized man's dependence on the source of good.

Lithuanian religion here and there shows traces of an undeveloped belief in metempsychosis. Undeveloped also, but apparent, is the belief in an evil spirit, opposed to the

[1] *Die Lettischen Sonnenmythen, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,* vii, pp. 73f., 209f., 281f.

good Bog, a nascent dualism. Priests of the native cult are lacking; wizards and witches replace them. Their temples were probably no more than sacred huts. Propitiation is the key-note of religious expression. Gratitude to the spirits is as rare as among the Slavs, but is sometimes expressed.

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CHAPTER TEN

RELIGION OF THE TEUTONS

The folk-god Teutates and the possible Celtic parallels of Woden and Thor (above, pp. 123–5) show that there is no certain division between Teuton and Celt, neighbors closely joined and much confused even in antiquity. Many names of persons and places are still of uncertain origin. The lower mythology of Celt and Teuton coincides to a marked degree; for example, the elves, nixes, and pixes are of the same sort and the very word elf may be Celtic. The Celtic Mothers are domiciled on German ground and it is not certain how many goddesses regarded as Teutonic may have been Celtic. In general, west of the Rhine early religious phenomena are as likely to be Celtic as Germanic.

Teutonic religion is Germanic and Scandinavian, the latter in general being recorded later. At the beginning of our era we know only of Germanic religion. At this time the Germans stood in culture below the Celts, having, for example, no deity corresponding to the Celtic "Minerva," as they were also inferior politically. On the eastern border the Germans appear to have surpassed the Slavs, from whom the Scandinavians seem to have borrowed religious elements, as the Germans may have inherited from the Finns magical lore and possibly some mythological figures.

The Germans were always notorious for their superstition, egotism, and tribal self-centredness,[1] characteristics which affected belief and outward form of religion. Till the eighth century they remained a barbarous, almost savage, people. Yet some tribes were superior to others. Thus, as Plutarch

[1] Georg Grupp, *Kultur der alten Kelten und Germanen*, Munich, 1905, p.

says that the Celts were nobler than the Germans, so Tacitus says that the noblest of the Germans were those (Chauci) who afterwards settled in Kent and Northumbria. In Germany itself there were three general groups, the Ingaevones on the north littoral, the Istaevones or western Rhinelanders, and the middle-southern Suabians. From the first group came the Saxons and Angles, at the mouth of the Elbe and on the Cimbrian peninsula and in Schleswig. These forefathers of the English were already worshipping gods of peace and trade while the middle and southern Germans were still worshipping war-gods. The Germans had few kings, chiefly in the east, but lived as mutually hostile democratic tribes; continental Saxons had no kings. Hence they had no general head of the pantheon; their gods were like their chiefs, each of importance in his own district, perhaps respected outside of it but there inferior to the local powers.

The Germans were not priest-ridden like the Celts; but they were as awed by wise women as the Celts were by Druids. They had, however, certain priests, whose duties were largely political, though they saw to divination and religious processions. Thus as political headmen these priests presided over legislative assemblies and punished criminals. But the chief inspirer of the "secret something" was the sibyl or wizardess, who was often regarded as a goddess. She gave prophecies, inspired councils, and was generally feared. Women anyway, as described by Tacitus, held a high position; girls were expected to be chaste; wives faithful to their husbands (under rather severe penalties). When the husband's body was burned, the good wife might die with her lord. So Brynhild says: "Make a pyre for the Hun, my husband, and for them dying with him; cover it with human blood and burn me there." Among the Wends the wife was burned with the husband as late as 745 A. D., and this rite was doubtless usual among the early Germans, as it was among the Celts and Scythians. Ship-burial, with burning, was a Norse custom, illustrated in leg-

end by the burning of the good Balder in his ship with his wife Nanna. Horses and men were burned or, later, buried with chiefs, the practice implying a belief in a life hereafter.

According to Tacitus, German gods were not represented by images and the only temples were groves. Probably the sacrifice consisted at first in the victim being hung on a tree in the sacred grove. Effigies and symbols of the gods were used, however, and in the north there were temples as well as images. In the Suabian country was revered "Isis," a ship-goddess (called Isis, who had a *remigium*, for that reason), and the northern islanders worshipped the Mother of Gods called Nerthus. She was carried about in a wagon drawn by cattle and then bathed by slaves who were at once drowned. A similar cult of this Mother is recorded of the Esthonians (Aestii), whom Tacitus regards as German, together with a cult of the wild boar (as in the Freyr cult). All the Germans descend, according to the tradition known to Tacitus, from an earth-god Tuisto and his son, the first Man (Mannus), ancestor of the three tribal fathers. Apart from the goddesses just mentioned and a certain Tamfana, goddess of the Marsi, who was a deity of harvest fruitfulness (she was accompanied by a dog), and another later known, perhaps Slavic, Nehalennia, worshipped in the present Netherlands, the chief deities recognized by the Germans were, according to Caesar, Sun, Moon, and Fire, but, according to Tacitus, "Mercury, Hercules, and Mars."

Caesar's account leaves much to be desired, but it cannot be due to a confusion between Celts and Germans; for, after discussing the former, he says, antithetically: "The Germans have no Druids to preside over religious matters, nor do they care much for sacrifices. They reckon as gods only such as they can perceive and those by whose help they are clearly aided, Sun, Fire, Moon; other gods they will not accept even when told of them. Their whole life consists in hunting and fighting. . . . They do not care for agriculture, living for the most part on milk, cheese, and meat. . . . They think it wicked to violate hospitality." In later legend

and usage there seems to linger some remaining fire-cult. Milk cast on a bonfire serves as a sort of sacrifice and the fire of the smithy was probably revered, as was the smith. Wayland the Smith was son of a giant and grandson of a mermaid.[1] Sacrifice to fire was common, as it is expressly forbidden by Anglo-Saxon law. These are late records and a race averse to agriculture does not pay much attention to the fire-cult or sun-cult involved in the observance of land-purification to induce fertility, a heathenish custom forbidden in the eighth century; so that the fire-cult of Caesar's record remains unexplained. But it may be due partly to the common use of fire in ordeals, such as entering flame or boiling water.[2] There is also a belief in flames as ghosts in churchyards. But the magical fire-ceremonies grouped about the idea of productivity and purgation perhaps imply riddance of evil spirits and contain enough use of fire as a mysterious power to enable an outsider to call them sacrifices to fire. The later ritual occurred at midsummer, St. John's day (July 24), St. Martin's (Nov. 10), Walpurgis Night (May 1), and especially at the time of the winter solstice and "Twelfth Night," when evil spirits and ghosts were particularly active. In the north there were the three annual festivals of sowing, victory (in spring), and harvest.[3] Fires were built on the hills and fiery wheels were rolled about as a means of purgation and of divination, the torches representing lightning, etc. Bonfires were built in which to burn effigies of evil spirits. From the smoke omens were taken. People danced about the fire. In such a fire or

[1] Forged weapons were sentient, would not work unless they wished, *quasi* divine beings. As late as 358 A. D. the German Quadi "worshipped their swords," but probably only as a symbol of the war-god.

[2] Water alone (ordeal by drowning) and blood, indicating a murderer, are also early ordeals, later supposed to indicate a judgment of God.

[3] There was also at Upsala in the middle ages a hekatomb at the feast of the nine-year cycle, in mid-winter. It is questionable whether the autumn festival was originally a festival of plenty (harvest) or, as in England, a feast of the dead.

in the so-called "need-fire," especially kindled by friction, lay a means of purgation; people and cattle leaped through it. Sacrifice of animals was made to the gods at such times and the image of god or goddess was driven about the fields. The need-fire or "sacrilegious" fire (so called by Christians) was particularly a fire of magical or religious import, to expel demons. The Anglo-Saxon "Mothers' night" (Christmas Eve) was celebrated with animal masks, apparently a ghost-ceremony. In Scandinavia, men, in dire cases kings, were burned as a sacrifice to avert famine in honour of Odhin. The frequent mention of the circular dance in connection with music and processional celebrations seems to look to solar magic; but there is doubtless in all these rites the recognition of a divine power in fire also. It is another question how old these rites are and whether they may be referred to a remoter antiquity than that in which they are known to occur. They go back at least to the first centuries of our era and may of course be much older.[1] A cult of fire may be the base of the Yule log rite which preserves the old god; but is it a god that is preserved? The Yule ceremony is not a general German rite, but Scandinavian, and not early (about the ninth century). Any magic practices with fire may easily have been interpreted as a cult. The Germans, like their neighbours, were devoted to all forms of magic and it is not necessary to suppose that they learned them all from the Finns, who, however, were noted magicians. Divination was common by means of lots, the neighing of white horses, a Greek and Persian belief, the flight and sound of birds, flow of blood, dreams, accidental meetings, single combats, to decide a battle, etc. The smoke of fire was also ominous. All these, however, showed merely the will of the gods. That such was the native interpretation is evident from the fact that the earliest diviner "looks to Heaven" as he draws the lots and invokes the gods. The chief use of fire in connection with acknowledged magic,

[1] Mannhardt regards them as pre-Aryan or European, fundamentally the same in Greece, Germany, etc.

especially in connection with the magic supposed to have been borrowed from the Finns, was to burn the magicians.

The Sun and Moon cannot be identified with the names of German gods. The Norse Balder (lord) is a poetical figure, who may reflect a solar or year myth; as the northern Heimdall, god of light and beginnings, who can hear all things and whose trump like Gabriel's wakes the dead at the end of the world, the guardian of the bridge to heaven, and contender every day with Loki for possession of the jewelled necklace called Brisingamen, is possibly a representative of daily sun-light. Loki or Logi (fire) or Lodhur [1] (heat) as "ender," though blood-brother of Odhin, may be the subterranean fire that will end the world; but this Scandinavian local mythology is inconclusive; no cult of these gods is known.[2] So it is only in later Scandinavian story that we hear of Mundilfoeri, father of sun and moon, and of the wolves that cause eclipses. The moon was believed to affect vegetation [3] and worship of sun, moon, and fire is condemned by missionaries; but all this testimony is late. We have indeed the precise statement in later accounts that the Germans or Franks worshipped sun and moon. They are so mythologically represented in a charm, perhaps of the eighth century, as healers, Sinthgut and Sunna, two sisters. This, however, may be a cue to the real state of the case. The sun is feminine and would be represented not as a god but a goddess. As such she may have been one of the fer-

[1] Gentle Balder, like Adonis, is famous only because he died; he may be a Danish vestige of Caesar's Sol. Loki is god and yet belongs to the giants. He is subterranean (fire as ender of the world) or Logi, fire, who causes Balder's death, and has been identified with a Requalivahanus, worshipped near Cologne, as "darkness." Loki is father of Hel and of the Midhgardh snake. He may retain the nature of Caesar's Volcanus.

[2] The lateness of Walhalla and other Norse conceptions must not blind us to the fact that many Norse elements are old. Balder and Odhin and Loki revert to the seventh century at least. Balder may still be a form of spring or of sun; either, rather than a former man.

[3] But our German Pennsylvanian farmers "plant by the moon," still believing in its potency as affecting vegetation; this common (even Scriptural) notion does not imply a divine moon.

tility-goddesses who are mentioned by Tacitus or one of the numerous goddesses of whom only the names survive, such as Sandraudiga, Hludana, Haeva, etc., from the Netherlands and Friesland. The names of days of the week are drawn from outside and indicate no Germanic Sun and Moon days.

The chief gods mentioned by Tacitus ("Mercury, Hercules, and Mars") can be identified with Woden, Thor, and Ziu, not only through the identity of the week-day names, Wednesday-Mercredi, etc., but through their characteristics. These gods were not, however, worshipped everywhere with like fervour. Thor is Norse and his Germanic counterpart Donar is a much less important figure. Again Ziu (Zio) or Tiu is probably a decadent god of the sky. Woden is so much a god of the dead that he might easily have escaped Caesar's notice. There is therefore no real contradiction in the seeming incongruity of the pantheon presented by Caesar and Tacitus. That the two accounts are a century apart and that in the meantime the Germans had become more civilized is not of moment. National or tribal gods do not die so quickly and the Germans were little less barbarous in the first century A. D. than in the first century B. C.

Of the group in Tacitus, Mars is the oldest and hence least important. He was worshipped, especially by the Suabians who were called Ziuwari (in part identical with the Herminones), as a sky-god in the guise of a tribal ancestor called Er, Irmin (as he was also called Saxnéat, sword-companion, by the Saxons). The ordinary form of the god's name is German Tiu, Ziu, Scandinavian Tyr, English Tiw (Tuesday), with the Frisian variant Din (Dienstag). With the title Saxnéat or Saxnot compare the battle-cry, "On Saxons, seize your *saxas*" (cleavers, stone-weapons). The god is the old battle-god, hence called Mars by the Romans, but at the same time he is the "*regnator omnium deus*," who, Tacitus says, was worshipped by the chief tribe of the Suabians in a sacred grove and to whom were made human sacrifices. Thus, even if Ziu-Tiu is not one with

Zeus, phonetically, the god is the same, and probably, as proper religious names do not always conform to the strict law of phonetics, the names also are one. He was, in the opinion of many scholars, the original chief god of the Teutons, displaced by Woden. He is not important in Norse mythology, though well known as a god who has lost one hand, like Nuada, in contest with the wolf Fenrir (i. e. eclipse?). He is, historically, by no means the chief Teutonic god, yet he is found worshipped everywhere, chiefly in the northern and central parts of Germany. Rams are sacrificed to him. The existence of a Ziesberg shows that he was worshipped on the heights as well as in sacred groves. As ruler of all, and the sky-god to whom the priest looks in divinations (above), he may well be regarded as war-god of tribes whose main business was fighting. As Tig he is identified with Mars as late as the seventh century. Thus as sword-god he may have been worshipped with the sword-dance which Tacitus regards as a sport. He was introduced into England as Mars Thingsus, god of the assembly, by Frisian soldiers (222 A. D.), but adventitiously, and as tribal god it is questionable whether he gave or received the tribal name.[1] He appears as a royal ancestral lord of the Saxons in Essex and Wessex.

Of the three chief gods, Thor, Odhin, and Freyr, of Sweden, Odhin represents the German Woden (Wuotan), who is the Mercury of Tacitus. He may have been at first the god of the Istaevones, Rhinelanders and those afterwards called Franks from south and middle Germany. He was apparently, not certainly, little regarded, though he was known, among the Alemanni and Bavarians and southern Suabians. The Suabians of middle Germany worshipped both Tiu and Woden; but in the south it is significant that Woden's day was not called thus but was known as Mitt-

[1] It is noticeable that no German tribes have names of animals or vegetables implying totemism. Images of wild beasts, *ferarum imagines*, carried by warriors, are mentioned by Tacitus (*Hist.* iv, 22), probably the effigies and signa already referred to, such as Woden's wolf, Tiu's ram, and Donar's hammer.

woch. He was known as Godan among the northern Longobards, about the mouth of the Elbe, and was prominent among Saxons, Anglo-Saxons, and Frisians, the last worshipping him particularly with his wife (here Fria) and his "sons" Thuner (Thor) and Tiu as late as the eighth to eleventh centuries. Charles the Great in the eighth century suppressed the worship of Woden among the Saxons only by merciless rapine and slaughter. As Odhin he stands in the middle of the Norse triad, but here, in Scandinavia, Odhin is an aristocratic court-god as contrasted with Thor, the god of the common people. Altogether, Woden, as Tacitus states, was the most generally worshipped German god.

Woden means wind (Wode is a storm-demon) and is particularly the god who rushes along with the Wild Hunt of souls, to whom he is psychopomp (hence as "Mercury"). As god of souls he is also an ancestral god, while again as wind-god he brings both good and harm to cattle and crops, but at the same time as storm-god he is god of the storming host of battle. He is in many ways a parallel to the Hindu Indra, god of storms and battle and fertility. Odhin, like Indra, who "wanders" and recommends wandering as a cure for sin, is the "noisy wanderer," *ómi gangleri,* but also a war-god to whom warriors come for help and who receives them into his heaven; in Longobard tradition he even becomes a sky-god, as did Indra. Human sacrifices were made to Woden as war-god and to Odhin as war- and heaven-god. But owing to outside influence Odhin is exalted as lord of the Hall of the Dead (Walhalla), the very wise magic-knowing god of the court-poets (scalds). Versed in Runes, he speaks with the head of Mimir (spirit of water and wit), a poet by virtue of the mead made of honey mixed with the spittle of gods (in the form of Kvasir, perhaps a Slavic myth), lord of the gallows, his steed, teacher of battle-formations, and, finally, as an All-father (Christian influence), the highest sky-god, creator and director of the world. He gives wealth, victory, eloquence, wisdom, valor, and "a fair wind to sailors." At the same time in this

Norse tradition he is a sort of superman who has come from Asgardh (here on the Black Sea) as a man and human king, brother of Veli and Ve. All this Scandinavian mythology, however, is so mixed with classical, Slavic, and Christian elements that it throws a confused light on original Germanic conceptions, as these are accidentally preserved in the mass of foreign accretions and later local ideas. Odhin the All-father is here, like Zeus, a god of amours and metamorphoses.[1]

In Germany, the deep-seated nature of the Woden-cult may be inferred from the fact that as late as the eighth century German (Roman Catholic) priests, professing to be Christians, were still attending his festivals and actually making sacrifices to Wuotan. In the sixth century "Woden rewards faithfulness" is still a religious motto. Beer was acceptable as a sacrifice to this god in later times, as horses and men were given to him in antiquity. Many tree-sacrifices belong to him as tree-god. Both as Woden and Odhin the god rides a grey horse and wears a cloak and hat, but Odhin only (as the price of Mimir's wit) has but one eye. As Mercury, the "giant Woden" invents Runes in later German tradition. The normal antique German weapon was not a sword but a spear and this is his weapon. Wolves and ravens presaging victory are Odhin's animals.

As medicus a German charm makes Woden the chief physician, curer of the ills he sends (compare Apollo), and so, in an Anglo-Saxon charm, Woden "takes nine wonder-twigs," with them smites the adder, "and in nine it flew." As another parallel with Indra may be mentioned that as late as 1593 ears of harvest corn are left for Woden's horse.[2] Groves (cf. Odenwald) and trees are sacred to him and as god of fertility his day (Wednesday) was and still is considered by the pious German farmer as the best day for sow-

[1] All the gods, however, assume all forms, especially those of animals, birds and insects (as in the forms taken by Loki).

[2] In the Rig Veda, the corn offered Indra is said to be for his horses.

ing and planting, though otherwise unlucky as being the day of the god of the dead.[1]

In connexion with the Norse god only is there the "home of joy," Gladhsheimr, in which Walhalla is situated. There heroes meet to drink from cups offered them by the Walkyries, maids who elect them that are to die and then wait on them in heaven. A wolf hangs before the door; over the Hall hovers an eagle; its roof and walls are made of spears and shields and there Odhin sits, rejoicing most over him who has killed most. It is noteworthy that these poetic Scandinavian gods have no inherent powers. Odhin sees all because of his throne. If another sits there, the other can see as well. Thor's strength depends on his hammer. Wisdom divine is in Odhin, but it is due to the magic ring of the dwarfs, which he wears. The gods are ever youthful only because they have the apples of Idhunn, etc. As has been said: "Similar conceptions are met with in various mythologies, but this dependent nature of the gods receives especial emphasis in Norse mythology. Not to their own nature as such, but to external conditions, do the gods owe their power."[2]

The third great god of the ancient Teutons is Thor, especially honoured in Norway and Iceland, not so prominent, as Donar, in Germany; in Anglo-Saxon he is Thunor, whose day is regarded as *dies Jovis* (Thursday). He was reckoned a Hercules by Tacitus, possibly because his thunderbolt resembled the club of the Greek hero, but per-

[1] Some scholars identify with Woden the god Henno (Death) of the mediaeval oath "By Henno" and the Hünen (the dead). Does our rustic oath "by hen" retain this word? Based on this Henno it has been urged that Woden was primarily a god of the dead (chthonic divinity), but this seems improbable.

[2] De la Saussaye, *Religion of the Teutons,* Boston, 1902, p. 286. The author here calls attention to the groups of gods, three or more. There is no original group of twelve German gods. Idhunn (above) has the apples of youth and is wife of Bragi, god of poetry. A good example of a stupid god is Hoenir, who has to be companioned by the clever Mimir, and when asked his opinion always says "Let others advise."

haps also because he was extolled as "bravest of men" in battle, a position due to his being an eponymous hero. In Norway and Sweden and Friesland, where Thursday is Thunor's day, he is a god of the people as contrasted with the aristocratic Odhin, who is warlike and amorous while Thor is home-loving and domestic.

The reason for this change of character lies in the fact that, with the aristocracy, Odhin usurped the function of Thor as fighter, leaving to him his other attributes of thunder-god as a beneficent deity of productiveness. This again reverts to the fact that when thunder is first heard in the northern spring, it indicates the breaking up of winter, release from the giants of cold and ice, the victory of spring over winter, of fertility over barrenness. The battle of the Norse Thor is thus a nature-contest and the farmer and sailor have especial interest in him rather than in the battle-god. So enduring is this conception of Thor that it is matter of record that prayers were offered to him as a fertility-god as late as the eighteenth century. As in India plants were named after Indra, the god of thunder and fertility, so plants were named after Thor, as thunderer. Hence too the notion, quite opposed to classical tradition, that a "thunder-riven" tree is a tree marked out for divine favour, the wood of which was curative. The oak is especially Thor's tree and as late as 730 A. D. such an oak was formally hewn down as a defiance to his worshippers by a doughty missionary, who built a Christian church from its timbers. Thor presided over agriculture.

Many mediaeval superstitions go back to the belief in Thor's fertility. Thus Thursday is lucky for weddings and his hammer "hallowed" the bride, as it was a symbol of fertility. He was also guardian of law. The day of public meetings was Thor's day and his hammer marked the bounds of the court. His influence in the north is shown by the fact that place-names are his more than any other god's. His face also, long-bearded, is carved on rocks and served in effigy as guardian power of many ships. His temple was

where the Thing or legislative assembly was held. Emigrants carried him to Iceland, where one Rolf, renamed Thor-rolf, built him a temple out of wood transported from Rolf's old home in Norway. His power was great in Sweden (not so great in Denmark), where he was regarded as ruler of the air, storm, lightning, and crops. The ancient saying, "Odhin has warriors, Thor has thralls," betrays his country popularity. It was to the professional fighting of the robber barons and Vikings that Thor was opposed. A winter sacrifice was made to him in hope of the next year's fruitfulness. He alone overcomes Loki and his main task is to fight and overcome the Joten, Anglo-Saxon Eoten, Ent, or giants, who in some cases are brothers of the dwarfs, in others independent beings of earth.

Many beliefs current in regard to Thor show his nature, his red hair, like red lightning, his epithet Hlorridhi, "roarer," his goat-cart, like the team of Pushan, the Hindu fertility-god, and his play of ninepins with the gods (the sound as of thunder; cf. Rip Van Winkle). His gauntlets indicate strength. His girdle retains his power. His hammer when thrown returns to his hand. His daughter is Thrudhr, power, his sons are Modhi, vehemence, and Magni, power (compare the north German Magusanus Hercules). In the world-drama of the North his nature has been somewhat modified by poet or priest. He is regarded as son of Odhin in Norse mythology and his mother is sometimes called Jordh, Earth. He has other "mothers," but neither they nor Sif (sheaf), his wife, have a cult. But it is possible that some nature-myth is kept in the story that the malicious Loki cut off Sif's hair and Thor compelled him to make new "golden hair" for her with the help of the dwarfs. This hair has been not unreasonably interpreted as the sheaf of golden grain.[1] In general, Thor is a nature-god whose

[1] The son of Sif is Ullr, god of bows, hunt, and skates, who may be connected with the Frisian hell-god Holler. Hel is a place (the grave) scarcely personified at first, then becoming the daughter of Loki, the subterranean god. Balder, slain by Loki, has now joined Osiris and Shiva in the modern procession of "gods who were men."

later higher activities may have been affected by outer (Christian) influences.

Wholly Norse is the cult of the "Lord" (Freyr), brother of the "Lady" (Freyja), who like Baels are known only by their titles. The two are replicas, the male probably later than the female, whose relation to Nyord, the "father" of the pair, connects them with the *mater deum Nerthus* (above). Nyord rules wind and sea and lives in Noatun (place of ships) as husband of Skadhi (perhaps Finnish), daughter of the giant Thyazi. Adam of Bremen is quite precise as to Freyr, whom he calls Fricon; the god is one of peace and pleasure and plenty, symbolized by the phallic emblem.[1] He and his "sister" and Nyord (Njordhr) and Nerthus constitute a group of Vanir gods as opposed to the As(aesir) gods. Productivity is the kernel of the Van or Venus group, as destruction is the kernel of the As (cf. Asura) group. The latter are not chthonic in antithesis to the Vanir as "light-gods," nor are the Vanir gods Slavic. They simply represent a phase which waxed in civilization and religion, while the destructive phase waned. Thus the early female gods of fertility are represented by Freyja; the patriarchal society by the tendency to make her into a male; the connexion between peace and trade by the localization of the later cult in the north; and the phallic element, always latent, by the remodelling of Freyja by the scalds on the lines of the classical Venus, with whom they were well acquainted. Eventually one may perhaps identify Venus, in Freyja form, with Frija or Frigg, wife of Tiu and then of Woden, probably originally a Father Heaven and Mother Earth pair. Freyr was carried from the Ingaevones on the north littoral to Sweden, where he grew so prominent that he was made one of the national triad with Odhin and

Yet thus far this assumed derivation lacks not only proof but, in Balder's case, verisimilitude.

[1] Pacem voluptatemque largiens mortalibus, cuius etiam simulacrum fingunt ingenti priapo; si nuptiae celebrandae sunt, sacrificia offerunt Friconi.

Thor. It was here that he became specially an amorous deity, as his sister became mistress of all the gods. The geographical relation is retained in the Frea Ingvine of Beowulf (perhaps as Freyr). The cult of Freyr is that of the old Nerthus: he has a spring journey in a car and presides over fertility and marriage. As to the Aestian mother of gods, the boar is sacred to him; men swear by it, the boar's head is a sign of fertility. To Freyr, as to other gods of the north, horses and men are sacrificed. His sister is a woman's goddess; the cat is her beast; dying women go to her. Yet to her also are sacrificed ox and boar. She is a female counterpart of her brother or husband, for, as it is wisely said, "the Vanir wed their sisters"; historically they are their sisters. In the Viking myth the figure of Freyr has to assume more martial proportions and as Thor slays the "Roarer" giant Beli, so Freyr slays giants, and indeed from the same original notion: giants of winter and cold are subdued by spring and heat. Our Friday retains the name, perhaps originally indicative of joy or love.[1] Other female deities of this sort may be suspected as earth or fertility spirits in the figures cited as goddesses of special tribes, such as Boduhenna (compare Henno, above), mentioned by Tacitus (*Annales,* iv., 73) and the Batavian Nehalennia (associated with "Hercules Magusanus" and with the sea-god), a goddess of fertility, with fruit and dog. Even the giantess Gefjon, who ploughs the land, may be of this sort, not to speak of the "true and happy" goddess Sandraudiga (above) and Vagdavergustis, whose name means "cause of life-power," and other deities whose names were possibly epithets of Freyja herself. The male form persists in the god called President (fore-sitter, Forsite) of Helgoland, reputed son of Balder. Mediaeval spirits of birth and death like Holda and Perchta (Bertha) are perhaps independent later creations. In general we may assume that the ancient Germans worshipped phenomenal gods,[2] Sun,

[1] Compare Freund and Frau, lady, first loved.

[2] The gods were called *tivar* (cf. *deus*), "shining ones," "those

Moon, Fire, Sky, Wind, Thunder-Storm, and spirits of earth or spring as fertility-deities. In the north and later these gods become humanized, with familiar forms and human attributes,[1] who live in the citadel Asgardh reached by the rainbow-bridge Bifrost. The older Germans, instead of humanizing their gods thus, deified their men (ancestors). Yet the Norsemen also on occasion worshipped kings as gods. There was, however, no fellowship, no communion with the gods, nor had they moral significance, except as they guarded law and demanded courage. The Scandinavian cried, "Laughing I die"; thus only was he welcomed to Walhalla. A belief in Fate, the word of the Norns, is general; man dies as Fate decrees. Yet Walhalla is a late conception and the Norns are Norse creations. Hel was the grave, "concealing" all; only later was it the place underground for the common man, as opposed to the Hall of Odhin for the warrior. The shipping of a dead body to a land across the water arose in the north with sea-farers. In the belief that England was engel-land (angel-land) there is a faith built upon folk-etymology, which tends to define the Hel-land or Seelenland more closely. Often the dead, however, live in the mountains, or in springs or gardens.

Whether the cult of spirits as ghosts is as old as the belief in phenomenal gods is not a question to be answered on the basis of German history. All-Souls probably retains such a cult, as we find it elsewhere. The death at the grave shows a belief in life to be, and the mediaeval Woden as soul-leader probably points to the same fact. The practice of bewitching by the dead, offerings and songs to the dead,

who measure," "binders," etc. The word *god* means "invoked." Culture-heroes are doubtful. Beowulf may be one. Tacitus mentions a local cult of two brothers (Aleis) as Castor and Pollux, but their nature is undecided.

[1] It is only here that we find a number of abstract Numina as female powers of one function. The fact that they are all late poetic fancies is of weight in comparing the Slavic and Roman Numina.

dadsisas, probably precedes prayers for the dead. Even fertility-gods have no recognizable connexion with the dead. The Walkyries are Scandinavian parallels of the (eighth century) German Idisi, women who preside over the fate of warriors and they may themselves be the "riders of the dead" of Low German belief. At any rate, they correspond in belief to the fighting virgins and matrons in whom, the Roman account says, the Germans saw divinity. They are like the three prophetic Norns, but they are without limit of number; they sometimes assume swan-forms. The Norns, like the Moirae of the Greeks, belong to the giants. As storm-spirits, the Walkyries might themselves be ghosts; but this explanation is only a guess. The soul[1] in Norse belief is a *fylgja,* follower, not an ego. It is a separate personality, so that one may "stumble upon his own *fylgja,*" as it goes about outside of one, hence a *Doppelgänger.* It is the genius which leaves a dead man and enters his son, sometimes even as a female spirit admonishing a man. A nightmare is a spirit or ghost. The dead live as ghosts at cross-roads or in animals or may come to life on earth. Metempsychosis is repudiated as "old women's talk"; but it was believed in old days in Scandinavia that, as the result of a special curse, one may not be able to live again in human form. The lower mythology of mediaeval times shows a cult of souls of the dead, of witches, ghosts, spirits of trees, water, springs, rivers, mountains, etc. Souls appear as mice, snakes (the house-snake as a Lar), were-wolves, or as trees, or roses, springing from the blood of the dead. The Norse berserkers may be bear-clothed spirits like (were-wolves) those in wolf-skins. The canonization of Christian souls retains the old cult of the dead. House-spirits in various forms are usually dead souls; but there is no basis for the theory that spirits of forest, cave, tree, spring, etc., are ghosts. The "balewise women" who, as witches,[2] raise

[1] Our "soul," German Seele, may mean quick, lively, like Greek *θυμός,* indicating the active principle.

[2] The wise women of the north were of the *seidhr* or *volva* class.

storms, are also not necessarily ghosts. Even Fate, Wyrd, becomes a she-demon, and the peasants "Du Wind, hast Mehl für dein Kind" shows, as the child is Wind's, that storm may be a spirit without being a ghost.

Elves and giants may revert in part to tales of prehistoric men; but the belief in such beings is too universal to refer the phenomena to such a source altogether. Elves are not degraded, nor are giants prehistoric gods. Sacrifice was made to elves in Norway. They help men but also need human help. Giants are stupid, not necessarily hostile, but generally opposed to (Norse) gods. All nature is more or less alive. Wood-sounds prove a wood-spirit. "Feld hath eyen and the wood hath eres" (Chaucer). Definite worship of streams, stones, and trees is proved for the early centuries of our era by exhortation against these cults. The old oath, "swear by oak and ash and thorn," reflects a belief in these trees as spiritual powers. To whip a tree or offer it beer points to the same interpretation. Many such customs have been preserved till modern times. The cult of trees, "blood tree," "luck tree," trees giving birth, the Maypole,[1] the "oak of Jupiter," and even the world-tree, Yggdrasil (Irminsul), are probably older than specific agricultural cults, but any or all of these beliefs may be echoes of prehistoric times. Sea-spirits naturally belong to the North. There "Sea will have sacrifice"; but tamer water-spirits, water itself being a spiritual power, abound everywhere, as springs, and rivers, personified, or as Nixes

The former (perhaps Finnish) were sorcerers; the latter, soothsayers, who "sat out" till they got a revelation. In general, one was a witch and the other a sibyl. There were *seidh*-men as well as *seidhkona,* women (kona, quean), but the *volur* (staff-bearing, wanderer) were women, and sometimes functioned also as *seidhkona.* Compare Saussaye, *op. cit.,* p. 389.

[1] The Maypole is not properly a tree, but represents the spirit of vegetation symbolized by the tree, like Adonis' garden, the Korn-demon or year-demon as a vegetarian god in material form. On the identity of the pole with the May *queen,* see Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus,* Berlin, 1875, p. 312 f. The world-tree is the product of speculative fancy, embodied first in the old Westphalian Irmin-pillar supporting the world (*universalis columna quasi sustinens omnia*).

(Nymphs) of a cruel disposition, liable to appear in animal form, and sacrificed to (especially when a stream is obstructed, as by a bridge), sometimes with human lives. Waterfalls were worshipped by the Norsemen and "cheese was offered to a lake" in the sixth century. The belief of Mannhardt that all these items of lower mythology reflect the general European cults of prehistoric times inherited by Greek and German in analogous forms goes too far. Many of them are individual, tribal, national, separately developed out of the same material. The clay horses of a German fair today are like the prehistoric figures of the Greek. Similar intelligence produces similar results in religion as in art. The Redskins also worship waterfalls and the Africans have myths resembling the German beliefs. Nixes under another name live in Burmese rivers. The fashioning of the world from the body of an original giant Ymir reproduces the Vedic dismemberment of the original god Man. The fights with giants carried on by Thor and Freyr are like those of Hindu gods with the gigantic fiends. But there is not in Germany that thorough dualism which appears in Greece in the opposition between giants and gods. The German giants are often friendly and helpful to the gods. The dwarfs are Celtic as well as German; they are artisans and are more deeply impressed on the popular mind than are the giants. They are the black elves, contrasted with the light and grey elves, and are often visible only when they lose their caps. In general, as contrasted with Slavs, whose cult is chiefly of house- farm- and family-spirits, the Germans made more of the greater nature-spirits, storm, sky, etc.; though they, too, revered the little spirits.

German gods are fairly decent creations though not moral in the modern sense. Purity and fidelity are marked German characteristics from the time of Tacitus to that of the mediaeval sagas. The trading people of the north are more prudent than courageous; but treachery is hateful to the gods. Otherwise no ethical consideration determines man's fate hereafter. A man may be tricky, but not false to his

word. The more blood the warrior has spilled the more welcome is he to Odhin's hall. Bravery and faith, of which truth is a reflection, give the keynote of religious morality, and this perpetuates the simple old cult of Mars, for Scandinavian belief, despite its foreign elements, is at bottom Teutonic.

On the whole, Teutonic religion combines a crude cult with a crude belief. It lies between the intellectual level of the North and South American Indians, never rising to the height of the best Mexican and Peruvian religious ideas but distinctly surpassing, in some regards, that of the savages of our Northern hemisphere. It shows no deep religious feeling, no religious ethical system; it has no religious poet or prophet; only tales about gods. It has feasts, not fasts, as a religious expression. Scandinavia has only a primitive dualism (good gods *vs.* giants, sun *vs.* darkness). Primitive myth and savage cult characterize this religion, which is devoid of spirituality and of intellectual dignity, until, probably under Christian influence, higher ideas appear in the North. As compared with the Celt, the Teuton lacks even the druidic philosophy, as he lacks the mystic feeling, withal at a time when his more southern relatives had already passed beyond their own early view of divine things and of the rough gods found in the Homeric world. A thousand years later in developing, when fully developed (before Christian influence began), Teutonic thought was still almost as rude as at its beginning. The only Aryans standing on a lower religious level were the Slavs. Perhaps this was because the unaided Aryan intellect could get no further, though the contrast of the northern group of Slavs, Teutons, and Celts, with the southern Greeks, Hindus, and Persians still remains as strange as it is striking, for no outside philosophy raised Greek or Hindu thought to its early eminence. The cleverer people may have gone south and left the slower-witted behind, since those who emigrate from a poor land to a better are usually the more progressive. Or perhaps, what is more flattering to ourselves, climate created culture by

forcing to quicker growth an innate power. But, since we have no right to suppose that language and race are interchangeable terms, they that became Greeks and Hindus may have had little in common religiously with Teutons and Celts, a few deified natural phenomena, Sky, Wind, Fire, the greater lights of heaven, and revered ancestors; or perhaps not all of these.

We turn now to those advanced religions which have left literatures based upon religion. They fall into two great groups, one of the Far East, India, China, and Japan, connected through Buddhism; the other of the Near East, comprising the religions of Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean, connected partly through historical dependence and partly through a common stock of inherited ideas. Connexion between the two groups is doubtful for the early period. We shall begin with the religion of India, which stands in its beginning nearest to the religions of the Aryans we have already examined.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA

I. FROM THE VEDAS TO BUDDHA

When the Aryans invaded India they found in the Punjab certain snub-nosed black-skinned natives whom they reduced to submission. These were probably Dravidians. A few centuries later, along the Ganges and in the hill-country south of it, they came in touch with other wild tribes, generally called Kolarian. The religion of all these savages was animistic, in part totemic, but also a form of nature-worship. The southern Dravidians today retain under a later mask, easily removed, much of their old belief. They are agriculturists and each village has its own Great Mother spirit, sometimes without any other name, sometimes with several names, who is represented by rough stones in a shrine or a tent (tabernacle) used temporarily, when the goddess is needed, as when plague breaks out. Often a post or a mere pot of water is the goddess. The people offer her flowers and on occasion, because she is angry, an animal sacrifice, in which the animal's blood is used for fertility and medicine. The Mother guards her village; a boundary-stone keeps out evil spirits. A female ancestress is the great divinity of some tribes and sends them all their woes. The hill-Dravidians (Khonds) kill a pig, whose blood falls into a pit, and suffocate a human victim in the pit, burying his flesh at boundary-lines, the victim being a youth previously carefully tended, like an Ainu bear. The Kolarians worship stones at the foot of a tree, the snake and tree, animals, animal-totems, earth, the sun, etc.; recognize spirits swarming everywhere, have sacred groves, dances, and songs,

and many believe in metempsychosis. Sun, earth, rain, seasons, are all divinities; smaller phenomena are regarded as possessed by spirits and ghosts. Eschatology is on a par with that of our Indians. Some native tribes, however, had developed considerable skill in building and represent a comparatively high civilization, from which the Aryans borrowed.

The original inhabitants thus offered to the Aryans a field like that offered to the Greeks by the "Pelasgians," marked by a religion of ghosts, ghouls, spirits, and animals, with some nature-cult and temple-service, but sharply contrasted with the warrior-religion which overcame it and yet was deeply influenced by it. This Aryan warrior-religion looked rather above than under the earth and cared more for gods than for ghosts. Such is the religion common to the invaders of Greece and India and the early Teutons. The chief Indic Aryan gods are mentioned about 1400 as the gods of a people who had not yet got beyond Cappadocia, probably on their way to India,[1] as Varuna, Mitra, Indra, and (the healing twin gods) Nasatya.

The invading Aryans were not agriculturists but warriors, whose wealth and occupation were cattle and lifting cattle. There were no castes, but there were priests who served the Three-and-Thirty gods (Zoroaster's "thirty three lords"), with oblations of beer, *soma,* Zoroaster's *haoma,* on a spread of straw, used in both rituals, at the hands of "oblationists," so named in both cults, and praised them in verse measured like the Gathas of Zoroaster. In fact, the two religions were simply different phases of one. The

1 Scholars are divided as to when the Aryans first entered India (by the way of Persia; there may have been a prior invasion from the northwest). Some ascribe an absurd antiquity to the Vedas, the first literature. Conservative writers have always held that 1200 B. C. is as early as we have any grounds for dating the Rig Veda, and, in fact, 1000 B. C. is early enough to account for it, a date which brings it into a needed proximity to the Zoroastrian Gathas, which in language and ideas represent an intimate and close temporal connection with the Vedas.

Veda recognizes the Wise Spirit (Asura) of heaven, worshipped by Zoroaster, but not so universally. It was an aristocratic cult,[1] as Zoroaster's religion, too, was aristocratic. But many clans scarcely consider this Wise Spirit. They prefer the worship of the god of storm, war, and fertility, Indra, to whose service the Rig Veda is chiefly devoted; while Zoroaster recognizes such nature-spirits, but only as inferior to the Spirit of Wisdom. At the same time in the Rig Veda appears a subsidiary cult of Sun, Father Sky, Wind, Mother Earth, Fire, Wind, etc., perhaps of stars, and the very important cult of Manes and of Yama, lord of the dead, now blessed, living with Yama, Zoroastrian Yima, in a heavenly paradise. As in Germany, the cult of Dyaus (Tiu, Zeus) is observable but it is already decadent. The same gods, in other words, are here the object of a cult as were found in Teutonic and Slavic religions and for the most part with identical names, even to the smaller members of the pantheon, House-lord, etc.[2]

In its cult of Sky, Wind, Sun, Dawn, and other transparent gods (a convenient term invented by Usener), its noisy beer-ritual, and its simple morality of truth and bravery, the Vedic religion is still quite crude, though it has a complicated ritual, which, with the skilled versifiers and astute priesthood, shows that it is no longer primitive in the sense of being naïve. Some of its priests were mercenary, some were poets and philosophers. Before the end of the first Vedic period, the priests had already clouded the faces of the nature-gods, recognized a unity underlying spiritual plurality, speculated as to the origin of being, established an

[1] Varuna, the wise spirit of the Rig Veda, is recognized as belonging to the warrior class, of which he is king. As a western god he is connected with the night-sky or as the night-sky with the west.

[2] Thus Vayu, Dyaus, and Agni, wind, sky, and fire. The twin-gods are in nature one with Castor and Pollux, as sun, Surya, is Greek Helios (serius). Indra may be the Anglo-Saxon *ent,* giant. Slavic Andra (audra). With the Wise Spirit (Asura) called Varuna is associated Mitra (Mithra), "twin lords of right and light." Varuna especially "hates the lie," and punishes wrong, but forgives the penitent, as does the Wise Spirit of Zoroaster.

elaborate religious mysticism, and swept the devil-cult and witchcraft practices aside as a kind of magic fit to be recorded only in a heap of mangled verses drawn mainly from the Rig Veda and devoted to demonology. Eventually this heap was elaborated into an independent Atharva or Fire Veda, though fire in magic had been largely displaced by charms and antidotes. It lingered on in popular literature, however, while in the priestly ritual it was made a minister of the Soma-cult. That the lower cult of demons grew *pari passu* with the submergence of the Aryans in the flood of animistic natives, and that the Atharva Veda is at least several centuries later than the Rig Veda, are facts often overlooked by those who assume that the lower cult was as important to the Aryans as was the higher. It is significant also that the priests ministering to the Atharva cult were always of inferior sort and generally despised.

The trend of thought in the Vedic age was rather toward consolidating gods than toward exalting any one of them. For this reason the cult of Varuna declined and the popular Indra became not exactly an all-god but an any-god, who was conceived as greater than heaven and earth and as embracing the functions of other gods. A vagueness of this sort led to the dimming of faith. Synthesis began. Mockery followed. The orthodox were described as "involved in fog and talk"; the three fires of sacrifice were declared to be the same, "these three are one." The Goddess Unlimited (mother of the gods) was first postulated and then declared to be "all things." And again: "Being is one; it has the names of different gods." Thus, rather than by expelling other gods, as in Palestine, or by subjecting other gods to one, as in Babylon, India reached the idea of "the one spirituality"; though antithetic to this trend there was also a new development in the creation of a Lord of Beings or Father-god, who emerges at the end of the first Vedic period. He is Creator of gods and men, but remains always rather a figure than an active personality and is eventually called the Power (Brahman).

After perhaps a couple of centuries the Aryans drifted down to the Ganges valley, where they appear as agriculturists and townsfolk, farmers and merchants, with a large dependent population of native blacks. And as the brave Aryans of the Punjab had gods in their own image, so now, when castes had formed and priests were the power behind the throne, these priests made the gods over into their own image. From now on the mass of gods appear only as evil-minded, cowardly, bargaining creatures, who disputed about their honoraria (sacrifices), and themselves made sacrifices, just like priests. Town life, with a body of slaves largely drawn from wild tribes, brought up new gods from the dregs of un-Aryan society. So rose the fearful form of the new storm- and fertility-god, disease-sending, lightning-using, Shiva. In the meantime the priests exalted the cult of the sun as Vishnu, with whom later were identified Krishna in the West and Rama in the East. Vishnu, the wide-striding Vedic god, who "makes day" and is "swift in going" is formally recognized as the creative sun and "highest of gods." The farmers, though holding tenaciously to their "Aryan rights," to drink *soma* and learn the sacred lore, soon became practically as inferior to the aristocrats of the court, nobles and priests, as farmers and traders always become when brought up against those who have specialized in ruling by force and trickery. The aristocrats of this time said openly that the middle classes were nothing more than "food for warriors," and the priests, who served only the nobles, their best pay-masters, and professed to be "earthly gods," gave up almost entirely the old religion. They simply ran a complicated machine of sacrifice, costly and cumbersome, wholly magical in purpose, as spellbinders of mystic spells. What they revered was the mystic Power of the spell, which they made a divine, even a supreme Power called Brahma.

Incidentally the secondary ritualistic texts of this period (c. 800 B. C.) tell us of the first Man (Manu), possessor of a minotaur whose bellow destroyed demons; of the Deluge

(perhaps of Babylonian origin), from which Manu alone was saved in a ship by means of a Fish (as the fish-god Ea saved his worshipper); of the tower on which demons tried to scale the sky; and recount other native or foreign ideas now domesticated. In the service, the chief distinction is that offerings are laid in a pit for the Manes and in fire for the gods. Human sacrifice has never failed in India; but it was now formally ignored in favour of horses, bulls, buffaloes, goats, and rams. Harvest festivals and daily domestic sacrifices were regularly made to the gods, Manes, and spirits. At the winter solstice there was a rite to expel demons, bring rain, and produce fruitfulness. Seasonal sacrifices took place every four months. Sympathetic magic, rites of expiation, an all-souls feast, a rite through which girls got husbands by propitiating Shiva, expulsion of demons by satisfying them with blood poured on the ground, by noise, smells, and fire, fasting and chastity as necessary to religious rites, sacrifice, as a communion, a bargain, as piacular and as apotropaic; a gradual change from an underground pit as the ghost-home to the place of torment for sinners, a resurrection, but of shining bodies, and a sensuous paradise for the good in Yama's, later in Indra's, heaven,—these are the prominent features of the decadent Vedic age, in which an abstract Creator, as "Lord of beings," towered above the gods of old.

Of survivals from earlier stages it is difficult to speak with certainty, since we are not sure what survives and what has been taken from neighbouring Dravidians and Kolarians. Thus the Khasas are regarded as a warrior-clan and profess to be Rajputs, but they are only half Hindu and still practise the custom of having one wife for several brothers. Totemism may have come from the Oraons (mouse-totem) and Garos; but Aryan totemism, if it existed, has left no sure trace, only animal-worship, withal the worship of an animal as representing a god temporarily. Really divine animals like the cow are more divine (to the Brahmans) later than earlier. Many families are called by ani-

mal names. Gods too are represented by animals, Indra and Shiva, generative gods, by bull and boar; the sun by a horse, a goat, etc., incarnations of divinity. The horse-sacrifice celebrates the sun as a horse and might be a reflection of the same spirit as that shown to the Ainu bear, for the horse is told that it is being sent to heaven. But a divine animal is never sacrificed to itself in Vedic religion. There is here no slaying of a god, at least to Hindu thought. Yet the sacramental meal is found, especially in connection with the Manes, with whom the worshipper communicates in the eating of the gods' food. The prevalent belief in the efficacy of foundation-sacrifices is established by the Vedic building-ritual. Of the earth as a vegetation-deity demanding human sacrifice, there is no trace before Shivaite worship, which includes that of the Mother goddess, a horrible monster of the wild-tribes. She is the female power and human victims were offered to her (as goats are now).[1]

But ritual and magic made only one side of the later religion. There were still philosophic priests, able successors of those Vedic seers, who had asked "to what god shall we sacrifice?" (only to the great Creator, they meant); who had argued that "desire is the seed of mind"; who had made the "Soul of the world" their quest and said "in man and sun is but The One." One such later priest, vexed with sacrificial hocus-pocus, cries "How can people believe such stuff?" Others left the sacrifice for the study (the forest) and from them come what we call the Upanishads or later treatises of secret wisdom, disjointed, tentative, illogical studies, crude, and still clinging to the old mythological religion, but containing earnest and deep inquiries into the great problem of the age, the nature of God and man's

[1] See on these points a paper of Professor A. B. Keith in the *Journ. Royal Asiat. Society*, Oct., 1907. Professor Ridgeway's suggestion that the Shiva was once a man may be ignored, as may Herbert Spencer's older contention that Ushas, Dawn, was once a lady whose carriage was smashed by a rude Mr. Indra.

relation to the divine Power or Self (Soul) of the world. Here begins the first enunciation of the doctrine of the everlasting effect of the Act. Whatever we do or think (thought also as action) makes its mark on our soul and according to the state of the soul thus marked will be our fate hereafter. The faint beginning of this doctrine called Karma (act) is Rig Vedic, where one is told to "join his good works" in heaven and in the sub-Vedic idea that one by good works, merit stored up, can get "beyond the sun" and so escape recurrent death. For the complete doctrine also aims at suppressing the recurrent "death and birth wheel" and placing the perfect man beyond fear of metempsychosis. This doctrine assumes universal application, for Karma affects all, from the Creator to a blade of grass. In popular presentation, since it soon lost its esoteric form, it teaches that a thief becomes in the next life a thieving animal, etc.; but it had to cross the older view of hell and in fact soon united with it. A taste of hell-torment, followed by a new birth according to his former deeds, was every man's prospect; or first a taste of heaven, and then, when the stored merit was exhausted, like a spent balloon a man dropped to earth and was re-born according to what his previous life had been, the good, their evil purged away, in a high caste, the very good as a god. Such a man becomes a "god by merit" as distinguished from a "god by nature." But the wise man who discards sacrifice and rites goes direct to the Brahma and returns no more. Only he who "knows Brahma" can do this. But herein the whole religious paraphernalia of the past is really flung overboard. Only the figment that rites were a sort of preparation for higher knowledge saved religion, in the old sense, at all for the mystics and philosophers. Belonging to the priestly caste, they were reluctant to dismiss as entirely useless the ancient ritual. Knowing it was useless in itself, they made it preparatory, symbolized it, turned it into a power-mystery for themselves and continued to teach it to the unintelligent as still valid. There was no hypocrisy in

this, for to the ordinary man incapable of philosophy the rite was all that bound him to religion.

Ethically the late Vedic religion is supported by divine precedent. The gods love truth; purity is the first step to divinity; no sinner can know Him who is sinless. "The Soul of the World is pure, like a light within the heart. To attain to it one must be truthful, practice devotion (ascetic fasting, etc.), gain knowledge, be abstinent." The Absolute (Power) in the Upanishads interchanges with the personal Self (Soul) of the World. This absolute soul is all, spirit and matter; it is pure being, good, intelligent, blissful, and if one really knows that one's self is one with that Self, one becomes in fact that World-Self, one merges into it, loses individual consciousness, becomes a part of the whole, unconscious of difference.[1] Indefinable is the Soul of the World, to be defined only as "not this, not that" (so the mystic of the Middle Ages says "God is Nothing"). There is here no doctrine of illusion; the world is real. Yet the weight laid on spirituality leads to the antithesis between purest soul and not purest, partly because the first is not transitory, as all material things appear to be, and again human life in its round of birth and death contrasts with the state of "not death"; for pure soul, the unincorporate alone is really blissful.

In this last deduction the Upanishadist comes to the point where he touches Buddhism with its slogan, "birth is sorrow." Insight and mystic communion with the All-Soul enable the philosopher to become "awakened," the very word describing Buddha. Ascetic saints of this sort devoted themselves to divine knowledge as a secret sacred possession. But they began also to distinguish between soul and spirit, as that which is of and in the world, respectively, thus leading in the latter case to dualism. The secondary

[1] At this stage begins the rapt mysticism of the later Vedic age, afterwards methodically cultivated and systematized as Yoga-discipline, by which the soul acquired aloofness from matter and becomes master of secret powers. In the Vedanta All-soul belief a similar process leads to absorption in the All-Soul.

Upanishads reveal, moreover, the inevitable tendency to make concrete the image of the Soul, as Lord, hence as a personal God, and hence again as a God upon whose will and grace depends the worshipper's weal, nay his very ability to know that God, knowledge of whom is salvation. The next step is to know His name (sectarianism). On the other hand, following the tendency to divide the universe into matter and spirit, some maintained that there were individual spirits without number, but these were meshed in matter, till release from all material bondage made them free. This tendency dissipated the idea of an All-Soul and resulted in pure dualism (Sankhya philosophy), but it, too, succumbed to the inevitable and made into highest spirit one of the freed spirits as Supreme Spirit, though not as Creator God. Mystic exercises (Yoga discipline), reduced to a science, mark this religious phase, which has a further well-defined tendency to regard physical attitudes as phases of religious growth.

In the meantime the masses continued to worship all the religious phenomena of their inherited faith, physical objects, ghosts, and gods above, with a sectarian growth leading to the Shiva and Vishnu cults. The hypostasis of Brahma was retained as Brahman the Creator. The masses kept, too, the hope of a happy hereafter in a joyous material heaven. Song, dance, and mimetic exhibitions, not too nice, accompanied religious festivals. In short, as is sometimes forgotten, the common people remained frankly Vedic in their beliefs, fears, and hopes, undisturbed by the disquisitions of the mystics. Most of the population were now not Aryan at all; but all who could, called themselves so and invented pedigrees which Aryanized them. At the same time they clung to their old native gods; so these gods were brahmanized too and called "forms" of this or that great recognized god, a process still going on in India, where every wild-tribe devil is converted by the Brahman priests and becomes a form of Shiva or of Vishnu. On this unending undercurrent of the popular religion, with its cult

of spirits, ghosts, and godlings, its spring-festivals, its maintenance of the old domestic rites, its attention to the dark, the productive, the mysterious, we cannot linger, but must turn to the great heresies of the sixth century, B. C.

JAINISM

At this period religious interest was rather an affectation of the petty Rajas who ruled along the Ganges from Delhi to Benares. Like Akbar, they liked to encourage religious and philosophical debates and pretend to take a part in them and even to decide them. In the tumult of warring sects of this time, two (there were many others) came to lasting prominence, Jainism and Buddhism. The former was the older. The name comes from Jina, conqueror, a title bestowed upon triumphant leaders of sects, who had conquered all controversial opponents and also conquered for themselves whatever bliss true religion may win. In this case the conquering Jina was Vardhamana or Mahavira (d. 484 B. C.), pupil of a certain Parshvanatha. This Mahavira either magnified his teacher's order or instituted one of his own, whose members called themselves Nirgranthas (Emancipated). They did not believe in the authority of the Vedas nor in the existence of God, but adopted a dualistic philosophy. Certain illuminated human beings of the past became their objects of adoration. These were called Tirthankaras, whose images today adorn the Jain temples. They taught also that animals should not be injured and are still famous for the care they take not to injure life. Salvation, they believe, depends on faith in their founder as a saviour, through his teaching how men may become emancipated, on a right understanding of his doctrines, and on right living. The soul must cease from restless activity; a man may even starve to death with this end in view. If thus calmed in life, it afterwards enters an existence of peace, bodiless and immortal. This sect, despite its heresy, has not antagonized the Brahmans, as it clung to rites and ceremonies. It has existed for 2,400 years, being espe-

cially prominent in West and South India. It practically worships the great Jina and his predecessors, for, like the Buddhists, the Jains believe there were many Jinas. It was always a formal sect and one of Mahavira's disciples called Gosala founded a dissenting sub-sect which afterwards (*circa* 300 B. C.) were called the Digambaras or naked ascetics as opposed to the Shvetambaras or slightly clothed. Originally, however, Gosala, representing the Ajivika-sect, was a "livelihood" man or professional beggar, whose life was morally objectionable; but he defended it on the score of determinism, disclaiming freedom of will and moral responsibility, views offensive to Mahavira, although he also was a naked ascetic. The Jain church in general allowed its lay brothers to build nunneries and monasteries, whose members constituted the bulk of the faithful. Owing to the great number of Jains and their influence upon art and science, the religion is one that cannot be ignored, though it has added little to original thought or religious expression. The Jains of today are a pleasing sect, who make an excellent impression owing to the absence of idols and of grosser superstitions in their religion and to their placid and gentle demeanour.[1] Mahavira and Gosala were the most prominent leaders of the eight sects of the period which Buddha regarded as teaching wrong doctrines, four of them being antinomian (incontinent) and four being "unsatisfying."

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[1] Not so pleasing to western taste is the Jains' objection to the destruction of vermin. At the present day the need of reform has been felt by the Jains and various societies have been organized to put fresh spirit into the sect, which, as is admitted by themselves, has become too strictly ethical and lost whatever religious enthusiasm it ever had.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA. II. BUDDHISM

BUDDHA, the Awakened, is the title given to Guatama (Gotama), a reputed prince of a Shakya clan living north of Benares in the sixth and fifth centuries (d. 482 B. C.). It is not certain that he was an Aryan; his conventional headdress of curly locks and his clan-name have been thought to show descent from a northern, perhaps Scythian race. His history is made up from later accounts and is presumably largely legendary. At the age of twenty-nine (says tradition) he became a practical pessimist, disgusted with the rotation of life and death (the Karma doctrine is traditionally assumed), and, to seek an escape, studied with various philosophers whose wisdom turned out useless. At last, after seven years, sitting under the Tree of Enlightenment, he became by intuition the Enlightened, or Awakened. He gained a few disciples and thereafter preached his doctrine through the little world known to him, founding an order of mendicants as the nucleus of a church to which lay members were admitted. He also, rather reluctantly, permitted women to join his order, as nuns under supervision of the elders of the church. Tradition tells of a rapid growth of the order, far too rapid to believe. Buddha died at the age of eighty. Until the emperor Ashoka became a Buddhist the sect was probably only one of a number of similar religious growths. We really know little about it till Ashoka's time, the middle of the third century B. C.

Buddha is represented as conversant with other philosophical systems and he may have known [1] the older Upani-

[1] Oldenberg, *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus,* Göttingen, 1915, believes that the Upanishads were a

shads, though he ignored their basic idea of a world-soul; the individual soul he rejected. The Upanishads rather exulted in the bliss of being perfect than sighed over life as it is; they were joyous rather than sad; their pessimism was only implicit. But Buddhism from the beginning was grounded on grief. Buddha's first awakening came when, as a boy, he beheld human wretchedness; the wail over the slavery of birth and death was the prelude to the final note of hope.

Of course, where hope exists pessimism may be converted into optimism. With the expectation of eventual salvation no religion is thoroughly hopeless. But, in respect of life, no religion is so frankly pessimistic as primitive Buddhism, for in its scheme life includes existence in heaven as well as on earth, and both forms of life are to be got rid of as soon as possible. The peace of Nirvana comes from eluding love and life.

It is sometimes said that, in contrast to Christianity, Buddhism is not a religion of faith but of reason. But Buddhism is a religion of unquestioning faith. Not only is the doctrine of transmigration accepted on faith,[1] but the authority of Buddha and of his law is not to be disputed for a moment. The Veda is not more holy to the Brahman than is the word of Buddha to the Buddhist.

Buddha scoffed at the idea of a Creator and denied the existence of a soul. He probably believed, however, in gods, godlings, spirits, and the usual demons of his age, perhaps accepting them merely because they were not worth arguing about. What he taught as essential was the remedy for the grief of existence. This is embodied in the Four Truths: 1, Birth and death are grief; 2, this grief

western, Buddhism an eastern product, centuries later than the earliest Upanishads (p. 288). He also thinks that Buddha knew the (western) Sankhya philosophy only by hearsay. Jacobi, on the other hand, opines that Buddhist categories reflect the Sankhya.

[1] It has been questioned whether Buddha himself taught the Karma doctrine. The Four Truths (below) ignore it. But the doctrine was accepted by all Buddhists as orthodox dogma.

of existence is occasioned by desire ("thirst"); 3, it ends when desire ends; 4, desire may be extinguished if one follows Buddha's Eight Rules, couched in the formula: Right belief, right resolve, right word, right act, right life, right effort, right thought, right meditation. Following these eight precepts one attains to extinction, Nirvana, of desire and its fruit. This extinction may be attained in life here, so that one may "enter Nirvana" while still on earth. The condition of Nirvana is as negative as the Brahma of the priestly philosophers. Buddha himself studiously avoided all opportunities to explain Nirvana, though many were offered him, and explicitly declared that the less people indulged in vain imaginings as to life hereafter the better. This alone shows that the speculative metaphysics of liberal Buddhism is not based on the Master's thought or utterance. Primitive Buddhism has a psychology (of a sort) but no metaphysics and no eschatology. It is simply a rationalistic ethical system, teaching that every man may be his own saviour.

The value of Buddhism as a religion does not lie in its originality, for the "desire" *motif* is pre-Buddhistic,[1] nor in its psychology, which, though curious, is valueless, but in what Buddha considered as of the slightest importance, its moral excellence. Buddha frequently insisted upon morality but only as the first plunge into the stream carrying one to salvation. Yet, seen at this distance, what Buddha belittled becomes the corner-stone of his own worth. For amid the ethical chaos of a time when to be a noble or a divine was to be noble and divine; when only a philosopher could attain salvation; when even philosophers were de-

1 As this is often ignored, it may be well to point out that the Upanishad series *kama kratu karma* implies that only he dies not (again) who desires not. "Desire, determination, deed" (and death) is what is meant by the series. Desire leads to will (determination), this to acts, and this to continual new fruit and death. But he who is without desire dies not at all; he "enters Brahma" (becomes one with the Absolute Being). *Brihad Ar. Upanishad,* iv. 4, 5f.

cadent antinomians;[1] when the common man had no hope of salvation save through magical ceremonies; when spirituality was submerged under ritual, and ethics had scarcely any religious basis — then Buddha arose and said: "Enough of rites that no one understands in honour of useless spirits. Every man makes his own fate. I preach simple truths; I have no esoteric doctrine. My Way is open to all, to the lowly as to the exalted. Not high birth makes a man a (true) Brahman — he uses this word exactly as if one should say a worthy Christian — not birth, not wealth, not learning make a man worthy, but a pure heart, a good character, a noble aim in life. This alone makes a man worthy; but to be greedy, passionate, a slave of lusts, desirous of vain and wrong things, is to miss the first step toward emancipation. Better is a slave who lives nobly than a noble who lives slavishly." In this Buddha was original. In denying soul and God, he was but one of many contemporary unbelievers.

Though Buddha was born an aristocrat and associated with his equals, he laid no stress on caste and so admitted into his order those of low birth. If we may believe the artless tradition, even thieves and robbers became hypothetical Buddhists (as murderers in the Middle Ages fled to the altar), since the Buddhist mendicants were immune from punishment. All this made for democracy, though it was not Buddha's intent to assail the political and social order. Caste at that time and in his part of the country, round about Benares, was not the onerous burden it has since become, but a natural division of the people into royal (and noble), priestly, mercantile, farming, and slave classes. Buddha lived on perfectly good terms with the Brahmans, who had been accustomed for generations to hear all theories of life discussed and were themselves the chief innovators of ideas in the realm of metaphysics and psychology. The only Brahmans condemned as Brahmans by Buddha were

[1] Four of the eight philosophical systems to which Buddha objected were opposed to morality (professedly "incontinent").

those who pretended to worth on the strength of birth. He taught the people the plain rules of conduct conducive to emancipation, emphasizing above all the impermanence of all constituent things, the non-reality of "soul," and the need of suppressing "thirst," that is, of extinguishing the craving for a heavenly existence and its delights, which is detrimental to a calm and reasonable life on earth. His Eight Precepts showed how such a life might be attained. "Right belief" means that one must not blindly accept traditional teaching in regard to "soul" and other beliefs. "Right resolve" means that one must be of a lofty mind. "Right life and effort" mean that one should so live as not to injure other living creatures; one should learn to control oneself.

The old thought of the Upanishads was that the universe is a whole and that individuality, enforced by rebirth, implies ignorance, which results in sorrow; but in Buddha's conception the thought is rather that the release from individuality ends the struggle of existence, which it is a gain to lose altogether, for its grief is great. It remained for the later church to rediscover the gain of continuing to live in a higher form of life.

According to the creed ascribed to Buddha, error is a state of bondage represented by ten "fetters" or delusions, which a Buddhist must unfasten. These impediments of truth are not only the delusions of ignorance, self-righteousness, pride, and the desire for future life in a bodiless or embodied form, in heaven or on earth, but also the delusions of ill-will and lust, and, further, three most important delusions, first, the belief in soul, second, the lack of belief in Buddha as a guide, or in the law, order, and training, or in Karma, and thirdly, the belief that rites and ceremonies are a means of emancipation. To doubt the Buddha, his law and order and the training enjoined by him, and the doctrine of Karma, is entered as one "fetter of doubt" and is regarded as the most important delusion next to the belief in a soul.

As Buddha did not believe in soul, he had in reality no psychology, for there was no psyche. The Brahmans believed in a special entity, defined as being the size of a thumb, concealed in the body and called the real Self or soul, Atman, the Ego. Buddha said that there was no such soul, only a complex or confection of thought and feeling, all the qualities and capabilities of this confection being expressed as form, sensation, conception (perception), discrimination (or action), and consciousness (or sense). This *quasi* Self begins its career conditioned by Karma, which comes from a former life and is due to ignorance. This leads to a predisposition to action and to action itself; and this, again, to consciousness ("recognition"). Consciousness, one of the elements of this Self, is then the prius to self-consciousness or individuality ("name and form"); from which comes the group of senses, producing touch, which leads to sensation. Out of sensation comes desire, and from desire comes attachment, from which, in turn, arises a state of becoming, leading to actual being and birth, and, finally, from birth comes pain (grief). As a chain of causation explaining individual existence this congeries has obvious defects. Ignorance must have come from a previous birth, for ignorance of the Four Truths is intended, as the only alternative is to suppose that ignorance implies the doctrine of cosmic illusion. But as the first link in the chain leading to being, it cannot explain being which it presupposes. Who or what possesses ignorance before possessing consciousness? The usual discourse on the Four Truths and Eight Precepts does not suggest the necessity of going back of "desire" as an explanation of existence. The chain appears to be an attempt to foist a Yoga scheme upon an original Buddhistic scheme. Some texts make consciousness the first link in the chain. But though the scheme may not be Buddha's own, the belief in Karma must belong, if not to him, at least to the early teachers, as it permeates Buddhism. One of the Nikayas (Anguttara) says: "Deeds ripen; when they ripen one

experiences the fruit thereof, either in the present or in a subsequent life." This is quite Brahmanistic in its clarity as to Karma and its fruit.

Desire in this philosophy means a craving for the satisfaction of living, leading to attachment to the world and life. It is not love or passion, but the two are included under it. Many passages show that, to the Buddhist mendicant, love and even affection were as dangerous as passion. He must break all home ties; must not be fettered by a love of family any more than by a love of woman. Buddha himself set the example of abandoning those who loved him. Desire is legitimate and even needful when it means the desire of a better life, the desire of emancipation; but all ties including earthly love must be got rid of: "He who is free from love is free from grief and fear." Buddha was afraid of women, regarding them as "torches that light the road to hell," and only protestingly permitted them to enter the order. But there was no restriction put upon the laymen regarding marriage, though love was felt to be an obstacle to his release. The Buddhist in general, whether mendicant or layman, is enjoined to have an all-embracing compassion and pity rather than love for others. Every excess, even of sentiment, is deprecated. One must follow the Middle Way, avoid all extremes, not be very ascetic nor too prone to pleasure. It is a reasonable doctrine and the disciples are not at all unhappy. They loudly delight in their lives of "joy without enemies, health among those that are ill." Their pure pleasure is in feeling that they are free from the burden of fear, superstition, and ceremonies. They can even attain the perfect state of extinction of evil (desire and its fruit) in this life. They do not look forward to another, but, like philosophers, calmly content await the end.

There is, however, another side to this peaceful serenity. The primitive Buddhist of this sort is almost too self-contained, too cold, too fond of rejoicing in his own health when others are ill. He appears to be a sensible but very

selfish individual. He saves himself alone. He recognizes no obligation toward others save the negative one of not injuring them. He embraces all in his rather contemptuous "pity," but he is far from exerting himself to aid any one. Each for himself, is his creed. Buddha, he believed, renounced his own emancipation to preach to others; but it does not occur to the primitive disciple to do more than preach in the present. He has no ambition to be born again for the good of mankind. He lives to become a Worthy (Arhat), one worthy to escape the coil of life.

In the course of time this began to seem rather a narrow view and by the second (perhaps third) century B. C. the tendency to imitate the Master affected the church and later led to division of doctrine, eventually causing the rise of the school known as Mahayana, Great Vehicle. The Bodhisattvas, as the adherents of this school termed themselves, basing their belief on a reputed saying of Buddha, held that Gautama Buddha was only one of a series of Buddha-existences, who had given up felicity to aid the world and save others. All men may become Bodhisats, "creatures of wisdom," and this accordingly is the goal they ought to seek. Each should follow the Master and like him save others. Altruistic as was this aim, it was looked upon at first as rather an ideal than a practical procedure and the Mahayana way was more praised than pursued (*circa* 200 B. C.). But with this idea of self-sacrifice went also a different conception regarding Buddha. He was now no longer looked upon as a mere man but as a superman; his birth, it was said, was accompanied by flowers falling from heaven; at his death the earth quaked; his mother was a virgin, his birth was immaculate; in short he became a supernatural being. This thought, that Buddha was more than man, probably began soon after the Master's death and by the time of Ashoka, in the third century B. C., it was not only established but embellished, while every century added to the tale, so that both the Hina and

Maha (Little and Great) Vehicles devoutly believed in Buddha's supramundane powers and excellencies.

When to this was added the idea that to be a Worthy (Arhat) was really an unworthy aim, that any one might become a Bodhisat, and that, when a birth or two more had loosened the last tie, one might even become a Buddha, the way was open to the creation of endless superhuman beings of Bodhisat and Buddha nature. Naturally, too, the Bodhisat in embryo rather looked down upon the unworthy Worthy. Then he began to taunt the Worthy and called his brother's faith and school the Defective School (Vehicle) or the Little as compared with his own Great School; though it was not for centuries that the Great Vehicle showed numerical superiority to the Little Vehicle. In the sixth century A. D., the disciples of the old school still made two-thirds of the church.

While these schools divided the church, they did not cause a schism. All were still one flock, though they were in very different folds. In some regards the Great Vehicle became a better vehicle of religion than that of the primitive church. It had a higher ideal; it developed a new philosophy, which practically taught the existence of a saviour and a God. But, in its emphasis on the spiritual side, it neglected the mental discipline and self-control of the older school and lost itself in fantastic imaginings. It won its ideal from idealism, which it apparently borrowed from Brahmanic philosophy. The primitive church had three articles of faith embodied in the confession of the neophyte: "I believe in Buddha, as a sure guide, in the Dharma (the law of Buddha), and in the Sangha (church)." The "body of the law" was to the early church a literal body of law, or at most it was the Buddha still incarnate, so to speak, in his doctrines. But the word *dharma*, meaning "support," meant not only the hold, the law, but also the thing that holds, even the substance, and, as it were, playing on the last meaning, the Great Vehicle interpreted

this Dharmakaya (body of *dharma*) as the eternal being or support and substance of the world (what other systems call the Absolute). Moreover, this school taught not only that Karma might affect others as well as one's self, but even that it might be transferred from one individual to another; more strictly, that the merit obtained by Karma might in the infinite mercy of a Bodhisat serve as a kind of vicarious atonement. Buddha taught, according to the old texts, that Nirvana was the extinction of desire and its fruits (individuality, rebirth) and likened this extinction to that of a lamp: "What remains when the flame is extinguished?" To him, metaphysical questions, even the question whether man lived at all hereafter, were "walking in the jungle of delusions." He said most emphatically, when pressed for an answer: "When one who is delivered from individuality dies, he goes out like a flame and cannot be regarded as existent. That by which they say *he is,* exists for him no more." He acknowledged no Supreme Being, who is all intelligence and love, such as the "Body of Dharma" is conceived by the late Mahayana. The Little Vehicle made Buddha the Tathagata, "he who has arrived (at the goal)." The Great Vehicle made him a form of the Bhuta-tathata or Godhead as ultimate postulate of existence. This interpretation is probably not older than the fifth century A. D. In it the Absolute appears in three forms, a kind of trinity, first as the "Body of transformation," that is, as the historic but divine Buddha in the flesh; then as an infinite yet corporeal "Body of Bliss" (answering to the conception of God as a person); and then as a "Body of Existence," the Godhead or Ultimate. It (now He) appears as a supramundane power in the form of Amitabha, endless light, Amitayus, endless life, Vairocana, the glory or sun, Maitreya, the loving one, names of Buddhas, existing or to come, as forms of the principle of existence. According to the Mahayana, the cosmic unity called "Body of Existence" is an object of religious veneration and worship, for it is a spiritual existence; it has thought and action

and will. It may appear anywhere on earth as a particular being, Buddha or any other sage, so that modern adherents of this school regard Christ and Confucius as such particular forms of the Dharmakaya. Any man, though subject to organic laws, may be or must be a part of this transcendental intelligence. It is thus, in Brahmanic language, "qualified" or "non-qualified." As the latter, it cannot be defined, for to define is to confine, to limit, and it is illimitable. It is a void, emptiness, as transcending form, a "vast vacuity and nothing holy," as the prince of Benares said when interrogated by the Chinese emperor, a no-ness, reminding one of the "no, no" (negation) of the Upanishads when explaining Brahma. Yet this no-ness is the fountain-head of wisdom and compassion and as such corresponds to God. Naturally, with this view of the Bodhisat and the Dharma, was associated the soul-theory, which to Buddha was anathema. It was, in fact, current soon after his death, for "soul-view" is expressly stated to be a heresy of the early church, and it afterwards became a general belief. Yet some Buddhist philosophers repudiated not only the soul of the individual but, in their later discussions, extended the *anatman,* non-soul, theory even to a repudiation of the noumenal reality of existence.

The Bodhisat cannot rest in the bliss of Nirvana but must satisfy his unselfish heart by saving others through various means, such as giving over his accumulated merit. As a Buddha, this being can manifest himself everywhere at once; light streams from his forehead; he appears like an angel, but not as a "messenger" of another, for he acts of his own volition. To attain this state, however, the aspirant must pass through ten stages. In distinction from the primitive Hinayanist (adherent of the Little Vehicle), the Bodhisat may be termed the liberal Buddhist, not wholly on account of his faith but because of his general attitude. The primitive is a formalist. His law says "kill not," and the Little-brother will not go to war. But the Great-brother fights; he also mingles with the world and even

ventures to define Nirvana itself as "the flow of life and death," *yas samaras tat nirvanam*.[1] Sin and evil are to him but phases of Nirvana, which is the purification of existence. Thus Nirvana may appear as the Absolute, as when Nirvana is one with Dharmakaya, or in the form attained by men, with a residue of pain, or in a form of supramundane bliss, also attainable by men, where the pain of birth has ceased, or, finally, in the form attainable only by a Buddha, in which intellectual prejudice, the hardest tie, and all other fetters have been broken. Not all the Mahayanists hold all these views. Some are Nihilists and some belong to the Yogacara sect, a purely ideal monism, for like the early church the Great Vehicle has different schools within itself. Another, though slighter, difference between the teachings of the two main bodies may be noticed. The doctrine of the Middle Way always meant to the Hina school what Buddha repeatedly declared it to be, a mean between indulgence in material pleasures and asceticism. The Mahayana interprets it as a mean between excess of sentimentality and excess of intellectuality. A reasonable avoidance of sensuality and of self-torturing asceticism is thus converted into the avoidance of too great intellectual effort as well as of hedonism.

We must notice here the fact that the most striking parallels between the narrative or legendary elements of Buddhism and Christianity come from the later Buddhist histories, some of which belong to a period long after the Christian era. Certain stories are common to both Buddhist and Christian tradition and were probably developed independently in each. A very few offer parallels so close as to make it quite possible that one church has borrowed from the other. Popular books on the subject are apt to exaggerate both the number and character of cogent parallels, while minimizing the important factor of dates, as when, to support the thesis that Christianity borrowed

[1] For this reason no one definition defines Nirvana. It was literal extinction to Buddha, but to Buddhism it became bliss and heaven.

from Buddhism, it is stated that Buddha preached so that all who heard him, no matter what the hearer's mother-tongue, could understand. This gift of tongues is indeed suggestive of a loan, but as it is first found in a Ceylonese work of the thirteenth century the borrower cannot have been a Christian. Jataka parallels are all taken from a "History of Buddha's Previous Births," which dates from the fifth century A. D., though containing, of course, older matter. But if a parallel occurs only in the Jataka prose, as we have it now, it cannot be assumed that it is pre-Christian. The Presentation in the Temple is a parallel of uncertain date, but only later writers make the child to be "twelve years of age," apparently borrowing from Christian tradition. The fast and temptation in the original form differ materially from the later. The fast was one of twenty-eight days; later tradition made it forty-nine days. When we consider that a forty-days' fast is quite Jewish, it does not seem reasonable to draw the conclusion that Buddha's fast was converted by a loan into that of Christ. Buddha's temptation by the Evil One (Death) is certainly much older than the story of Christ's temptation by Satan and it is historically possible that the Christian story was borrowed; but again it may have been independently conceived. Finally, some of these parallels are plain fakes, invented for popular delusion, such as the statements that Buddha was born on Dec. 25th and began to preach at the age when Christ began to preach. Buddha was thirty-five or thirty-six when he began to preach (he spent seven years in study after deserting his family) and his birthday is unknown.[1]

[1] This loan-question is, in any event, not important. It is an historical problem concerning minor details of the intercourse between Christianity and Buddhism, affecting no fundamental truths or teachings in either religion. The Roman Catholic Church, doubtless by accident, has admitted a form of Buddha into its list of saints and such later loans may well have followed earlier loans. They begin to be probable in the Apocryphal Gospels of the second century, at which time there really seems to have been Buddhistic influence, felt and retained by the Christian Church. Christianity appears to have

The Buddhist church as a religious machine was of immense value. The earlier Brahmans had no congregation, no body, no authoritative head; they were a heterogeneous group of mutually antagonistic sages and priests, forever rivalling and belittling each other, without closer connexion than a loose caste-relation. Buddha founded a church which made a compact organization. Each congregation locally met twice a month to confess faults and later showed respect or worship of Buddha by erecting tumuli over his supposed remains and offering flowers there. The mendicants were vowed to moderate privation, could not accept gold, had to sleep on the floor, might not use garlands and perfumes, nor eat at night. The lay brother and mendicant both were vowed to ordinary rules of morality: not to kill, steal, lie, or drink intoxicants; to be pure, abstemious, and to abstain from plays, dancing, and singing (probably more or less immoral). The mendicant might leave the order and join it again at pleasure. While a mendicant, he begged his food daily and devoted the rest of his time to meditation or suitable conversation. The early Buddhists were not strict vegetarians, as they became later.

Adopted as a state religion about the middle of the third century B. C., Buddhism was soon introduced in the primi-

penetrated into India before 300 A. D. Christian docetic doctrine may have been affected by Hindu philosophy. Garbe years ago rightly made a distinction between the N. T. Gospels and the Apocryphal Gospels: "The narratives of the canonical Gospels which accord with Buddhist stories do not at all bear a specifically Buddhistic or even a specifically Indian character; their origin is entirely comprehensible without the hypothesis of an Indian derivation. On the other hand, the stories of the Apocryphal Gospels, parallels to which exist in Buddhist literature, shows genuine features of India's romantic lore." *Contributions,* Chicago, 1911, p. 1. See on this subject the author's *India Old and New,* p. 125f., and more recently the less probable speculations of Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum,* Tübingen, 1914; also the searching criticism of Vallée Poussin in the *Revue des sciences phil. et théol.,* 1912, and Kennedy in the *Journ. Royal Asiat. Soc.,* 1917. Of the four "parallels" now recognized by Garbe, two are not found till c. 500 A. D., the third may be as late, and the fourth (the temptation) is of very general character.

tive form to Ceylon and the East; in both forms it came to China in the first centuries after our era and to Korea and Japan from the second to the sixth centuries A. D. Burma and Siam, where it was introduced in the fifth and seventh centuries, A. D., respectively, alone keep the primitive form of Buddhism, though in Burma the Buddhists today are really animists. Ceylon now has a mixed type, originally primitive but overlaid with liberal doctrine.

The literature of both Vehicles is enormous and can here be sketched only in outline. The canon of the primitive church consists of three collections (Pitakas) called Discipline (Vinaya), Logia (Sutta), and Mental Conditions (Abhidhamma), to which as supplements are appended the Jatakas (Birth Stories), and various bodies of songs and aphorisms, such as the Hymns of the Elders (Theragathas) and the Path of Religion (Dhammapada). There are so-called histories (Vamshas) of Buddha and of the Ceylon branch of the primitive church and a heterogeneous epical history of Buddha called the Mahavastu containing much late material of stories and marvels, dating in its entirety from the first to the fourth century of our era. Ashvaghosha, a great poet of the first or second century A. D. (possibly later), wrote a Life of Buddha in poetic form, of which a part only is extant. The author was a converted Brahman of the Little Vehicle, who afterwards formulated or adopted the principles of the Great Vehicle, laying great weight on *bhakti,* loving devotion to Buddha as a divine saviour, an element foreign to primitive Buddhism. He may be the author of the *Awakening of Faith* (Shraddhotpada), translated into Chinese in the sixth century. Another writer of this school is Buddhaghosha, who, besides commentaries, wrote (c. 500 A. D.) a work called the *Way of Purity* (Visuddhismagga). The *Wonder Tales* (Avadana) belong to both schools. The most important texts of the Great Vehicle are the Lalita Vistara ("Long account of the Sport" of Buddha as a godlike being) and the Sad-dharma-pundarika (Lotus of the True Law). The

former appears to be a revision and extension of a Hina text compiled by sundry authors from the second or third century to the fourth or fifth, possibly the sixth, century A. D. In it Buddha is surrounded by 33,000 Bodhisats and knows sixty-four alphabets, including those of the Huns and Chinese! The Lotus was known to Fahien, a Chinese pilgrim, *circa* 400 A. D., and was probably composed a couple of centuries earlier. It is one of the nine late texts of the Great Vehicle, revealing a very advanced state of religious art and representing Buddha as God (Creator of the world and self-existent), whose grace alone can save. Religion in this period becomes a mere act of devotion; to bow to Buddha is all that is necessary; all else rests with his grace. The Buddha most affected in the Lotus is called Avalokiteshvara, "looking down" (with pity), while in the Sukhavati (Happy Land), another text of this school, the most praised form is that of Amitabha ("endless glory"). These two are the texts regarded as authoritative in the Shinshu sect of Japan, while Manjushri, a Bodhisattva next in dignity to Avalokiteshvara, is the ideal of the Japanese Kegon sect.

In reading and citing from this literature it must be remembered that even the canon of the primitive church was not reduced to writing till long after the time of Buddha, and though by the time of Ashoka it probably existed somewhat as it is now, yet no mention of the Tipitaka (threefold canon) is made before the first century of our era, while all the Great Vehicle texts are at least as late as the first or second century after Christ. The Jatakas were not reduced to writing till 500 A. D. Passages cited from the Lalita Vistara, for example, may be as late as the third, fourth, or even sixth century A. D. Only when one of these late texts is corroborated by other irrefragable evidence may it be used to depict Buddhistic belief of the early centuries B. C. The same remark applies, though not so drastically, to the canon called Tipitaka. It may in any one case indicate the belief of the Buddhists of the third

century B. C. and it may not. No one can tell what additions were made to the Pali texts [1] before they became what they now are. Buddha's own Logia were not in the same dialect as that of the Pali texts, and after he uttered his sayings centuries elapsed before any written record was made of them. Still less is it probable that the scholasticism of the Abhidhamma reverts to the fifth century B. C.[2] The philosophy of both the Little and Great Schools probably reflects centuries of contact with Brahmanism and it is a significant fact that the greatest Buddhist philosophers were converted Brahmans born several centuries after the Christian era.

How far the philosophy of Buddhism represents the religion at all, may be questioned. Most of the early Buddhists seem to be satisfied with the simple scheme of salvation, not from sin but from life, expounded in the discourses of Buddha. But the thought of the Brahmanic disciples who were converted to the Buddhistic faith in the first centuries of our era was already primed with their own previous philosophy, just as that of the Christian Fathers of the third century was primed with Greek thought, and their adhesion to Buddhism resulted in transforming that faith into schools of philosophy reflecting Brahmanic ideas. The most prominent of the early Mahayanists was a Brahman philosopher, Nagarjuna, who lived a little later than Ashvaghosha, possibly in the second century A. D. He represents the Negativist or Nihilist school of Madhyamikas,[3] who deny all existence. A work called Prajnaparamita in 100,000 verses is ascribed to him. This work and

[1] The Little Vehicle texts appear chiefly in Pali, a conventionalized dialect of the Ceylon branch; Buddha spoke in the Magadhi dialect. Most of the Sanskrit Buddhistic works belong to the Great Vehicle.

[2] This is the cool assumption made in a recent translation of the Abhidhamma. It is about as reasonable as to refer to Augustine's works as theology of the year one. Buddha was of the fifth century B. C., but Buddhistic works in their present form are all much later.

[3] See for this school L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Le Buddhism,*

the (Great Vehicle text) Sukhavati-vyuha are said to have been translated into Chinese in the second century of our era (the oldest Chinese translations of Buddhist texts, 67 A. D., may not be from Mahayana texts).

Ashvaghosha himself was perhaps the founder of the idealistic school of the Mahayana called Yogacara, but this is usually referred to the later Asanga. The doctrines of this school derive from Brahmanic Yoga and may even have been influenced by Manichaean and later Platonic ideas. The Bhumishastra of the Yogacara was translated into Chinese before 421 A. D. and this work is ascribed to Asanga. If not the founder of the Yogacara, Asanga is at least its representative teacher. His school, like the Shunyavada or negativist doctrine, denies phenomenal existence, but it recognizes existence in thought, and hence is called idealistic (it may be called a dogmatic realism). On the whole we may set the systematic exposition of the Yogacara in the fourth century A. D. Asanga was active in the latter half of the fourth and first half of the fifth centuries (375–450?). Asanga and his older brother Vasubandhu were Brahmans of the Kaushika school and were converted to Buddhism, at first as Hinayanists of the Sarvasti-vada, which affirms that "all exists."[1] Afterwards

Paris, 1909, p. 189f.; 290f. Nagarjuna's school founded some of the far-eastern sects.

[1] The truth between extremes is professed by the Middle Path of the Mahayana. Hinayana divides reality into phenomenal and noumenal (Nirvana) spheres, the phenomenal embracing physical and psychic, both physical and psychic phenomena having objective reality, but as impermanent (in flux). The noumenal sphere, though real, is void of phenomena. Radical Mahayana, on the other hand, denies the reality of the phenomenal world; the outside world is mental illusion; even the self (of self-consciousness) has no real existence; of the noumenal world one can speak only by negations. Conservative Mahayana, however, regards this view as extreme. It asserts that the phenomenal world is real because it is one with the noumenal world. It manifests the noumenal (but has no distinct existence). The oneness of the Real (*dharma* of non-duality) is the only thing we know but it cannot be defined; whether being or not-being or a state between be existence, whether things are or are not or are neither, no one can know.

both brothers appear as Mahayanists. Vasubandhu, who is said to have been converted to the Mahayana in his old age by Asanga, commented on the Lotus and other texts. According to this school, the foundation of all psychic processes is Bodhi, absolute truth and saving wisdom, but this is attainable only for one who has practised Yoga through ten grades of exercises of mystic sort, like those practised by the Brahmanic Yogins.[1]

Such psychic hygienic exercises really aimed at getting Yoga-power and soon became mere magical practices, in which the Mahayana texts were used as magic formulas, Dharanis. This led straight to the Tantric cult, wherein Buddhistic saints mingled confusedly with Shivaite gods and goddesses, especially Tara, a goddess and "female form" of Avalokiteshvara (sixth century). The most important Tantric exercises have to do with mystic diagrams, syllables, hand-movements, and with magical rites on the eighth day of the half-months. This Tantra-yana or third school of Buddhism, is really nothing more than a combination of Shivaism, with its animism and magic, and Buddhistic names. It no more deserves to be called a school of Buddhism than does the combination of Yoga and deception, or ignorance, which today calls itself Esoteric Buddhism. But worse was still to come.

For Buddhism unhappily did not die in its glory in India, but gradually became merged with forms of the Brahmanic faith, till little of the original belief was left in the west, while in the east and north it was perpetuated under new conditions, generally in a debased form. Yet even in the ninth and tenth centuries there were Buddhist kings and a Buddhist temple was built in 1276, while the restoration of the shrine at Bodh Gaya in 1331 shows that the old tradition of the faith still survived. As late as the sixteenth century Buddhism was still to be found in Bengal and Orissa.

[1] See the *Sutralamkara* (of Asanga) by Sylvain Lévi, 2 vols., Paris, 1907–11.

After the seventh century, however, the older Yogacara tended to become replaced by Mantra-yana, a school which substituted Mantras, religious formulas conceived in symbolic syllables, for the Dharanis. This in turn was succeeded by the so-called Vajra-yana, a more mystic and sensual interpretation of the Mahayana. All is here conceived in materialistic terms. The mind bent on Bodhi, saving wisdom, falls into the embrace of the (female) Niratma Devi at the top of the formless (Arupa) heaven. This symbolic process was interpreted rather too literally by the lower classes and represents the third stage in intellectual descent (from Mahayana to the Dharanis, from these to the use of Mantras, and from these to the Vajra-yana). But a still lower form of Buddhistic religion was that called the Vehicle of the Wheel of Time, Kala-cakra-yana, which followed the Vajra-yana (though Nepalese Buddhism still remains mostly Vajra-yana). The Kala-cakra is the wheel of destructive Time, and this Vehicle is in sum nothing but demon-worship as a means of protection against destruction. Buddha here becomes a mere demon. Another form of Buddhism (c. 900–1000 A. D.) in this decadent stage is that mixed with Brahmanism, the Nathamarga, a sort of Yoga-practice devoted to indrawing of breath and other spiritual exercises, directed, however, to winning success in this world rather than any spiritual gain. There was also at this time a carnal road to salvation practised by the lower classes of Buddhist and Brahmans called Sahajiyas, sages still worshipped, and sacrificed to, in Thibet. Later Tantric worship, mainly of the Shakti or female element, was not recognized before the sixteenth century. It was designed chiefly for women and slaves, for the deities are said to "prefer low castes." This debauched religious type, introduced in the twelfth century, but gradually adopted by the upper classes, is supposed by some scholars to derive from Scythian sources; but it is quite explicable on India's own polluted soil, where any form of erotic mysticism has thriven for a thousand years. Modern Tan-

trism pretends to be literary and conceals its indecency under a thin garb of philosophy, palpably recent but pretending to be ancient. What is ancient is the cult of eroticism and inebriety; what is recent is the philosophic framework, the exaltation of the female principle.

In Tibet,[1] where Buddhism was at home in the seventh century, although there was a form of Buddhism which was practically theistic, the worship of the "Original Buddha," yet on the whole the church was pervaded with gross superstition. Demonology rather than theology was the care even of the higher minds. This branch, possibly influenced by Nestorianism, had a ritual like that of the Christian church, a pope (Lama), bishops, clergy who officiated in cathedrals adorned with images and pictures, at services where incense and the tinkling bell reminded the first Christian missionaries of home — much to their horror, for they thought that the Devil had taught the Tibetans a mockery of Catholicism. These Lamaists are divided into two sects, distinguished by colours, red and yellow.

Although, like all vigorous religious organizations, Buddhism split into (seventeen) heresies and (sixty-two) sects,[2] even the great distinction between Little and Great Yanas has not broken it. In fact some of the literature, like the famous *Questions of Milinda,* a theological tract of the second century A. D., has remained common to both sections, and of course both are built upon a great body of common beliefs. In India Buddhism has disappeared, except as it is resuscitated today by missionaries, but we shall trace its growth and still living faith in the religions of China and Japan.

[1] The original Tibet religion was the Bon, which recognized spirits in all natural phenomena, irascible but placated by stones piled on a hill, and ghosts, placated (bribed) to keep away. But the only lasting ghosts were those of the earthly aristocrats. The priest was a Shaman, a magician, healer, banisher of evil spirits, and also a prophet. Much of this native religion still lingers in Lamaism.

[2] The 252 "heresies" of c. 252 B. C. were chiefly differences of opinion regarding unimportant practices.

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See also under the Religions of Japan.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

HINDU SECTARIAN RELIGIONS

THE effort to establish triads of gods is the counterpart of the tendency to make the one god three-fold. In an early theosophical essay it is said that there are in reality only three deities, one of earth, Fire; one of the atmosphere, Wind or Indra; and one "whose place is in the sky, *dyu*, and his name is Surya" (sun). It is the sun-god who "measures out the spaces" (compare Habakkuk iii. 6, "he stood and measured the earth"), under both the name of Surya and that of Vishnu. The oldest interpreters of the Veda understood Vishnu to be the sun-god or the three-fold god who appears as fire, lightning, and sun in three wide strides. His topmost step is also that "abode of honey" in the sky whither the worshipper hopes to go, the highest sphere which the stride itself established, and which he, the good "cowherd" (compare our use of shepherd) ever guards.[1] A later mythology combines with this a story of Vishnu as a dwarf suddenly enlarging his size and in three strides encompassing earth; but the traditional Hindu understanding of Vishnu down to the Bhagavad-gita is that Vishnu is the kindly sun-god and as such, rather than the war-god or than Shiva, he was worshipped by philosopher and agriculturist. The god of the lower classes, whom the orthodox priests identified with the lightning-god Rudra, was Shiva. A third great god was the personified Power Brahma, whom, to distinguish as (masculine) personal from the abstract (neuter) Power, we may call Brahman. He is identified with the old Father-god and was generally

1 Compare the descriptions of Vishnu in Rig Veda I. 22, 90, and 154 with the Nirukta, vii. 5.

recognized as the head of the orthodox Brahmanic pantheon. So the early texts of the Buddhists regard him as the greatest god the Brahmans had. Very much later, probably not before 300 or 400 A. D., simply in order to unite the warring factions of the strictly orthodox Brahman-worshippers, the then sectarian Vishnu-worshippers, and the Shiva-worshippers, there was a formal union of these great gods as "three gods in one" or strictly "three forms," *tri-murti,* as previously there had been an attempt to unite the two sectarian gods under a dual whole, as Vishnu-Shiva, or Hari-Hara. The Smartas or traditionalists (orthodox) have always looked askance but with enforced indulgence at these sects and have been ready to accept their followers provided they did not break too completely with the received religion, as the Brahmans' religious text-books provide offerings for the various spirits of the sectarian cults.

Though in the Trimurti the three gods appear as Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, each member of the triad had originally all these implied functions. Even Brahman, who as Creator is popularly supposed to have done his work at the beginning and ceased to be active, was a busy god till the first centuries of our era, protecting and destroying as well as creating. But he has finally dropped out of sight and in all India there are only two temples where he is the god. Shiva, the last of the triad, is a case of the first shall be last, for he is the first of the three to become an All-god. In contrast with kindly Vishnu, he represents the fearful power in nature; he is god of robbers and thieves; lord of cattle, for he slays them with his lightning; terrible, monstrous, but called *shiva,* kind, euphemistically, yet really austere, hence the god of ascetics. He lives in cemeteries, is adorned with skulls, garbed with snakes and ashes; or again he madly dances on the mountain tops, the god whom the Greeks took to be Dionysos because of the orgiastic traits in his character. Shiva is all one fears, yet a personal transcendent god. Shivaism was acceptable to Bud-

dhism, for both were closely connected with Sankhyan dualism. Shiva always remained a scholar's god, as because of his dancing he was the god of the dramatist, while his austerity alone would be enough to endear him to the philosopher, who made him an All-god.

As a visible god Shiva bears a trident and rosary;[1] the crescent is on his brow; he has three eyes, with one of which he consumed Kama, the god of love; and his wife is the Mountain-goddess, Uma, Parvati, called the terrible, and destructive mother, Kali, Durga, patroness of Thugs, a wild-tribe goddess, fitly associated with Shiva, who had in fact the same origin. In later literature, Shiva has the phallus, *lingam,* as sign of his productive powers; his animals, boar and bull, probably represent this idea also. All the wild-tribes when civilized prefer Shiva, and the Brahman priests see to it that the local demons of these tribes are enlisted as forms of this god, who, though he is represented as having destroyed the orthodox cult, is still close to it, in preserving austerity and upholding animal sacrifice (both rejected by Vishnu-worshippers). One of the Shiva sects called Pashupat, cattle-lord-worshippers, was said to be "here and there opposed to the (orthodox) books," but the division is but metaphysical. The higher intellectual followers of Shiva are Shivaites only nominally, taking Shiva as a convenient name for their immanent-transcendental God. Shivaism struggled against Brahmanic control rather than against Brahmanic belief. Like Buddhism, it ignored caste and dared to say that caste is of no importance, for all men are children of one Father.

Included as elements of Shivaism are the worship of his son, Skanda, the war-god, and that of the elephant-god, "lord of hosts," who makes and removes difficulties (Ganesha); the Mothers, too, hags of diseases especially adverse to children, represent another element drawn from the

1 The rosary, common to Buddhism and Shivaism, was taken over by the Christian Church, whose missionaries brought it back from India.

Dravidian population. Brutal slaughter often marks Shiva's cult and he appears in an equally rude female form, whose cult implies that of the Shakti or female power, which is found also in other sects but is most conspicuous in Shivaism and was destined to make the chief factor in the Tantric rites already mentioned. His devotees were often found among the Yogins, who studied mesmerism and occult power-winning long before the Christian era, and whose pretended powers have given them the name of Mahatmas. They aimed at imitating Shiva's austerities. Some, representing sects of the middle ages, still survive, Nail-men, whose nails grow till they pierce the palms; Sky-facers, who hold their faces rigidly upward till unable to bend them back; Up-arm men, who hold up their arms in the same way; Tree-men, who hang upside down in trees; Skull-men and Pot-men, who carry these symbols; and Lingins, who worshipped the phallus itself as Shiva (twelfth century). Most of these wretches nowadays have no idea what their attitudes and symbols mean; all are intellectually degraded or mere fakirs. Some of the older sects show that Shivaism represented a higher thought. The Nakulishas, tenth century and later, sought "nearness to God" through moral life and philosophy. About this time there was in Kashmir a sect called Recognitioners, who aimed at "recognizing God in the soul." It is only thus we can understand the statement that a philosopher like Shankara was a Shiva-worshipper. Even the basest of modern sects had originally an idea and a system behind the symbol, which has now become their all.

The whole conception of Shiva reverts to a wild god of native tribes identified with Rudra, a lightning and disease-god of the Veda, who is also a mountain-cloud phenomenon, cruel and kindly by turns, and has many epithets, or forms as names, and to whom is made a bull-sacrifice. He is taken, this all-pervading terror, as the name of the All-god in his awful manifestations even in the Upanishads, though not till they began to name personally the "great

terror," *mahad bhayam,* which the still earlier Upanishadists called the Brahma. Nor was he then a sectarian god. His phallus-cult is probably that deprecated in the Rig Veda as opposed to Aryan worship, that is, it belonged to un-Aryan inhabitants, as did the serpent-cult, afterwards adopted from these aborigines as part of the Shiva paraphernalia. He remained an adapted god of the Brahmans (not sectarian), till perhaps about the fourth century B. C., when his worshippers became exclusively Shivaites, thus beginning the sectarian worship of this god, whom they called Maheshvara, Great Lord, etc. By the sixth century A. D. there were Shiva sects in south India and by the ninth there were two schools of Shivaism in Kashmir. Probably most of the modern sects go back to about this period, though the elements of Shivaism are much more ancient. Thus the worship of Mothers, that of Ganesha, and of Skanda, were older separate cults, gradually amalgamated with that of Shiva. The Pashupat system of Shivaism probably began about 200 B. C. Shiva had no systematized Descents (Avatars). When he appeared on earth, he came as the great god, not in animal or human form, though occasionally, in imitation of Vishnu, his worshippers have invented Avatars for him also. His bull is regarded as a sacred animal, but not as the god in person.

The worship of Vishnu, who bears the (sun-) discus, like that of Shiva, takes many forms. First he was revered as Lord, Ishvara, by philosophers who sought to make him representative of deistic doctrines. Then he was revered under the name Krishna or Vasudeva, a clan-god raised to all-god-hood, and later as Rama, another clan-god of the same sort.[1] After he was recognized in a hu-

[1] These clan-gods may originally have been clan-men, later deified as heroes and regarded as local gods; then as clan-gods raised to a par with the god of gods recognized by a more advanced community. Heroes in India become divine, and divinities, almost as soon as they die, sometimes before. On the other hand, it is possible that both Rama and Krishna were gods interpreted as men. The evidence for neither view is convincing.

man form, the Brahman priests appear to have reasoned thus: "Krishna is a form of Vishnu; what about other divine descents to earth? The fathers said that the Dwarf was Vishnu. They also said that a divine Fish rescued Manu; they identified the Fish with Brahman, but we identify him with Vishnu." Then they added all the other condescensions of Vishnu as Descents, Avatars. These they gleaned from their mythological learning, such as the Avatar of the Boar, who (originally as Father-God) is said to have raised earth; or from later lore, such as the man-lion divinity, who tore an opponent to pieces, or the ancient Rama-warrior of the Bhrigu clan. Then on various occasions they added more, such as the spirit called the Swan or Goose, the sun-bird Garuda, the Tortoise, which bore earth on its back, and eventually Buddha and even a future Avatar, Kalkin. The list held at ten for a time, but the Puranas added as many more, including the founder of the Jains as an Avatar. These make, as a group, Vishnu's third method of revealing himself to man, in forms under which he is worshipped. Also, to the religious person, the soul within, being one with the One God, is another form; and, to the mass of people, the spirit in the idol is another.

Krishna, called Vasudeva,[1] is brother of Balarama Sankarshana, a bucolic drunken "ploughman" god, much celebrated in epic verse. In sundry early inscriptions and notices of gods this Sankarshana is regularly associated with Vasudeva. Later, Krishna is credited with a son and grandson, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, of whom the earlier accounts have nothing to say, but whom the theologians adopt as metaphysical figures. The only early partner of Krishna is Sankarshana, the ploughman, his older brother.[2] This Krishna is the object of a cult originally independent of

[1] Originally Krishna is independent even of Vasudeva, who seems to have been another clan-god, belonging to the Vrishni clan, also exalted from human or hero estate to the position of god of gods. But Krishna appears as a Vasudeva-form in the Bhagavad-gita.

[2] In the later systems, these relatives represent activities of God. Thus Caitanya (below) explains Krishna Vasudeva as intelligence,

Vishnu. He is dramatically represented as slaying his wicked uncle. He is, in fact, a local hero-god whose cult expanded till he was received into good society and identified with a Vedic sage of the same name referred to in the Upanishads. After the Bhagavad-gita, "the New Testament of India" (c. 300–400 B. C.), he was also identified with the Brahmanic highest spirit called Narayana, a name in Manu's law-book of Brahman, who in turn was identified with Vishnu. The earliest religious system of the Vasudeva-Krishna cult is monotheistic; the god is "god of gods" and the object of special devotion, *bhakti*. The cult of the four forms or manifestations comes later and is found in the (Vishnu) Pancaratra system, assigned by some scholars to the third century B. C., but probably considerably later. The Bhagavad-gita does not yet recognize the identity of Krishna with Vishnu as All-god, only with Vishnu as sun-god, nor with the four forms of the Pancaratra system. It recognizes Krishna as the One God, who loves man and whose grace gives salvation. Knowledge and works are not considered altogether vain, but they are deprecated. Faith alone suffices to save. "Give up works; meditate upon me; then am I your saviour; I save those who set their hearts on me; through my grace are they saved. They that love me, they are in me and I in them. I am the father, the mother, the Way (of salvation), the only Lord and refuge. Even those who worship other gods with faith and love are really worshipping me alone. He who gives to me even a flower or water, from him I accept it as a gift of love and sufficient sacrifice. Whatsoever thou doest, offerest, or eatest, do it as a sacrifice to me, for I, Krishna, am God."

Because Vishnu as the sun-god is the topmost god, whose place is like an eye in the sky, and because his loftiest place is the abode of bliss, and represents the highest, purest,

Sankarshana as consciousness, Pradyumna as love, and Aniruddha as sportiveness; older systems interpret Pradyumna as mind and Aniruddha as consciousness.

divinity, he rises steadily in esteem from the Vedic to the Puranic age, a favourite with the mystic philosopher as with those who preferred the gentle cult of the sun-god to the wild-abuses of Shiva. In the later epic, the identity of Vasudeva-Krishna with Vishnu is fully established, although in this same epic there are several passages which show that there was still strong antagonism against the ascription of supreme godhead to Vasudeva. He was not yet universally recognized, but was still more or less of a local god, though strenuously demanding for himself the status of God.

There was, however, another Krishna with whom the saint of the Veda had to divide honours. This was the cowherd Krishna,[1] whose chief reputation was that of an amorous swain of cowherds, delight of the maidens, whom he chases and woos by the dozen. He was a musical, prank-playing, dancing boy-god, unknown to the Bhagavad-gita, but recognized in later parts of the epic as identical with Krishna-Vasudeva. Nothing more incongruous can be imagined than this union. A sort of Pan, playing his pipes and chasing girls, is now the majestic All-god called Vasudeva-Krishna-Vishnu. The easiest explanation is that two forms of Krishna have united, one the warrior god, whose glory was attached to the clan-god of the western Vrishnis, and the other the local Mathura cowherds' god, of whom as a child one told marvellous feats and as a youth humorous pranks. His clan is supposed by Professor Bhandarkar to have been that of the Abhiras. The cultus is directed to him as the lover-god and this is what has made Krishna-worship popular among the sentimental religionists of India from the time of the Gita Govinda in the twelfth century. Identified with that of Vasudeva-Vishnu, this cult regards him formally as Supreme Spirit; but the whole tone of such later sects is that of mystic eroticism centred about Krishna as the lover-god.

[1] This is the Gokula Krishna, whose cult probably arose shortly before the Christian era and was brahmanized soon after that era.

A third phase of the cult appears still later in the special worship of the infant Krishna with the Madonna, possibly a loan from Christianity due to the identification of Krishna and Christ. Krishna is called Kushto and Krishto in some of the northern dialects.[1] Such are the forms of Vishnu the sun-god as All-god on earth. At the same time there arose an independent growth of sun-worshippers, probably fostered by Persian influence, so that in the ninth century of our era there were no less than six sub-sects of Sauras (sun-worshippers), as there were six devoted to Ganesha, an indication of the rapid growth of devotees of all kinds at this period, who worshipped gods still distinct.

The essentially monotheistic Vishnu-religion played a very important part in combating the influence of Shankara (born 788 A. D.), who had established monistic idealism and taught that life was a dream in a world of illusion. Some time after Vasudeva-Krishna had been identified with Vishnu the same process raised Rama, the western hero or godling, to a similar position. The identification of Rama with Vishnu is perhaps as old as the first centuries of the Christian era; but there is no cult of him before the tenth or eleventh century. Ramanuja, in the beginning of the eleventh century, founded a South Indian church which, while founded upon the Vedanta philosophy, held a different interpretation from that of Shankara. To Ramanuja, the world and soul are parts or attributes of God; the world, in short, is not illusive but real. This is the true Upanishad doctrine, of which the illusion-doctrine is a later phase; it is a montheism as well as a pantheism. God is eternal, free of all defects. He pervades the universe; he is creator, preserver, destroyer. He is, however, incorporate in various manifestations, the Avatars of Vishnu, but He may be recognized as the one within the heart. This god one must worship with *bhakti,* that is, *yoga* or devout medita-

[1] Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism, Saivism,* etc., Strassburg, 1913, p. 38. By the third century A. D., Manichaeism and Mithraism and probably Christian teaching had already penetrated to India.

tion.[1] This church divided into two sects, one holding that God first extended His grace to save, as a cat seizes its kitten; the other, that man must first seek to be saved, as a young monkey must first embrace its mother's neck to be carried to safety. Hence these sects, still vigorous in South India, are known as the Cat and the Monkey sects. They are to the Ramanuja church what Augustinian and Pelagian doctrines were to the Roman Church. The Pashupats among the Shivaites hold to the cat-theology; but most of the Shiva-sects are adherents of the monkey-doctrine. Despite Ramanuja's name, he seems to have been a worshipper of Krishna as a form of Vishnu. His follower Ramanand, however, favoured Rama (fourteenth century). His Vishnuism was a monotheism, opposed to eroticism; he also preached against caste-distinctions. Kabir (died 1518), of Ramanand's sect, and Dadu (*circa* 1600) spread the cult of Rama as name of God through northern India, especially among the lower classes, to which they belonged. Tulsidas about the same time (he was born in 1532) further popularized this Rama-monotheism through the medium of poetry in the vernacular. All these sects were virtually monotheistic and ignored the grosser sentimental-sensuous aspects of Vishnuism. A reform of Ramanuja's church introduced by Madhva (1200–1275) in southern and middle India had, however, introduced an element of weakness in stressing the "love" element. Madhva taught that the individual soul was different from Brahma and that the grace of God was won by sympathetic appreciation of God's character. But, to attain this, one must yearn for God, apparently a safe tenet, but not for Hindus. He who yearns for God in India soon loses his head as well as his heart. Madhva worshipped both Krishna and Rama as forms of Vishnu, the name of God, and from this time on the special Bhagavat worship (of Vishnu as Krishna) declined in favour of a more catholic Vishnuism; but the poetry of this

[1] Ramanuja expressly defines *bhakti* as *upasana* and as *yoga*. He nowhere teaches "love" in the usual Krishnaite sense.

period shows a mystic love of God indistinguishable from the gross sensuousness which has been the bane of the Krishna-cult since the day of the amorous Cowherd. Thus, in the twelfth century, Nimbarka showed a strong predilection for the united worship of Krishna and his mistress Radha, which led directly to the excess of the Radha-cult as taught in the sixteenth century by Vallabha in western India, virtually the worship of the lover-god Krishna and of Radha, the aim of the devotee being to go after death to a vulgar heaven of sensual delights. In this cult comes out strongly the theory, also an early Christian idea, that the spiritual guide of the sect, the Guru, represents God. He is divine to the Hindu devotee and must be served with degrading personal attendance; he owns the devotee and the devotee's property.

Somewhat better was the contemporary religion of Caitanya of Bengal, who indeed stressed unduly the amorous element in the worship of Krishna,[1] but he also preached a spiritual devotion and opposed the caste-system. Utterly opposed to the growing tendency of erotic religion, Namdev, in the fourteenth century, discarded the cult of Radha, deprecated formalism and preached purity (love of a pure heart for a pure God) to the western Mahrattas. The Sikhs have incorporated in their Granth (bible) some of Namdev's hymns. The Mohammedans taught him to despise idols, which were used even by Ramanuja. In the seventeenth century, Tukaram, a devout slave-caste teacher, followed Namdev. The seeming catholicity as to caste of several of these religious leaders is due to their low origin as much as to their contact with Mohammedanism. Kabir, the forerunner of the Sikhs, was a bastard son of a Brahman woman brought up by a Mohammedan. Dadu was a cot-

[1] It has been observed by many scholars that, as a rule, the Rama-sects are purer-minded than the Krishna-sects. A Ramaite regards the love of God as that of a father for his son; a Krishnaite as that of a lover for his mistress. But the early Krishnaism of the Bhagavad-gita was not of this debased type; there God loves, but is not amorous.

ton-cleaner; Sena, a follower of Ramanand, was a barber; Namdev was a tailor, etc.

In all these Vishnuite sects there is a strong reaction against the practical atheism of Vedantic monism. Beginning with Ramanuja, this struggle persisted down to the sects which are half-Mohammedan. It started, however, long before the formal attack of Ramanuja on his philosophic predecessor, for the Narayana and Vasudeva (Bhagavat) cults were essentially monotheistic, not monistic. They continue that God-idea which in the Upanishads themselves converts the holy terror of nameless Power into a God of grace. It is this tendency which led in the middle ages to the deistic sects like that of the Sittars (Blessed), believers in a pure life and one God. They and even Ramanuja have been suspected of borrowing from Christianity. But it is not necessary to assume any loan to explain Hindu monotheism.[1] All that the historian may say is that such a loan is not at all impossible.

If there has been any loan from Christianity, it is to be found in the mediaeval sects worshipping a Lord regarded as a God of love; yet it is quite possible to derive this idea also from native sources. Its mediaeval expression is perhaps enhanced by, rather than drawn from, Christian missionaries. At the same time, the close approach to Christian expression even in the Bhagavad-gita lends colour to the theory that some later re-writer may have intensified the faith-doctrine there advanced. Yet, in connexion with this, it must be remembered that Buddha had already become an object of loving personal devotion and perhaps the influence of the Buddhist faith and love of the master, who in the Mahayana system is also a saviour, was not an unimportant factor in the creation of the Gita as a counterblast

[1] The belief in many "gods" does not impugn Hindu monotheism, since, when the God-idea occurs, the gods appear only as inferior spirits. Christians also used to believe in various spirits, angels, devils, etc., as consorting with or opposed to God. These are the *devas* and the demons of the Hindu monotheist.

to the personal religion of the then dominant religious party.[1]

Vishnuism includes also a Shakti cult (above) as that of divine energy in Mother-form, so that it has a sort of trinity of god-powers, God as All-soul, God as incarnate in man (Krishna or Rama), and God as the energizing productive power in the world; with which last Sir George Grierson aptly compares the substitution by Syrian Christians of Mary for the third person of the Christian trinity.[2]

The Puranas, to which reference has already been made, are a store of mythology and ritualism emanating from the early and mediaeval centuries. Although historically of some inferential importance and mythologically of the greatest interest, their religious value is not so great as one would expect. It is confined to the details of ritual, which of course has its own worth but only when it embodies an idea. The only idea in all the Puranic ritual is that the god worshipped is in an idol; this idol is to be washed and dressed, put to sleep and waked up, prayed to and

[1] The epic in which the Bhagavad-gita is enshrined is a work of centuries, which has caught up some extraneous matter from Persia and probably some Christian material is embedded in it. Even Professor Garbe but lately believed that its most monotheistic section is an echo of Christian belief (*Archiv für Religions-wissenschaft,* xvi, 546). The more the present writer studies the subject the more is he convinced of the probability of early borrowing on the part of India and the improbability of any one ever knowing how much borrowing there has been. India is a sponge that soaks up all ideas and cults. It borrowed freely from the native aborigines; it absorbed the border-land beliefs; it took to itself Greek astronomy and perhaps Greek drama; and it would not be surprising if it had drawn something from a religion brought to its doors by missionaries in the first centuries of our era. Its texts are plastic. There is not an early Brahman or Buddhist epic or religious poem (after the Vedic age) which has not been re- and re-written, with any number of changes, interpolations, and additions. Moreover, most of these religious texts are dateless; we congratulate ourselves if we can approximate to within two or three centuries of the time when they were composed. Nevertheless, probability is not proof.

[2] *Journ. Royal Asiatic Society,* 1907.

fed, and glorified as the very image of the divine.[1] Each Purana has its own god; some are in honour of Shiva; some extol Vishnu; a few celebrate other gods. Moreover the ritual is not the same in all; but it might as well be so, for all the ideas one can extract from the texts. The Puranas in general are a sort of *résumé* of idolatry-lore based on a polytheistic sectarianism which reverts to the ancient henotheism of India: for the devotee, only this god now worshipped is of moment. At the same time, they contain references to the old fiends, devils, gods, and tales garnered from antiquity, which show that these are still the object of fear and wonder; but even these are chiefly reflections from epic tradition, though a few new figures appear. In general, the eighteen Puranas, from *circa* 300 to 1300 A. D., may be dismissed from a history of religions with the remark that they are an early literary (save the mark) expression of what may be seen today in the various sectarian temples at Benares, where a horde of shrieking priests drum up a rich living by showing the credulous a god-doll. This religious phase is the nearest approach to shamanism

[1] Compare, for example, Agni Purana, lvi, f., on installing an idol: "This image embodies the Supreme Spirit; its pedestal is the goddess; the ceremony symbolizes the productive union of the two (as man and wife). . . . Bathe the image with hot water in pitchers of clay from holy ground . . . bathe the Supreme God with consecrated water and scrub him with consecrated earth; pour over him the washings of grain; say the magic words; wave lights and flags before him; read the texts to him; spikenard and myrobolan on his head; eighty-one pitchers (of water) pour upon his head and annoint the god with sandal-paste . . . rub his body till he glows; offer him perfumes and song; give him flowers and rich robes; wave incense before him; put collyrium upon his eyelids; a mirror shall he have and over his head an umbrella; fans wave before him. . . . The priest shall say, 'Oh best of gods, be pleased to go a journey.' Then decorate the platform; place the god on the mystic diagram called *svastika;* make the god enter the image with the (designated) spells; anoint the image with butter; put a mirror before it; worship the image with songs, music, flowers, perfumes, chowries, and lamps; place saffron and turmeric on its head; take it to the river, bathe it along with priests and the best people; take it out of the water, worship it again, bring it back to the temple . . . then celebrate the nuptials of the god and his spouse. . . ."

and fetishism to be found in what is supposed to be a civilized community. It has no real support in the Hindu's own higher religion; for the pity of it is that it is not a primitive form but a degradation. It represents decadence, the substitution of sound and emotion for sense and sanity.

Native religions that have been influenced by Persian, Christian, and Mohammedan beliefs cannot be regarded as strictly Hindu. Nanak, a follower of Kabir, who himself was more Mohammedan than Hindu, was born in 1469 and created the famous church militant of the "Lions of the Punjab," known as Sikhs, which reflected various religious elements and foreshadowed those modern reforms which are more political than pietistic. The Sikh cult of Sword and Book (Granth) built up a new political party, but its religion was a farrago of old ideas. Nanak had been in Arabia and borrowed from the Mohammedans his hatred of idolatry and his teaching of monotheism, God being worshipped under the Holy Name. He retained, however, a strong sub-stratum of Hindu pantheism and the Sikh worship of the Guru (spiritual leader) was as pronounced as in the Hindu sects. A large number of these, often sub-sects, inaugurated by some ignorant pretender with more piety than education, has now for many years agitated the population of northern India.

The so-called Reforming Sects of the last century are generally of a higher type, though they are all hybrid religions formed of a mixture of native and foreign beliefs. The first was the deistic sect of Ram Mohun Roy (1772–1833), called the (Adi) Brahma Samaj or Religious Congregation, a conservative Bengal reform, afterwards liberalized by Debendranath Tagore, till, like all other Hindu sects, multiplying by scission, under the leadership of Keshub Chunder Sen, a radical enthusiast of great sincerity but of intemperate mind, it split into two divisions, the new church calling itself the Brahma Samaj of India (1866). The next year another (Prarthana) Samaj on the general lines of the Adi (First Congregation) was started inde-

pendently in western India. Sen's sect objected to caste and child-marriage; it was from the beginning more a social than a religious reform; but it adopted the theatrical methods of Caitanya (to which it was related) and Sen himself offended his followers by permitting, for political reasons, child-marriage in his own family. He came to believe with his devotees that he was half divine; he professed himself a demi-Christian, and died a demi-Buddhist (invoking "the mother of Buddha"). Displeased with the love-feasts and other paraphernalia of emotionalism practised by this Samaj, the sober members revolted (1878–84) and formed the General Congregation (Sadharana), which teaches the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man, and insists that true worship is to love God and do His will.[1] A curious but important Samaj is that inaugurated by Dayananda and known as the Arya Samaj. It appears to have started under the influence of the Bengal Adi Samaj as a western branch, beginning its activities in Bombay (1875) and Lahore (1877), and was for a time in rapport with the Theosophical Society. But Dayananda (1824–83) was an independent, who is to be credited with the movement originally leading to the Samaj. The Arya Samaj labours under the burden of upholding the Vedas, not only as inspired but as inculcating monotheism. It believes in metempsychosis also and is divided into two sects called the Carnivora and Herbivora, according as its members eat meat and are liberal or, because Dayananda was a vegetarian, eat only vegetables, a sign that the leader is becoming a divine authority. The Samaj as a whole, however, is a party quite as much as a church, and with its slogan, "India for the Indians," bids fair to become mainly a political body. It is "patriotic" in denouncing both British rule and Christianity and intensely conservative in upholding the

[1] There is also a Sadharana Dharma or General Religion (not connected with the Samaj), embodying a reactionary movement against reform. Many other local Dharmas are now organized to defend the old faith.

barbarous laws of antiquity; but in its abhorrence of idolatry, its demolition of the spiritual prestige of the Brahman priests, and in its educational work it deserves all praise. Another reformer called Shiva Narayana, though not the founder of a Samaj, has laboured in Calcutta and among the Assam tribes as a missionary, and has done good work in teaching a purer religion combining Christian and "reformed" Hindu ideas.

For India, a return to the teaching of antiquity, in so far as it discards the priests' yoke, idolatry, and the sensual side of Hinduism, is a consummation devoutly to be wished. The great danger in the sects is that the Hindu tendency to deification is liable to spend itself in worship worse than that which the reformer would extirpate. Even the Mohammedans, who, like the Parsees, have reform movements, are not free from this abuse.[1] Among the Hindus, the now popular Radha Soamis, who prate of science and combine into a "religion" a jargon of chemistry and mysticism, are a moral but unintelligent religious body founded by a music-master who discovered in 1861 that he was God incarnate. The Deva Samaj is a body of professed atheists who worship only their pope, as incarnate spirituality. From such sects with their bizarre teaching no religious gain can be expected. The theopoetic mind of India deifies men without hesitation and if a man be unbalanced, as are many of the sectarian leaders, the religion of his followers becomes mere blasphemy. In America men of this sort are kept in insane asylums, where they can act God among other lunatics. In India they found a church and become the heads of religious organizations.

Other reformers of note in the West but without churches of their own are Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. The former, whose words influenced Sen and Vivekananda more

[1] A Mohammedan "reformer," who, to his own satisfaction, has united Islam and Hinduism with Christianity, speaks of himself as very God, the Holy Ghost, etc., and suggests that he should act as pope of the universal religion which he has invented.

or less, was the type of an ancient mystic. An ignorant old man, but of immense personal magnetism, his devotion to God as "Mother" and his undoubted, if rather hysterical, piety made him one of the most conspicuous figures in the religious life of northern India. Vivekananda was a politician rather than a devotee. He popularized the cult of Hindus in America and brought back to India a reputation made abroad.

The peculiar fact about most modern Hindu reforms is that they preach as a new doctrine of startling significance what has been taught for many centuries, not only in other lands but in India itself. We must remember, however, that monotheism, love of God, and a decent life are quite new to the ignorant natives, who for the most part have always been polytheists and have led lives contaminated by the gross moral abuses of polytheism. For, despite all the religious leaders since the Upanishads, the mass of the Hindus have worshipped every sort of god except God, and, despite unimpeachable ethical codes, they have been forced into immorality by their own priests. There is today no viler caricature of a man of God than the temple-priest of India and the more the Reform Samajas can do to lessen his influence the sooner will come the day when moral religion will take the place of superstitious debauchery. It is the ignorant priests who uphold the wild sectarian superstitions of the Puranas, against which Dayananda made his ineffectual onslaught. India owes them nothing but contempt. Her salvation, like that of Israel and of Europe, has always lain with those who could think and see, her poets, philosophers, and inspired prophets.

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See also under Chapters eleven and twelve.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

RELIGIONS OF CHINA I

PRE-CONFUCIAN RELIGION

Our knowledge of the oldest Chinese culture and religion, sometimes called Sinism, to distinguish it from the mixture of Sinism, Taoism, and Buddhism, which combine to produce the later religion, is drawn entirely from native works, the most important of which purport to be those collected by Confucius, the great diadochos of the sixth century B. C., who transmitted the literary treasures of antiquity. Later scholars of his school added a few notable books. These altogether make the five Canons, King, and four Classics, Shu, of Chinese religion as officially recognized for the last two thousand years. The first division, called the Wu-King, Five Canons, contains the Yih-King, Permutations, lines of uncertain date, origin, and meaning, traditionally regarded as embodying a profound philosophy; the Shu-King, History, traditional lore decked out with apocryphal declamation; the Shi-King, Poetry, a collection of old songs and odes; part of the (later) Li-Ki, ritual law and ceremonies; and the Ch'un-Ts'iu, Spring and Autumn (Annals) of the district of Lu (from 722 to 494 or 481 B. C.), this being the only work composed by Confucius himself. The second division, called the Shu or Classics, consists of four works composed by disciples and followers of Confucius, the Lun-Yü, Logia (Analecta) of the master reported by later writers; the Tahioh, Great Learning; the Chung-Yung, a treatise on the mean (equilibrium and harmony of mind), inculcating right for right's sake; and the seven chapters of Mencius (Mang-tse), a follower of Confucius in the

fourth century B. C. There is also a canon, called Hiao-King,[1] on filial piety ascribed to Tse-Yu, one of the immediate disciples of Confucius.

Thus the history of Chinese religion is not supported by "unchallengeable monuments," like those of Egypt. The Shu-King itself was compiled by scholars whose account is a mixture of tradition and invention arranged in order to produce a desired impression. A good deal of this is religious history, which is, as has been said of Chinese history in general, "nothing more than prehistoric lore invented by generations much later than the events themselves."[2] To the category of invention belong not only the accounts of the "heavenly emperors," when the Chinese lived in a moral and material paradise, but also the data regarding the succeeding fabulous emperors, including Fu-hi, whose date is given as 2953–2838 or 2852–2738 B. C., a supernatural person, half human half serpent, son of the Chinese Prometheus. It is said that he was born in the northwest of (modern) China, which was the seat of the earliest civilization, and this is the one historical fact of importance concerning him. Fu-hi is the first of a list of mythical emperors to whom are attributed various advances in religion and civilization. He himself is said to have instituted marriage, hitherto unknown; to have invented the eight original diagrams of the Yih-King; and to have been the first to introduce sacrifice to his god. After him Shen-Nung, an ox-headed half-human emperor, invented agricultural implements and discovered the medicinal properties of plants. This beneficent ruler was followed by the famous "Yellow Emperor," Huang-ti (2704–2595 B. C.; or, according to the Annals of the Bamboo Books, his reign began in 2491 B. C.), who enlarged the empire by driving away the

[1] The text of the Tahioh and Chun-Yung is contained in the Li-Ki, only part of which is reckoned as a King (Canon).

[2] Hirth, *The Ancient History of China*, New York, 1908. The Chinese scholars themselves suspected the value of their historical books. One of them said, "Better to have no historical books than to give entire credence to them."

northern barbarians, perhaps Huns, and by extending his sway to the south as well as to the east and west. The first temples are ascribed to him; he regulated the calendar and laid the foundation of the sacrificial cult, besides paying attention to astrology, etc. After an interval, during which "heresy arose and was suppressed," two ideal emperors called Yau and Shun (2357 to 2206 B. C.), appeared as embodiments of all the virtues. Their follower Yü, whose deeds are recorded in the Shu-King, was the first emperor of the Hia dynasty, which lasted till a very wicked emperor called Kieh (Kié), (1818–1766 B. C.) brought it to a logical close. The history of these emperors is clearly composed for moral effect. As this Kieh's reign of sin effected the loss of the realm, so, conversely, the new dynasty, called Shang or Yin, which lasted from 1766 to 1122, because it began by being virtuous, enjoyed at first the favour of Heaven. The early history of the Shu-King consists largely in moral speeches directed to showing the proper path for kings and ministers and people to walk in; but there is no reason to suppose that any one of them is authentic, and even in regard to the times when these emperors lived, it is not probable that anything except names and generations can be trusted, till a period which happens to be fixed by astronomical data. This means, in reality, that there is no credible history before the eighth century B. C. and that till the sixth century very little is to be relied upon. The first real date in Chinese history is 776 B. C., which happens to coincide with that of the first Olympiad.[1] Most of the works indubitably authentic, dating from the sixth century, were burned in a later age and what we have now are books supposed to be identical with these but which suffered

[1] There is little reason to suppose that the cultural development of China was influenced in particular by contact with Babylon in the third millennium B. C., as has been urged by Lacouperie, in his *Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization,* London, 1894. Professor Hirth says that "his (Lacouperie's) arguments seem to be doomed to share the fate of De Guiness' attempt [in 1758] to prove that the Chinese had grown out of an Egyptian colony."

restoration as well as burning. They were edited by scholars who filled in lacunae and freely reconstructed the text of the classic "King" (canons), so that we cannot actually be certain of the antiquity of any particular passage in them, unless of course its data be supported by other evidence. But the later writers even interpret the text as we have it in favour of their own theological views, however impossible such interpretation seems to be.[1] It is obvious, therefore, that texts incapable of meeting their sanction may well have been suppressed altogether by the same devout editors. The sacred books were burned by royal edict in 213 B. C. with the exception of the Yih-King, which, as a book of divination, was universally esteemed at that time. After the burning of Confucian books and the murder of those professing their doctrines[2] there was a considerable interval in which such copies as survived at all moulded away, till under the Han dynasty (206 B. C.–220 A. D.) the previous edict was repealed. Then (191 B. C.) the old books were restored, partly from memory and partly from such copies as had survived. The best scholars edited these; but, as even Professor Legge admits, these Han scholars may have put their own ideas into Confucius's mouth and they may have made additions to the writings supposed to have come from his immediate disciples.[3]

1 Probably antique morality as depicted is coloured in the same way. For example, the Shang dynasty, above, showed a (Buddhistic) "benevolence toward all animals," which was ascribed to them probably after Buddhism's entry into China.

2 The *auto-da-fé* was purely a political matter, the Ts'in emperor believing that the classics injured his cause. Four hundred and sixty scholars, who persisted in disobedience to his edict, were buried alive.

3 *Sacred Books of the East,* vol. iii, p. xix. Professor S. Wells Williams says that even native scholars question the validity of the ancient histories: "Many of the Chinese literati believe that not a perfect copy of the classical works escaped destruction, and the texts were only recovered by rewriting them from the memories of old scholars. . . . Not only were many works entirely destroyed, but a shade of doubt thereby thrown over the accuracy of others." (*History of China,* re-edited, New York, 1901, p. 27.)

The first form of Chinese religion must then be gathered from the earliest works we possess in their present shape. The religion thus reconstructed appears not in a philosophical but in a popular manifestation. The religious belief which formulates the underlying reasoned base of the religion is a later product; early are the vulgar beliefs and the ceremonies established upon these beliefs before there was any interpretation of the universe. From preconceived notions regarding the race and religion of the Chinese in their original habitat, we shall do well to hold aloof in interpreting their beliefs. There is no cogent reason for supposing that the Chinese were not inhabitants of China for generations before we know anything of them.

The form of religion revealed in the earliest monuments is chiefly animistic. Spirits, identified with or dwelling in natural phenomena such as mountains, rivers, and clouds are worshipped; but ghost-worship, in the restricted application to ancestral ghosts, is more universal and, with one exception, seems to be more antique. These ghosts appear to control the spirits of natural phenomena, and are the main spiritual powers to which appeal is made. But supreme over all powers, even the ancestor-ghost of the emperor, is the sky-power, sometimes conceived as natural phenomenon, sometimes as a spirit in phenomenon; in whose person as Supreme Power animism and naturism unite. The worship of this Supreme Power is in the earlier literature indissolubly united on the one hand with its complementary worship of Earth and on the other with that of other ancestors. Heaven and Earth are the great parents of all; but the emperor is especially designated as Son of Heaven, originally not so arrogant a title as it seems today, nor even as Homer uses the same words of any "heaven-born king," διογενὴς βασιλεύς, but one indicating that Heaven regards the emperor as a son. But the mere fact that a man is a king, that is, superior to common man, makes him a superior man, a superman, hence filled with godlike power; and being so he is divine.

Professor De Groot, whose view of Chinese religion is based on southern practices, calls the religion of ancient China Universism, believing that the philosophy of Yang and Yin, that is, the controlling power of the universe as exhibited by antithetic elementary principles, male and female, underlies it from the beginning and appears in all its phenomena. This is to interpret the northern by its debased southern form and to inject into primitive thought more than it contained. Professor Tiele held that the religion was merely animism. This is to ignore the approach to God-worship found in the earliest literature. Professor Legge, Professor Giles, and Professor Hirth regard the earliest Chinese religion as almost or quite monotheistic.[1] In the interpretation of this "primitive monotheism, of which only scanty records remain,"[2] there is of course an unconscious bias in the direction of the belief current some years ago that man's original religion everywhere was monotheism. We find the same assumption, of monotheism as the first religion, made in the case of the Hindus and of the Egyptians, and even of the Hebrews! But Chinese religion is not primitive. Again, it is like that of other Mongolians, and, since we are acquainted with the raw religion of the savages racially connected with them, if we are to make any assumption it should be along historical and ethnological lines, which would lead us to the conclusion that worship of ancestors is more likely than monotheism to have been the "primitive religion" of the Chinese.

Worship of ancestors implies a belief in a life hereafter. The Chinese did in fact believe that their ancestors at death lived somewhere and could come at call. They spoke of the spirit of the departed as going up, and differentiated between the ascending spirit and earthly part; but it was

[1] "The ancient Chinese were decided monotheists. . . . The worship of ancestors began to be gradually cultivated as a side development of this original monotheism." Hirth, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 100.

[2] Giles, *Religion of Ancient China, London,* 1905, p. 13. The same view is held by most of the older scholars, who thought Chinese religion was a degraded monotheism.

only divine beings like kings and perhaps their great ministers who were imagined to live in the sky; except as they were thought of as stars. Of this belief, however, there is no direct evidence in the earliest period. There is only one worship for all people in that period, namely that of the ancestors. At the solstices the emperor made sacrifice to Heaven and to Earth, a sacrifice offered on the ground with the simplest utensils, the victim being a bull-calf; in the case of Heaven in the southern and in the case of Earth in the northern suburb. The worship of Heaven is often united with that of mountains and rivers. Sun and moon were worshipped with sacrifice on the east and west of the city, respectively.

But only the emperor was of old allowed to sacrifice to Heaven and Earth. Himself the Son of Heaven and as worthy of worship as Heaven itself (being revered while alive with the three prostrations and nine khowtows with which Heaven is revered), the emperor, who is called "Mate of Heaven," adores Heaven as if Heaven were his own ancestor. The real significance of this feature of early Chinese religion[1] lies in its betrayal of the exclusiveness of the worship. To the common man, Heaven was too glorious and majestic to approach; his private gods were his ancestors and the lower spirits. Even in worshipping Heaven at the present time, it is not as God but as a spirit with whom Earth as another spirit is associated. "The husbandman at harvest [today] acknowledges that it is his duty to thank Heaven and worship Earth" (instead of saying that he worships God. Edkins, *ibid.*).

Common people, who were not permitted to sacrifice to

[1] Although forbidden to do so by Confucian rule, yet private persons at the present time do not hesitate to offer incense and prayer to Heaven on the new and full moons. "The Chinese say that Heaven should be worshipped only by the emperor. . . . This is the theory, but it is not strictly carried into practice. Some profess to worship Heaven once a year, others twice a month." Edkins, *Religion in China,* London, 1878, p. 92.

Earth or Heaven, sacrificed to the door, ground, and field, while the officers intermediate between emperor and people, offered prayers for the people to the hills, streams, and springs.[1] This ceremony took place at the beginning of summer. It was followed by the great summer sacrifice for rain, which was offered to the five elemental gods, interpreted by some as "to God," with music, for "music stimulates virtue"; and finally, in this ceremony, sacrifice was offered to the ghosts of deceased princes, high ministers, officers, and those who had benefited the people, the worshippers "praying that there may be a good harvest." When the crop was to be planted, the emperor in state guided the plough for the first furrows; when the harvest was ripe, the emperor tasted of the first fruits. Minute regulations indicate a later Taoist development codified during the Han dynasty (*circa* 200 B. C. to 200 A. D.).

The ordinary worship, addressed rather to spirits of the ancestors and spirits of the earth than to Shang Ti (Supreme Ruler, as God) or to Heaven, is reflected in the earliest religious songs. Out of thousands of religious songs current in his day Confucius made a compilation of some three hundred, composed in rhymed strophes, the Shi-King. In how far these songs or odes as they stand today are really the songs of the times to which they are ascribed, we cannot say. But, from the nature of the case, songs are less apt to be tampered with than philosophy or history. Certain Shang songs of the second dynasty (1766–1122 B. C.), only five in all, seem really to belong to the twelfth century and they are regarded by Sinologues as the oldest in the collection. Most of the others we must be content to refer to a period indefinitely older than the time of Confucius, perhaps dating from the eighth century onward.

In these five Shang songs the oldest expression of religion is to invoke the spirit of the ancestor and to "delight"

[1] Or to spirits of these places. See the note on p. 234.

him, as it is said in the first song by music, not by libations, as is the later practice.[1] This song begs the ancestral spirit to regard kindly the seasonal sacrifice, made in his honour by the descendant, who prepares himself for the ceremony by fasting and thus seeks to "realize the ancestor," thought of as being at the time in his shrine. This "meritorious ancestor" repeatedly sends down blessings, as is said in the second song, where the ghost is lured to his descendant by means of an offering of soup and other viands, in order that he may confer longevity and send down prosperity from Heaven. The fifth of these songs speaks of pines and cypresses being cut down to make a temple for the ancestors,[2] who is here the former king and still watches over his people and preserves them. Thus three of the five songs of this oldest collection have to do only with ghost- or ancestor-worship. The third song, possibly of the thirteenth century B. C., alludes to the miraculous birth of an ancestor by means of a swallow sent down by Heaven, and the fourth also speaks of Heaven or "God" as founding the line, so that a Supreme Spirit is here recognized as directing the event which led to the ancestor's high position, the reason given being that this ancestor revered God and hence by God's favour he was appointed to be the model of the "nine regions" or provinces of the kingdom, and Heaven treated him as a son.

Heaven is expressly called "yon blue sky" and even the sex of Heaven is not fixed. An ode ascribed to the ninth century has the expression "O mother Heaven, why dost Thou not understand?"

The songs of lamentation reflect only that aspect of de-

[1] Later, the drums, the sounding-stone, and song made the music. Intoxicants (known as early as the twenty-third century, according to Professor Legge) were used only at great sacrifices, to entertain guests, and for family feasts.

[2] Only the ancestor has a temple; other spirits have altars or tablets. Great simplicity marks the early rite. It is said in the Shu-King that "officiousness in sacrificing is irreverent and multiplying ceremonies leads to disorder."

spair which may appear in any religion. If one poet says that Heaven is unjust, it is only right to remember that another says, "There is the great Supreme Lord, does he hate any one?" There is, in truth, a vigorous protest against the pessimistic view. The ordinances of Heaven may be inexplicable to men, but "the calamities of the vulgar do not come from Heaven." Officers may not (do not) stand in awe of Heaven and the innocent may suffer with the guilty; great and wide Heaven may have sent down death and famine; compassionate Heaven may be arrayed in terrors; and yet it is not God that causes the evil, but the evil ways of men produce evil, and hence it is that "Heaven arrayed in terrors sends down its net of crime."

The song asserting that calamities do not come from Heaven may be dated with tolerable certainty as composed in 776 B. C. The irregularity of Heaven, or, as sometimes expressed, the fact that Heaven has "reversed," is not Heaven's fault. Heaven also is bound in the complex of the good and evil. Departure from the Way (of rectitude) compels Heaven's anger; it is not a matter of kindness or compassion, as men think, but of inexorable law. This is finely expressed in the Tang Ode:

> How vast is God, the ruler of men below;
> How arrayed in terrors is God;
> With many things irregular in his ordinations
> Heaven gave birth to the multitudes of the people;
> But the nature it confers is not immutable.
> Born good (by nature) are all; but few remain good.
> It is not Heaven that makes you drunk,
> So that you follow evil devices.
> It is not God that has caused the evil times;
> Evil times arise when one abandons the good old ways.

The explanation of the enigma is that people are normally virtuous. Their "faculties are attuned to the law of Heaven." Hence there is no use in crying with the poets, "I look up to great Heaven, when shall I find repose?" or "I look up to great Heaven, but it shows no kindness"

(two songs begin thus), for "those whom Heaven does not approve sink in ruin" by a natural law applicable to the king, as Son of Heaven, and to his people. So it is said: "Great Heaven makes no mistake; if the king deteriorates he will bring his people to great distress." The natural law is somewhat quaintly expressed by the words of another song: "The doings of high Heaven have neither sound nor smell," that is, the power operates silently.

If we may take the Shi-King as the earliest religious expression of China, as it assuredly is except for the mystic lines of the Yih-King, we may sum up that expression with the remark that it teaches the cult of Heaven and of other spirits, especially of ancestors,[1] which seems to be the earlier phase, with a growing sense of the personality of Heaven as God, and a vague belief that the ghosts or spirits of men live somewhere hereafter, though the exact place is vaguely conceived. A lady bereaved of her husband says, "After death I shall go to his abode," apparently meaning no more than is expressed in the lover's lament, "Living we may be separated, but when dead we shall share one grave." Yet the ancestors do not remain in the grave; they are tutelary spirits watching over their families; they receive food and are honoured with music and the dance. Thus one song says: "People dance with the flute, to the notes of organ and drum; all the instruments make harmony; all this is done to please the ancestors." So the ancestors known as Fathers of War and of Husbandry are to the Chinese the most personal gods they have. This crops out repeatedly, as in the following bucolic ode, at-

[1] The cult of the spirit of the path (when one journeys) and of hills and rivers is recognized, but it is not certain whether the earlier conception is that the mountain is itself divine or has a spirit. Some passages favour the former view, but others clearly recognize the animistic divinity of phenomena. One of the Shi odes says of the model King Wu that after a victory "he sacrificed to Heaven, hills, and rivers." A virtuous king "gives rest to the hundred spirits, even to Ho and to the highest hills." This naturism is systematically neglected in accounts of Chinese religion, which assume that "hills" are always "spirits of hills."

tributed to some one, perhaps an officer of state, who joins with his men in the activities of the farmer: "With lutes and drums will we invoke the Father of Husbandry and pray (him) for sweet rain to increase the produce of our millet fields and bless my men and their wives. . . . We remove the insects that eat the roots and joints of the grain, so that they shall not injure the young plants. May the spirit, the Father of Husbandry,[1] lay hold of these (pests) and put them in the blazing fire. May rain come, first on the public lands then on our private fields. Yonder shall be handfuls left on the ground and ears untouched, for the benefit of the widow." This song is famous for its tone of loyalty expressed in the desire that the private land shall be blessed with rain after the public land. It is noteworthy also, though not unique, for the closing words, full of compassion for the needy. The ancestral spirits are supposed to partake of the sacrifice offered to them; but in the sacrifice to Heaven the incense of the food is enough. Thus when the king goes to the border to offer the sacrifice of the new year, on a day deemed auspicious by the diviners, the words of the appropriate song are: "We divine the right day; we then sacrifice a ram to the spirit of the path; we offer flesh, roast and boiled, and thus bring in the new year. We load the stands with offerings . . . and as soon as the fragrance ascends, God (Shang Ti) well-pleased smells the sweet savour."

Extraordinary occasions, such as war, famine, even a hunt, caused the celebration of special sacrifices. But as rich and poor alike had only one sacrifice, that to the ancestors, it is probable that other features are more adventitious and in part later; as the cult of agricultural spirits reflects later conditions economically. Streams and hills change as hordes move; the constant spirits are those of the ancestors who move on with the horde. But Heaven and Earth also are present always and their worship be-

[1] Shen Nung, the patriarchal emperor, whose "date" is 2737–2705 B. C. Hou-tsi, whose miraculous birth is recounted above, is also a "fellow of God," a deified "giver of wheat and barley."

came more pronounced as kings claimed to be sons of Heaven, whose worship was united with that of Earth as parents of all. But even Heaven-worship was felt to be a sort of ancestor worship reserved for Heaven's special son, the emperor.

The general distinction between T'ien (Thien), Heaven, "bright and high," and Ti, Ruler, or Shang Ti, Supreme Lord (God) is this. T'ien remains more materialistic; the blue sky, "vast and distant," although it is "our parent," inclines to the idea of an abstract power like Fate.[1] But Shang Ti is more a personal anthropomorphized spirit in heaven, who may walk on earth. Yet *circa* 600 B. C., in the Shu King, there is usually no difference between Heaven and God (Shang Ti). The titles interchange in the same passage; it is only that the general trend of expression tends to make "bright and glorious" Shang Ti more personal and "bright and high" T'ien more an indefinite Sky-power. But often there is not even this distinction. Both are called "Supreme." Shang Ti is the heavenly spirit; Heaven is the blue sky conceived as intelligent and moral orderer of the universe. The idea of God, far from beginning with an abstraction, grows out of the conception of the blue bright wide sky as a power superior to the power of the high hill, etc. In this the Chinese thought as did the Aryans, who regarded the "bright sky" as "Sky-Father" and as the Father in Heaven.[2] In the Shu King it is said: "Heaven gives birth to the people, and to the rulers to

[1] Yet man's fate is not in the hands of Heaven. Men shorten their own lives. "Heaven considers only their virtue and gives them length of years accordingly." "Heaven is intelligent and impartial." It cares only for order (virtue). Long life is always desired: "Five are the sources of happiness, long life, wealth, mens sana in corpore sano, love of virtue, and fulfilling the (divine) will." (Shu King.)

[2] With Shang Ti in sacrifice are associated the Six Honoured Ones, perhaps grouped together as The Seven Directors. The emperor "sacrifices to Shang Ti, the Six Honoured Ones, hills, rivers, and the herd of spirits" (in 2283 B. C.!). Altars are raised on hills to the hills, but the ancestral service is held in a temple with seven shrines (Shang and Chou dynasties).

regulate the people; Heaven gifted our king with valour; (the other king) falsely alleged the sanction of Supreme Heaven, but God disapproved of him" (iv. 2).

The "will of Heaven" is ascertained by dreams and divination.[1] The common form of divination was by the tortoise-shell, the arched back probably representing the vault of heaven. This was heated till it cracked, the lines representing an answer. The lines of the Yih King probably were used in divination. Other indications were given by the stalks of a plant, the millefoil or yarrow. God sends a dream to indicate whom a king should choose as his minister (Shu King). In political changes, however, the voice of the people is the voice of God. "Heaven loves the people" (not the king); "Heaven will effect what the people desire"; "to the king the people is God." Maintenance of the Right Order by means of a man who revolts against tyranny is always regarded as part of the divine plan, with which all spirits and good men will agree. Heaven declares itself by its orderly processes and righteousness with which, to succeed, man must be in accord.[2] Though oracles are not known, there is a suggestion of hidden "responses" which seem to act as oracles. The relation between man and Heaven is so close that spiritual intelligences, it is

[1] When fortunate, divination should not be repeated, but often different kinds are tried at the same time.

[2] In 1119 (?) B. C. the king fell ill and his brother, the Duke Tau, reared three altars to his three immediate ancestors and addressed them: "If you three have charge in heaven of him who is son of Heaven, let me be substitute (die for him), who am better able than he to serve spiritual beings." He then divined with three tortoise-shells (one for each king) and "looked at the responses," which were kept locked up. All were favourable. "He will live," said the Duke, and the next day the king got well. Noticeable is here the fact that the appeal is not made to Heaven, but to the ancestors who "in Heaven have charge of Heaven's son." The date is uncertain, but the tale is old as it is famous. What the oracular responses were, is not indicated. Tablets of the ancestors were carried into battle, and soldiers who were brave were rewarded on the spot "before the ancestors" of the king; if recreant, they were slain "before the spirits of the land"; their children also were slain (Shu King; pretended date, "2188" B. C.).

said, are influenced by perfect government and put to rest. The ethical import is clearly stated in the Shu King: "God[1] confers a moral sense even on inferior people," and in its advice to kings: "Do not oppress; be gentle but strict; promote harmony by forbearance (the later doctrine of compliance). People are born good; they are made bad only by (their environment, by) things (external), which cause them to follow their own desires." This radical teaching is, however, not always maintained. Thus in the Shu (Yü) it is also said "The mind of man is prone to err; its affinity to what is right is small." Other Tao doctrine in the Shu is shown by the insistence on the doctrine of the mean, by its statement that pride brings low and humility exalts, for this is the Way of Heaven. Sin evidenced by disaster to the people is regarded as due to the king, who "takes to himself all guilt and evil."

The Li Ki is later than the other King and in its present form cannot be older than the Han dynasty. What remains in it of older value is not its incredible minuteness of ritualistic observance, though this is important as an index of the spirit of Confucianism, but the accidental glimpses it affords into conditions not recommended but incidentally mentioned, sometimes with disapproval. The State, when elaborate ceremonial was the chief religious motif, is one still harbouring barbarous practices, though civilized by comparison with its neighbours. China was a small land surrounded by savages who, though living in caves and tatooing themselves and eating raw meat, yet made a constituent part of the empire as compared with the "demon nations" of the North (compare Avestan *danhu*). Foreign customs and manners were introduced into China itself soon after Confucius's day and it helps to explain his insistence on the good old customs of the ancestors

[1] Here one with "Yon Great Heaven," preceding, and the "Way of Heaven," following (iv. 2). In the Shu also it is said that "Heaven arranges all social relations. Heaven hears as the people hear, sees as the people see, and approves as the people approve."

to recognize that similar innovations were made even in his lifetime. But China itself, the Middle Kingdom, was not without its inherited savagery marked by the regular mutilation of prisoners of war as well as the usual mutilations practised on prisoners for crime.[1] From a religious point of view it is interesting to see that the custom of burying the dead with the living was not uncommon. At a later date human sacrifices are not unknown, one even of a royal heir of a conquered province. In 621 B. C., three brothers of Duke Mu and others of his family and retainers to the number of one hundred and seventy-seven were buried with him. This custom of immolating human beings to accompany the dead into the next world can be traced back but little earlier than this. It arose with the growing belief in the more human attributes of the dead, their needs and desires hereafter as projected from earthly conditions, and, since earlier ideas on this subject were very vague, it may be questioned whether this particular barbarity was not introduced from the outside world, perhaps from the Tartars.[2] For it is quite a different matter whether one tempts royal ancestral ghosts with music to one's altar or provides for their future pleasure a family of retainers and all the pomp and circumstance of home.[3]

Yet even in the Middle Kingdom a witch or "some diseased person" (a cheap bargain!) was exposed to die in the sun when rain failed to come in due season, in order that "pitiless Heaven" might pity and comfort with rain the sufferer, and incidentally benefit other people. This

[1] The Li Ki reveals that workmen employed to cut down trees for coffins were beheaded if they erred in their work. Drunkenness is condemned in the Shu King: "Put to death those who assemble and drink together." Another approved rule is that the emperor should put to death even those who commit small crimes intentionally, but not those who commit even great crimes unintentionally.

[2] The Great Wall was built against the Huns in 214 B. C., but as early as 481 B. C. Confucius speaks of the "white foreigners."

[3] In the Shu King an emperor sacrifices to the spirit of his just deceased father by thrice pouring liquor on the ground, which offering is repeated by his minister, after washing his hands.

is one of the practices "not approved," even argued against with scornful irony; but clearly it was a practice derived from antiquity. It differs from "sympathetic magic" by introducing the sympathy of Heaven as a religious element, as it differs from the punishment of a Hermes or saint, whose will has power.

The Li Ki records incidentally many simple superstitions, such as that hawks become doves and grass becomes fireflies at certain seasons, which illustrate the faith in transformation and perhaps show that to the Chinese there was no very definite line between animate and inanimate matter. Hills (*per se*) receive sacrifice that they may guard their local district, as Sky (Heaven) guards the Kingdom.

The name, as person, produces in China (as the Li Ki shows) strict taboo of the name of the dead. Immediately after a man dies, his son goes to the roof and calls his father by name, "Come back, So and So";[1] but this is a final effort of affection to bring back the soul before it has quite fled. After this, when the dead is recognized as really gone, the name must not be mentioned. So when one enters a house, one must at once inquire what names are taboo in the family, a very necessary precaution, as proper names may also be those of common things; for which reason it is the rule that one should not give a son a (common noun) name of any hill, river, day, month, state, or disease. The last item shows that children were occasionally given mean names, as they are today in South India, for the purpose of warding off the evil (envious) eye or an evil spirit.

Wailing for the dead is incidentally said to be "from love or from fear," a conservative statement. The mourners for the dead not only wail and put on special garments, but they leap, and leaping is said to be as imperative or important as is wailing. This leaping or wild dancing[2] is

[1] Instead of calling out, one may shoot arrows to arrest the departing soul; but if the name is called in that event is not stated.

[2] The northern Chinese Buddhists also still have the *cham harail* (sacred dance) as a part of their religious rites.

performed three times. There is also mention of a threefold deasil (a Hindu rite) around the grave, but as if it were an unusual custom. In this case the mourner with bared left arm walks around the grave from left to right three times. Seven is also a holy or at least respectful number, as may be seen from the fact that on the death of an emperor his revered body is put into the coffin on the seventh day after death and buried in the seventh month, while his ancestral temple embraces seven small fanes.[1] In feeding the dead the mouth is stuffed with rice and pieces of flesh are placed beside the corpse. Ridicule is made of the idea that the dead actually need the food. One good man filled jars with pickles for his dead wife and he is laughed at; but the explanation that the jars are not really intended to feed the dead is historically false, though doubtless when the Li Ki was composed a more refined meaning was current. Incense (of aromatic wood) is burned to attract and show respect to the dead; perhaps earlier to dissipate odours less pleasant. Candles on the bier are not to cheer but chase the spirits.

From the formal recommendation of the Li Ki we learn that the constant sacrifices were first the great seasonal sacrifices[2] offered by the emperor to Heaven and Earth, who also sacrificed to the four quarters and to [the spirits of?] mountains and rivers.[3] The bull-sacrifice was reserved

[1] These were erected to his "spiritual sovereigns" (ancestral ghosts). It is they who punish a bad king ("saying, 'Why dost thou oppress my people?'"), quite as much as does God. Thus, too, of the people. In the Shu a king says: "The former kings will punish you (the people), if you disobey me and *when they punish you from above,* you will have no escape." The Seven Directors of Heaven may have been thus conceived.

[2] It is worthy of note that according to the express statements of the Shu King neither Heaven nor ancestral spirits accept a sacrifice as such; "only the sincere and reverent" can have their sacrifices accepted. Reverence disposes Heaven to show favour and to make one wise or virtuous. Conversely, calamities sent by Heaven may be averted (they are chastisements and cease when no longer required); but calamities "brought on by oneself" are not to be escaped."

[3] On a punitive expedition the emperor sacrificed also to the God of War. When mourning for his father (for three years) the em-

for royalty. Two bulls were sacrificed to Heaven and Earth, when a new city was founded, by the emperor's own hand. Nobles might not sacrifice to Heaven but must sacrifice to Earth and to their own district spirits, using rams and boars for this purpose. Lesser officials used lesser animals, and common people made offerings of their ordinary food, such as rice, eggs, geese, or pigs. There is no "unclean" animal. At a sacrifice, the emperor eats beef or dog's meat with equal complacency. The object of sacrifice is clearly stated to be the pleasuring of spirits with music, food, or incense, in order to their appearance at the sacrificer's altar and the "adjustment of their relations" with man. Sacrifice in view of supposed transgression is acceptable to the gods, although it is drily remarked that "repentance never overtakes the past." In general, there was a "minister of religion," to regulate all services rendered to the Manes and other spirits. Once there is mention of a noble lord who wished to sacrifice himself for the sins of his people; and the royal prayer that evil and guilt, inferred from national calamities, may be expiated by the speaker, not by the people, sufficiently indicates that the idea of transferred sin is not unfamiliar. Usually, however, sacrifices are simply to please, given with affection or reverence; or, it may be, for aid, and after success, as it were in thanksgiving, for victory or harvest. Typical is the great imperial sacrifice, when the ruler and his wife take alternate parts in presenting offerings, and all is done solely "to please the spirits of the dead and unite the living and the disembodied." As shown in the Shi King, an offering to spirits is a sort of family feast, which on occasion may become a means of asking aid from the ghostly chief guests. As with the queen, so with other women, they are not debarred from religious offices in honour of the dead.[1]

peror sacrificed only to Heaven, Earth, and the spirits of land and grain. One-tenth of the royal expenditures was devoted to defraying the cost of sacrifices.

[1] Otherwise the position of woman is one of marked inferiority. She has nothing to do with religion in general. Her whole duty is

All approved offerings and sacrifices were to beneficent beings. There was no official cult of evil spirits. Yet they were recognized by ceremonies, such as the noisy demonstration to drive away demons of pestilence. This ceremony impressed Confucius, apparently as a sort of recognition of their power, which he emphasized by respectful behaviour toward them. Drought, too, is an evil demon. In short, as elsewhere, most natural ills are demons or brought in by demons. These may act as servants of spirits for chastisement, so that even the common man must be religiously observant of all rites permitted by his circumstances, although it is said that the complex ceremonies of social and religious life are not for common people, only for the higher classes.[1]

At the present day China still bows to every sort of spirit, nor are all easy to divine. Animals represent souls in many cases, as when pigs and rats are possessed of girls' souls. But there are also natural spirit-animals, serpents, which are not necessarily (though they may be) "possessed"; cocks, as holy birds which chase demons; the tortoise, the image of which on a grave gives a man's descendants long life; foxes, which take human shape. An ordinary animal, however, is not worshipped for itself but for possessing a soul of a man; some by eating a man's body eat his soul, etc. There is no end to the metamorphoses conceived as possible. Men become rocks; poles have spirits; metals become animate; men become water-spirits

"neither to do wrong nor to do good (conspicuously); only to think about the spirits and the food and to cause her parents no sorrow." Compare Pericles (*ap.* Thucydides) to the women of Athens: "Let there be as little talk as possible among men about you, either in praise or blame." In almost the exact words of the Hindu legislators it is said that a woman's duty is "in youth, to obey her father or elder brother; when married to obey her husband; and to obey her son when she becomes a widow."

[1] Extraordinary in so moral a code as that of the Li Ki is the statement that the high class officials are not amenable to the laws: "High officials are not bound by penal statutes, as common people are not bound by ceremonies."

(*kvei*) and cause disease, etc. One-legged hill-spirits are not spirits of the hill but malformed spirits living in it. Against all evil spirits drums and flags will avail; exorcism also, with precedent fasting; or the blood of a dog or cock; or clubs, knives, red (fire-cracker) flame or colour; even twigs or a mirror. Dog, cock, and monkey (as scapegoat) carry off disease-demons; amulets avert them. For good luck are efficacious coffin-nails, the *svastika,* coins, horse-shoes, the peach-tree and its wood, apparently not as spirits. Each of the five elements, metal, wood, water, fire, and earth, has its indwelling spirit or demon. Many of these, like the svastika, may be of Buddhistic origin.

Apart from ethical and political questions, the purely religious aspect of China did not change much from the early period till the advent of Buddhism, and even after this time it has remained substantially the same till the present day, except that certain Buddhistic spirits have been widely adopted. The chief deities worshipped in this Chinese system are first Heaven and all its parts, Sun, Moon, Stars, the five planets, especially the twenty-eight signs of the lunar zodiac and certain constellations, such as the Great Bear. Second, the Earth and all its parts, mountains, rivers, soil, grain, earthquakes, drought, as spirits of good or ill. Third, Wind, Rain, Heat, Cold, Thunder, Lightning, that is, all meteorological phenomena. Fourth, the deified Seasons and Quarters, four each. Fifth, The Five Parts of the House, Gate, Door, Wall, Hearth, and Court. Heaven and the Planets were regarded as emperors with the stars as their officials, though they were but little personified. Titles of the lower deities were indifferently Prince, Master, or god, thus, Prince of the Wind, Master of Rain, Door God, or simply the Thunderer. Gradually dead persons, as tutelary divinities, have taken the place of original spirits in the case of Soil and Grain, Kou Lung of the soil and Ch'i of the grain. Military and other heroes have thus after death been deified as God of War and as other spirits, such as the spirit of water and of epidemics. Even a de-

ceased woman, under the Han dynasty, was made Princess of Demons, because, dying in childbirth, she appeared subsequently as a ghost. So a few ghosts became national gods, while the regular family ghosts were divinities only to their own families. The emperor (and his representatives) sacrificed to nature-spirits; common people only to their own ancestors and to their door-god or hearth-god. But about the time of the Christian era these rules were more or less neglected and sacrifice was permitted by others than the Emperor and his officials, even priestesses being allowed to make offerings in the temples. If there were no officials at hand, the people themselves might worship the gods instead of having the service performed by officials.[1]

These are the chief traits of Sinism as gleaned from the literature antecedent to the great teachers of China. Before turning to their work, we may for a moment consider the negative side of this religion, and what the records fail to say. Creation is mythologically ascribed not to Heaven or God but to the cosmic Giant P'anku, who is naïvely described as a carpenter hewing the world out of unformed material and then as providing material by becoming in his own body the universe. He chiselled out of masses of granite, floating in space, sun, moon, and stars. His labour done, he died. His head became mountains; his voice, thunder; his beard, the stars, etc. Certain natural phenomena, worshipped by most savages, are expressly mentioned as worshipped in the later literature and they may be implied in the earlier, though there is little said about them. The tortoise and divination plant suggest that these may have

[1] A. Forke, Lun-Heng, in the *Ostasiatische Studien*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 222f. Confucianism as a philosophy held various opinions regarding God and the soul. Some of the learned scholars of the fifth century A. D. denied providential retribution in the present and the existence of the soul in the future. The individual soul has many divisions, as the blood-soul, breath-soul and others less vital in nail and hair; some are gross and some etherial. The shadow is a soul and the dream is a soul's journey. In this soul-belief the ancient Chinese were on a par with savages, as they were in conceiving of all other spirits as bound to matter.

been holy in themselves, and we know that there were holy trees, such as the acacia, plum, and fir. Serpents were prayed to as dragon water-gods and sacrifice was made to them. In 756 B. C., sacrifice was made to a yellow snake as a "manifestation of God." Stones resembling human beings were worshipped; probably also phallic stones, as they are today, though their original function is almost forgotten.[1] The spring-festival and fire-walking rite, in which men leaped through fire, hacking themselves with knives, preserve a similar recollection of a fire- or sun-cult. Animal myths show that peculiar *mana* powers were supposed to reside in certain phenomena. Shrines are found erected to animals and even today stone animals erected upon tombs are very commonly worshipped. Such modern features have probably always made part of the popular religion, which, like all Oriental religions, is for ever making new gods. Thus the great professional gods of today are not a trait peculiar to modern China, but are the most recent expression of this ancient ancestor-worshipping people.

But what is entirely lacking in the older religion is the idea of the priest and his inevitable concomitants. Until the advent of Buddhism, the Chinese religion had neither a priesthood nor a mythology. Buddhism entered China before the Christian era, according to received tradition, though there was no active propaganda till the first century of our era. For the first time in China, it offered the spectacle of monks, virtually priests, united in a body and spiritually set apart. Old China had no priest. Services were conducted by the emperor, who even slaughtered sacrificial victims with his own hand, or by the mandarins who officially represented him. It is indeed sometimes said that the emperor was "High Priest," but this is a figure of speech. To be a high priest one must have lower priests under him; but the mandarins were nobles not priests. Emperor and nobles officiated, as in their humbler worship

[1] *Man*, London, 1913, No. 41.

did the ordinary householder, without mediators, even as the spirits worshipped performed no mediatorial office in respect of the Supreme Lord. And as there was no priest, there was no hell and no dire fate to be dreaded hereafter. So, as to the gods, the old Chinese worshippers had no vain imaginings. The gods or spirits were too vague to be humanized; there was no Olympus, no adventures, war-like or amorous, of the celestial spirits. These lacunae are due to the same cause. The uninstructed Chinaman neither invented a picturesque heaven above nor a hell below, because his whole spiritual interest lay in the lives already lived by his ancestors. In contrast with Semitic occupation with the present and Egyptian preoccupation with the future, the Chinaman, it has been said with some truth, was occupied with the past. He looked backward rather than forward; he was more concerned with his ancestors than with his own ghostly future. The gods he worshipped were mainly ancestral individuals and group-gods who lacked individuality, "spirits of mountains," "spirits of streams."

Few outward changes in the cult of spirits or ancestors are recorded. Libations were added to music to attract the spirits, we are told; but even this must be taken in a restricted sense, not as implying that the ghosts had not been fed previously but that spirituous libations were added to music and food. Again, the ancestor was originally supposed to reside during sacrifice in a wooden tablet; but during the Chou dynasty it became customary to let living representatives of the dead impersonate him for the time being. These representatives were temporarily revered and could make convenient answers when begged for favours. This practice, however, was given up in the third century B. C. The chief change was in the direction of anthropomorphization in the case of Heaven as a personal god with human attributes and in the establishment of a philosophical basis for religious practices.

This basis is the antithesis of the Yang and Yin as understood by the explainers of the Yih-King, whose mysterious

alternate lines, whole or broken, appear to have been originally nothing more than a means of divination. But a profound meaning was given to them from early times and the strong and weak lines were interpreted as representing fire and cold or male and female elements in the universe. Together they govern productive nature. The Way of nature is the method, antedating Heaven itself, through which order and righteousness, based on order, first came into being.[1] Thus the Way or Tao may be called the mother of all things, though neither thing nor spirit. Man, as part of the universe, has also the dual nature of the Tao, which is expressed most conspicuously by Heaven and Earth, parents of all, one warm and light, one cold and dark. Man's earthy soul at death returns to earth. This is the Kvei or evil soul, as opposed to the Shen or spiritual soul, which, manifested in breath, at the death of the body returns to heaven and "moves on high as a shining light."

[1] Compare the Vedic Rita, Right Order, also Zoroastrian, Asha, and the Egyptian idea of an Order-goddess above the gods.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

RELIGIONS OF CHINA II

CONFUCIUS, LAO-TSE, TAOISM

Two great religious leaders appeared in China in the sixth century B. C. Neither, however, taught a new religion. One was Lao-tse and the other was Confucius.[1] Lao-tse (born in 601 B. C.) was known later as the Wizard of the West, whence some have supposed that he came from the western world and even that he taught a Taoism derived from India. On the contrary, Taoism is thoroughly Chinese and Lao himself was foreign only to the Middle Kingdom, being a native of the South (Ch'u state). He appeared foreign because he was a mystic and mysticism was strange to the practical Chinaman. Yet the basis of Taoism is inherent in the King, and Taoism belonged to Confucius as much as to Laotse; but Lao differed from Confucius as to the means of perfecting oneself in Tao. The chief work attributed to Lao is the Tao-teh-King or Canon of the Way and Purity. If not his text, it epitomizes his philosophy in eighty-one paragraphs.

Both of these teachers recognized that orderly goodness is the natural state of the universe controlled by Tao, and that man as part of the universe and naturally good is, one may say, religiously required to preserve and heighten that goodness. Cultivation of the Tao is man's duty. Lao lays stress on the firmness and impartiality of Heaven as model behaviour for man to imitate and urges also the duty of

[1] These names both contain in Chinese the word *tzu* or *tse* (sage). Lao-tse is the Venerable Sage; Confucius is a Latinized form of K'ung-fu-tse, the Kung-family sage. So Mencius and Licius are for Mang-tse and Lieh-tse.

compliance, which means that, as parts of the universe do not interfere with each other (are compliant), so the ruler should be compliant: "The perfect ruler complies with the will of the people," he sees to it that their wishes are observed. Compliance tends to humility, which is also exemplified in nature. It is the humility of the great river ever seeking lower ground and gaining thereby in strength, as it is the more sought by other streams the lower it is. Arrogance and self-assertion have no place in nature; what is weaker than water, yet what is stronger? One should, too, not be full of oneself; emptiness, that is freedom from materialistic desires and aversions, characterizes the sage and the good.

The doctrine of the Shen Tao (compare the Japanese Shinto) or Spiritual Way led to that of an apathetic attitude toward the affairs of life. Dispassion leads to complete indifference, including disregard of knowledge, which is as baleful as desire.[1] To gain real wisdom one must discard knowledge. To be full of the divine one must be empty of worldliness. There remains for the one seeking wisdom only intuition as a guide to Tao. Lao was a mystic, who "sought Tao" by contemplation. Probably among the recluses of his day there were others who sought it also by inducing trances through breath-suppression and the like. At any rate it is at this point that the vulgar interpretation of Lao-tse's idea begins. Seeking Tao became nothing more than seeking for life-elixirs, since Lao himself taught that Tao might be obtained even in life. The exercises of contemplation soon became the "recondite calisthenics" inculcated by the later doctors of the school as a means of securing longevity equal to that of old Phang, who "by getting Tao" lived on earth for nigh two thousand years. The passive attitude expresses itself in universal benevolence; this leads to practical immunity from danger of poi-

[1] Lao-tse himself taught that education and forms of worship are not only vain but injurious. The Taoist shibboleth is *Wu-wei*, "not doing," inaction.

sonous or wild beasts, a Buddhistic trait. Gentleness, frugality, humility, shrinking back or compliance, not putting oneself forward, are virtues taught by the Tao. The Taoist has no aim, no desire; "he rests and all is well." Sages of old had virtue without knowing it. They no more "tried to be virtuous" than a black crow tries to be black. They did not try to be benevolent; they were benevolent just as they were tall or hungry. Classes did not exist; men lived naturally, not only like animals but with animals, on a friendly footing, as one family. All this is the usual vain imagining of those who see the perfect age in the past and find in man a natural goodness which can be brought to light by divesting him of the artificial obstruction to perfection with which civilization has surrounded him. There is therefore nothing very new to us in Lao's doctrine though it was strange to his hearers. As an ethical teacher, he alone reached the height of proclaiming the rule of "repaying injury with kindness," as a norm of conduct. Confucius, confronted with this doctrine, repudiated it and taught instead "reciprocity"—treat others as they treat you. Be just to the injurer, kind to the kind, is Confucius's rule.

Before speaking of the later forms of Taoism it will be necessary now to examine the teaching of Confucius himself. Fifty years younger than Lao-tse, a practical statesman, a man of the world, Confucius, it is said, once paid a visit to Lao, who was at that time over eighty years of age, but came away dumbfounded; he could not understand the sage at all and felt as if he had "encountered a dragon." We can easily believe this. Confucius, a timid man in any event, was not an original thinker and when he met one he felt overcome. The circumstances of Confucius's life are much better known than those of the Wizard of the West. He was born in Lu (part of Shangtung) when his father was already over seventy. He became a teacher at an early age and spent his life trying to get, and occasionally obtaining, political preferment, though he never

secured a permanent position. He died a disappointed old man, one might almost say a disappointed politician,[1] were it not that his eagerness to get office was inspired by a real zeal to put in practice statescraft which he felt would better the world. Practical politics, ethically supported, was his main interest in life. He had not a spiritual nature. It is probably correct to say that he believed in Heaven, if not in God, but he certainly taught that the best way to treat the spirits was to let them alone. He implied to his disciples that no man can know anything about spirits or life after death, and that it was more important for a man to know himself and attend to his present life than to worry about spirits and the life to come.[2] At the same time he was too staunch a conservative to neglect the rites and ceremonies of religion. His great service to his country was in collecting its ancient literature. He himself wrote the annals of the Chou dynasty; but for a moralist he wrote them ill, the Ch'un-Ts'iu, or Spring and Autumn (*Annals,* as his work is named) being not only defective but "evasive and deceptive." His countryman Kung-Yang says that "it conceals facts out of regard for the aristocracy, for kinsmen, and for men of worth," a native judgment which needs only the comment that "concealment" includes misrepresentation. Confucius must not be blamed too severely; the dynasty he was describing was that of his patron. Yet despite this, it is somewhat of a shock to learn that the greatest religious teacher of China, who is now worshipped in hundreds of temples as a superman, was a deceitful historian. The fact makes it the more doubtful whether the works he collected were not also transmitted in a form useful to the transmitter's purpose.

The many anecdotes which were current in regard to the

[1] Chuang-tse taunts Confucius with his political disappointments and says that he was twice expelled from his native district of Lu, tabooed in Wei, and a failure in Tsi. Confucius was really in exile for fourteen years. He was recalled home at the age of sixty-eight.

[2] This is exactly Buddha's attitude. See above, pp. 185, 192.

Logia of Confucius were collected and edited as the Lun-Yü some time after the master's death. He believed that to get wisdom and attain Tao one must get the knowledge of the past, which represents the processes of Tao and shows how evil kings died evilly and good kings had Heaven's support. He endorsed with his approval all the rules of ancient days, recommending a strict observance of the ceremonial, rites, customs, and etiquette of the virtuous men of old. To know these, to follow these, to become as the ancients were, would be to become as perfect as the ancients, who lived with due regard to the Right Way. This was all practical, not religious, though visionary. He saw no use in mysticism. He recognized no value in prayer. When his disciples asked if they should pray for him in his extreme illness, he replied in effect, Do not pray for me, saying "my praying has been for a long time," implying that he had long ceased to pray, having nothing to repent of and no favours to ask of the spirits of the upper and lower worlds. He is described as mild and gentle in demeanour though dignified, of easy manners but very respectful.[1] He was a firm believer in himself as Heaven's agent. On being advised not to go among the K'uang people, he replied, "What can they do to me? Will Heaven let the cause of truth perish?" As benevolence and knowledge were favourite themes of his, he was asked to define them. "Benevolence," he said, "is to love men; knowledge is to know men." He taught no secret doctrine. Like Buddha, he expressly declared that he kept no esoteric wisdom concealed from the crowd. "Do not think that I conceal anything," he said, "I conceal nothing from you, my disciples; I do nothing which I do not show; that is my way." "Four things," they reported of him, "the master taught, letters, ethics,

[1] Confucius was probably superstitious by nature. The sound of thunder or the sight of a mourner discomposed him. He was a hard drinker, but light eater. Nowadays he would be described as a charitable, timid, finnicky person, rather meticulous; he was, for example, very particular in regard to the length of his night-clothes and the use of chop-sticks.

thoroughness of thought, and truthfulness." He did not teach religion and were it not for his disciples he might well be omitted from a history of religion except as a collector of religious literature. But owing to his commanding position as guide of Chinese thought for two thousand years he is entitled to attention even in his unreligious dicta. "Your good villagers," he once said, "are thieves of virtue," meaning that they were illiberal and narrow. Again he said: "If I were sure of becoming wealthy I might become a groom to attain that end; but as it is uncertain whether even then I should get rich, I will pursue what I love." Of benevolence and learning he said, "The love of being benevolent without the love of learning induces only foolish simplicity." Not his, but passed unreproved by him, is the *mot* quoted from his disciple; "If one does not transgress in great virtues he may transgress in small virtues." Two political maxims are Confucius's own. One is: "He who governs by his virtue is like the North Star; it keeps its place and all the stars turn toward it." This is the kernel of the Great Learning; it is the doctrine of example. Confucius really believed that the people would be virtuous if the emperor was virtuous and that all a statesman had to do to secure virtue and happiness in the state was to have the emperor well trained in approved practices.[1] The deplorable state of China in his day is remarked upon by him and it is characteristic that he emphasizes the decay in manners: "The manners of the age have long been in a sad condition." The second maxim is implied in the remark that "the pursuit of strange doctrine is injurious." China has always been intolerant of heresies. Confucius also laments the paucity of scholars and of records.

The attitude of Lao toward Confucius seems to have been one of scornful silence. But Lieh-tse, the later disciple of

[1] Confucius's favourite disciple, Yen Hui, said with the approbation of his master: "Teach the people propriety and music and they will not fortify towns, but fuse their swords into agricultural implements" (inaugurating a golden age).

Lao, and Chuang-tse, the contemporary of Mencius, were voluble abusers of the sage and his system, which Chuang-tse calls "random jargon." By the fourth century B. C. the battle between the schools was at its height and produced the two greatest upholders of the old masters. It is not too much to say that Chuang-tse really did more than uphold Lao's reputation; for if it were not for this learned and brilliant follower, the master would have been forgotten, except as his ill-used name persists as a cloak to all the vain superstitions of later and modern Taoism.

Confucius was a statesman with ideals which, if not broad, were high. He also, it is clear, built his ideals on a belief in some moral power "making for righteousness" in the universe. Benevolence was characteristic of his religion and this is based on the impartial benevolence of Heaven, as his inculcation of "right adjustment," propriety, and approval of music are based on the wish to imitate Heaven's order and regularity. What made him great is the fact that he exactly represented the racial spirit; what made him popular with royalty was that his ideals tended to uphold the *status in quo ante*. In desiring to bind his country to old ideas he implicitly urged official suppression of all personal initiative. As any such initiative tends to disturb the State, which should be immutable, such a teacher was an ideal instructor in the eyes of a State desiring to remain without change for ever. As a *laudator temporis acti* he was no innovator, but he was an invaluable preserver of beliefs and forms. Though a ritualist by nature and chiefly concerned with the "three hundred points of ceremony and three thousand points of behaviour," his morality really rested on a metaphysical basis, as did that of Lao, who also had no other religion. Confucius taught ethics practically and the chief virtue he inculcated was that of piety, of the son toward the father and mother, of the subject toward the emperor. This maintains on the one hand the worship of ancestors who are dead and on the other loyalty toward the living sovereign. In the latter regard it makes the emperor, as Son of Heaven

(a Ti), the object of religious devotion like that paid to the emperor of Japan. This Shinto spirit in Confucianism explains why it, rather than the teaching of Lao-tse, was exalted by emperors as well as by all those who trod by predilection the way of their fathers.

A supplementary rule ascribed to Confucius as part of his general rule of piety was wifely obedience, troth in friendship, and kindness toward those who deserved it. He also commends the historical statement that at such and such periods men were careful not to injure animal life needlessly. His general ethical system has been codified. Its chief rules are to be pious, as explained above, to be benevolent, to cultivate peace, be moderate, study diligently, be correct in deportment and courteous in behaviour, oppose false accusations and false doctrines, control angry passions, and pay taxes. There are many similar rules but not a word about God. It is a system of morality rather than of religion. Yet it must not be forgotten that it was a religious matter with Confucius to worship ghosts, and the exercise of the virtues he recommends was also religiously binding. His countrymen, though not till many years after his death, exalted him, first as a noble, then as the perfect sage, and finally served him as a god with many sacrifices and temples. Sacrifice was indeed made at his tomb in the second century B. C., but his first temple was not built till 555 A. D. Later fables exalt his divinity and relate that his birth was heralded by strange portents and miraculous appearances; genii announced to his mother the honour in store for her; fairies attended at his nativity — the usual tales that cluster about the birth of a god-man in the Orient.[1]

When Lao-tse died is not known. Confucius, who was born in 551 B. C., died in 478 or 479. Put Shang, one of his favourite disciples, lived till 406 B. C. The two great disciples of Lao-tse were Lieh-tse, who lived in the second half of the fifth century, and Chuang-tse, who lived in the middle of

[1] Douglass, *Confucianism and Taoism*, London, 1887, p. 25.

the fourth century, B. C. The greatest follower of Confucius was Mang-tse or Mencius, who was born in 371(2) and died in 288(9) B. C. We thus have a fairly continuous tradition in respect to the teaching of both the founders of Chinese religions. Confucius's disciples, as was natural, were many more than those of the mystic, Lao, and several of them were a generation younger than himself.[1]

China has had its pessimists as well as its optimists, its hedonists as well as its moralists. Lieh-tse (above) interpreted the doctrine of his master to mean that if death was a return to non-existence, one might as well get what pleasure one could from this present life. As man is absorbed into the Creator, man may also become divine; that is, he may not only brave wild beasts with impunity but he may be like a god, walk unharmed through fire and go through the air. Another follower of Lao-tse, named Moh or Mih Ti,[2] eraggerated Lao's teaching and expounded a doctrine of saving love. Love for all men will be the salvation of the world; all evil comes from hate and unjust distinctions among men. The principle of love will abolish this evil. Perfect love of man, like the sun, blesses all. Moh Ti and Yang Chu, a contemporary hedonist, were opposed by Mencius, whose seven chapters couched in dialogues supposed to have taken place between Confucius and others, show that his aim was the good of the realm, which might be attained by wisdom, humanity, justice, and respectability, which leads to piety, care of the dead, and loyalty. Like Confucius, Mencius taught that man was good by nature as opposed to the view openly professed by others that man was naturally evil. Mencius adds something to the doctrine of Confucius, but above all he presents his views with a vigour and manliness lacking in the timid statements of his

[1] Confucius refers to his disciples as seventy-seven in number. He is popularly credited with having had three thousand disciples during his life-time, of whom seventy-two were accounted "worthy."

[2] The form Mih or Mak is a corruption of Moh Ti (Tih). Like Mencius, the name is sometimes Latinized as Micius.

master, and it is as a man rather than a novel thinker that he deserves regard. "He may not be a sage, but his learning has reached the highest point," said his countrymen. Confucius believed, but scarcely dared to say, that a wicked king should be ousted; Mencius said roundly that a king was of no importance as compared with the people, who indeed are the judge: "Heaven hears as the people hear." He dared not only to philosophize but to stand before an emperor and say, "If a king has faults, the nobles should remonstrate with him and, if he will not listen, they ought to put another king in his place." To revolt against such a king is not revolution but "raising the standard of righteousness." As between him and Confucius, the latter laid more weight upon benevolence, Mencius upon righteousness; Confucius thought most of private and domestic virtues; Mencius allowed for human nature and permitted a king to be self-indulgent if he was not false to good government. A modern tone appears in his teaching that to be made virtuous the people must be fed and then educated.[1] Starving folk cannot be virtuous; let them fill their bellies and when they are no longer hungry they will educate themselves, become virtuous of themselves. In good years most people are good; in bad years most of them are bad.

In maintaining that man was naturally virtuous, Mencius had to contend not only with those who, like Siün K'uang, his contemporary, held that man was naturally vicious,[2] but with those who argued that man was naturally neither one nor the other but indifferently good or evil, as water flows indifferently east or west. Mencius replied that water may do this but it will not flow indifferently up or down, and asserted that man has within himself a natural principle of righteousness and that he has also a natural principle of

[1] This is in direct opposition to Lao-tse, who taught that the more people were educated the worse they became.

[2] The argument here is that man's very wish to become virtuous proves him naturally evil, for it is only the thin, not those naturally fat, who wish to become fat. Man's nature is due to association and education, which alone make him good or bad.

apprehending moral truth. Men naturally feel distress if they see a child fall into a well; they do not have this feeling because they expect gain or have argued it out. Benevolence and the knowledge of good and evil, together with righteousness and propriety, are like man's four limbs. There is also a passion-nature, but this is lower and there is a restriction in exercising the senses; the higher moral nature is chief; passion-nature is subordinate by Heavenly appointment,[1] and the greatest man is he who "does not lose his child-heart." This means apparently that he preserves unimpaired his natural goodness. The great questions of Mencius's time were ethical, and it is evident that moral problems were more discussed than any others. As Mencius himself reports: "The words of Yang Chu (the hedonist and pessimist) and of Moh fill the empire. All people have adopted the views of one or the other." Mencius objects to both, to Yang, because his principle, "each for himself," ignores loyalty, and to Moh, because "love all equally" ignores filial piety, which ought to express a more than equal love. Neither of these doctrines introduces us to a new religious element. The universal love advocated by Moh is not based on a spiritual argument but on precedents of antiquity and the economic advantage of following them. Moh contends that universal love is the best working rule for a State and that, if people will not feel this love, they should be punished till they do. Yang Chu can scarcely be said to deserve a place in a history of religion. He was a brilliant cynic without moral basis, inculcating a ruthless contempt for antiquity, which paved the way to the stand taken by Shi-Huang-Ti (the "First Emperor"), who destroyed Confucian lore, probably because its key-note was that "to establish a kingdom well one must learn the lesson of the ancients," the lesson, namely, that tranquillity and not conquest is the aim of a good king: "The coat of mail

[1] Professor Legge, who has discussed these points in full in his *Life and Works of Mencius*, London, 1889, compares this with the doctrine of Bishop Butler's *Sermons upon Human Nature.*

and the helmet give occasion for war," and this is to be avoided (Shu-King).

It is somewhat remarkable that the philosophy of Moh (Meh Ti) was regarded by the Chinese themselves as on a par with that of Confucius. The two sages are spoken of by later authors as the two greatest men of antiquity, as if for some centuries Confucius had not yet attained his rank of paramount sage. From the point of view of superstition, the followers of Moh believed in ghosts and spirits, adoring them and imploring their help, while they neglected the cult of ancestors. During the Han period, beginning 206 B. C., there were several notable Confucianists, such as Yang Hiung, while side by side with Lao-tse is placed Huang Ti, who is even called the father of Taoism. Huai Nan-tse, another Taoist, was so great an alchemist that, it is said, he and his household, including his dogs and poultry, all went to heaven and became immortal. The Taoist Han Fei-tse maintained that virtue is of no account and that scholars are parasites or destructive grubs, while divination is despicable. Tung Chung Shu (150 B. C.) invented a new rain-sacrifice and distinguished between disposition, due to Yang, and feeling, due to Yin, the former being naturally good, the latter evil.

Chuang-tse (above), the second great disciple of Laotse, a century later than Lieh-tse, enlarged upon the cryptic utterances of his master. He was to Lao-tse what Mencius was to Confucius. From Lao-tse we get the wisdom of apparent paradox:

> Ignorance produces wisdom. Goodness is not to do good. Weakness is stronger than strength. Emptiness is fullness. Inaction is more active than action (by not-doing all is done). Ruling is ruining. Who holds by force, loses. Who subdues himself, is mighty. Keep out and you will get in; keep back and you will be advanced. Who is content, has enough.

Chuang explains Tao in more comprehensible language. "The greatest politeness, it is said, is to show no special respect to others; the greatest righteousness is to take no

account of things; the greatest wisdom is to lay no plans; the greatest benevolence is to make no show of affection; the greatest good faith is to give no pledge of sincerity. Repress the impulses of the will; unravel the errors of the mind; put away the entanglements to virtue; and clear away all that obstructs the free course of the Tao. Honours and riches, distinctions, austerity, fame and profit, these six produce the impulses of the will. Personal appearance and deportment, the desire of beauty and subtle reasonings, excitement of the breath and cherished thoughts, these six produce errors of the mind. Hatred and longings, joy and anger, grief and delight, these six are the entanglements to virtue. Refusals and approachments, receiving and giving, knowledge and ability, these six obstruct the course of the Tao. When these four conditions, with the six causes of each, do not agitate the breast, the mind is correct, and being correct it is still and pellucid; being pellucid it is free from pre-occupation and thus enters the state of inaction in which it accomplishes everything. . . . Subject and object meet in the Tao . . . positive and negative blend in the infinite One . . . the universe and I are one. . . . If man loves God as his father, he should have a greater love for that which is greater than God" (Tao).

But in other regards Chuang is distinctly an innovator; nor is he entirely consistent with himself, for he says: "God is the Ultimate, manifested in nature; at the beginning of all things God was." Lao-tse is a mystic but he mentions God[1] only as posterior to a finite principle; he does not teach metempsychosis nor the doctrine of illusion, whereas Chuang says: "When the real awakening comes it may be that life will be found to have been a dream, Confucius a dream, I myself a dream — or is the dream reality? I dreamed I was a butterfly, but woke and found that it was I; or am I a butterfly who dreams that it is Chuang? What

[1] In his Tao-Teh-King (if it is his), he derives being from not-being, that is from the Absolute to be described only by negations (it is the Unknowable).

is? What seems? And yet between butterfly and man some barrier exists; a change of form, that is all." It is not impossible, though improbable, that some Brahmanistic thought had already filtered through to China, as Mr. Lionel Giles has suggested.[1]

The China of Mencius and Chuang was no longer the China of Lao-tse and Confucius. Foreign elements were appearing in the state. Changes were taking place even in clothes and equipment that would have shocked Confucius. Prime ministers, even emperors, were half-breeds. The emperor who died in 425 B. C. was not only half Tartar by birth but he married a Tartar, so that his children were anything but Chinese. Wu-ling (325–299 B. C.) introduced the Tartar dress and boots and cavalry into China. And along with boots and war-horses entered demoralizing ideas. It was a time of political and intellectual life. Materialism, already latent in the doctrines of Confucius, who ignored all spirituality, was now not only recognized but proudly proclaimed to be the only true philosophy. It was against this materialism that Mencius raised his voice. He could no longer cite Confucius as an authority; to many, Confucius was not only a dream but a nightmare. By only a few was his *ipse dixit* accepted without dispute. All opinions got a hearing and it is to the lasting credit of the Chinese that in the long run the optimist and moralist prevailed against the pessimist and hedonist. It is to Mencius that the Chinese owe the final triumph of the Confucian view that man is naturally virtuous and that, for this reason, righteousness is a religious aim. Mencius does not usually speak of God (Shang Ti) but of T'ien (Heaven); yet once he says: "Even though wicked, man may sacrifice to Shang Ti, if he fast and purify himself."

Mencius was one of a number of brilliant scholars of his age. But there was little accomplished for Chinese religion after his day save in the philosophy of religion and the best

[1] *Musings of a Chinese Mystic* in *Wisdom of the East* series.

work here was done under the influence of Buddhism. Taoism shows a steady decline to the unintelligent hocus-pocus called by that name ever since. Imported Buddhism exerted for certain seasons a profound influence upon the spiritual life of the more educated classes. Philosophy of native sort was still tinged with classicism, but in so far as it diverged from this was at its best in a sort of Epicureanism. This system, the most original philosophical system of China, was a materialistic monism, elaborated in thirty books and eighty-five chapters by Wang Ch'ung, who was born in 27 A. D. and died *circa* 97. Several of his works are lost, but his Lung-Heng or philosophical essays survive. He is an eclectic philosopher, an admirer of Confucius, whom he yet criticizes freely, and he bases his principles of philosophy on the old theory of the Yang and Yin, yet not as leading to a dualistic explanation of the universe. Both the heavenly and earthly "fluids" are material. There is here no spiritual correlate to the Yang, no Tao, and no supreme Reason. All natural phenomena are explicable from natural causes. Heaven and earth were originally one vapour, as is taught by the old philosophers, who say that the Great One divided into heaven and earth. When chaos ended, what was pure and light became heaven; the turbid and heavy became earth and ocean. The mixture of their fluids produced man. Air and fiery ether represent Yang; earth and water, Yin. The two elements are therefore male fire and female water, one represented by sun, stars, and spirit or mind, the other by water and its sediment (earth) and body. Heaven, like earth, does all things spontaneously and without volition; hears no prayers, rewards no virtue, does not live like a king (as God), cannot feel, see, or hear. When the Yang fluid comes forth spontaneously, plants grow; when it ebbs and Yin increases, they wither and die. Man's soul and mind are one and one with the "fluid of heaven, which is inactive consciously but active unconsciously." The fusion of the male fiery and female watery fluids, heaven and earth, makes man; so man is said to have a father in the

sky; but in reality the fluids crystallize together to make man; it is as when, so to speak, ice is made; so man is crystallized, and melts again into those fluids; the vital spirit is represented by, or resides during life in, the blood; the body represents the earth fluid. Ghosts are not deceased beings but warm airs, parts of the fiery fluid without body. No man can know the future or prolong his life. Fate is determined by the amount of fiery fluid he has in his make-up; it is one with star-fluid, so astrologers can tell about it. Rain comes from earth; it is not a gift of heaven. Virtue is an excess of heavenly fluid, a fluid which seems to tend to virtue (so the ancients tell us). Man is not naturally good or bad, as older philosophers argue;[1] his virtue depends on the amount of his heavenly fluid.

According to Wang Ch'ung, the vital fluid (Yang) embraces the five elements, water, fire, wood, metal, and earth, which form the five organs, heart, liver, stomach, lungs, and kidneys, and these are the seats of the five virtues, benevolence, justice, propriety, knowledge, and truth. Interesting as is this philosophy in its denial of spiritual life, it adds nothing religiously to the denials of former centuries. It is rather a negation of religion than a religious form, and in its dogma that the heaven-fluid possesses truth and knowledge as well as the other virtues, it is not very logical. These virtues, however, appear only in the "hearts of the sages," not in heaven itself.

In the eleventh century, under Buddhistic influence, there arose a nature-philosophy, Sing-Li, propounded by Chou-Tun-i, who also accepted the Yang and Yin antithesis but sought to discover an ultimate principle for both. His disciple, Chu Hi (1130–1200 A. D.), besides his literary activities, occupied himself with the same philosophical problem

[1] Alfred Forke, Lun-Heng (Leipzig, 1907); he has compared at length Lucretius, v. 439–449; 485–493, etc., and the parallel in the materialistic Carvaka of India. See also the same writer's essays on Yang Chu and the Chinese sophists in the *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society*, vii, and of the *China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xxxiv.

and solved it by making the Ultimate, which to Chou-Tun-i was either active or passive, as Yang and Yin, an incorporeal intelligence or supreme Reason, Li, immanent in the universe, but having matter coeval beside it. Soul, conscious existence after death, and a personal God are denied, though Chu Hi used the word God, probably by a figure of speech ("God raises up the hero to overcome the calamities which God sends down"). Since there is in this Neo-Confucianism, which was influential in Japan,[1] a rational principle in all things and this is moral (moral ideas are qualities of the Ultimate), the system forms a religion of a sort, though not wholly native, for all metaphysical religious ideas of this period are affected by the speculations of Buddhism.

Taoism was for centuries the accepted religion of China. But Lao's Taoism had degenerated into a search for the elixir of life and the philosopher's stone; even in life one may acquire Tao. Beguiled by the hope of these valuables many emperors gave protection and encouragement to the Taoist doctors who practised alchemy and preached doctrines which they claimed were derived from Lao-tse, to whom sacrifice was made in the second century of our era. Even as early as the third century B. C. the "First Emperor" (246–210 B. C.) fitted out a naval expedition to find the land of perpetual youth and discover its secrets. At that time the Taoist magicians already professed ability to live like gods, see into the future, rule natural forces, etc. Wu Ti, an emperor of the first century B. C., became the intellectual slave of these charlatans. Soon after this Buddhism began to influence Taoism,[2] which in the fourth century A. D. invented or borrowed new gods and in course of time

[1] Known there as Shushi; it was complemented by the Neo-Confucian School of Wang-Yang-Min (1472–1528). Neo-Confucianism was a synthesis of Buddhism and Confucianism.

[2] Buddhism may even have affected the Shu King (as it now is). Compare in this work: "Put away all selfishness and then you may say 'I have *accumulated merit.*'" The same King says that "Crimes are registered above," but does not explain how; probably only in the "mind of God" at that period.

adopted from the Buddhists the doctrine of future punishments and imitated its external features, idols, temples, and monasteries. Fa-Hien in 399 A. D. made a pilgrimage to India and brought back Buddhist texts. The first Taoist pope, imitated from Buddhism, was Chang Tao-ling, said to have been born in 34 A. D., who discovered the secret of longevity and at the age of sixty "made a pill, swallowed it, and became younger than ever." It was he who, still youthful in the second century, founded a semi-clerical State with a religious discipline based on self-humiliation before the higher powers and on confession of sins.

It may well have been that then as now there were sincere seekers of truth as well as seekers of life-elixirs among the Taoist recluses who withdrew to the solitudes to practise piety and soul-strength by means of silence and breath-exercises. Some of them resemble the Yogins of India. But in general they practised magic not meditation. Just how far back or how deep was the influence of the Buddhism which made such headway in the centuries following the Christian era, it is difficult to say. Legend says that a statue of Buddha was brought to the capital 122 B. C. and that missionaries arrived 67 A. D. At any rate, missionaries came in 147 A. D. and by the fourth century A. D. the ritualism of Buddhism had made a lasting appeal to the common people. The religion itself, its spiritual hope and sentimental tone, contrasted favourably with the formality of Confucianism and with the mysticism of Taoism. But the fortunes of both sects varied with court favour. Confucianism flourished side by side with Buddhism in the fourth century, when monasteries began to be established. Under the Eastern Tsin dynasty Buddhism largely prevailed (till 420 A. D.). Persecution followed, but in 502 A. D. the emperor Wu Ti was so devoted to this religion that, like the later Japanese rulers, he gave up a throne to enter a monastery. Hundreds of Buddhist works were imported in the sixth century and Taoists who would not worship Buddha were slain. Later, both Taoists and Buddhists became disliked, partly because

of the quackery of the one and the evil behaviour of the other sect, whose nuns were not very exemplary; though again in the seventh century, when Hiuen-tsang went to India to procure Buddhist works, Buddhism flourished alongside of Taoism. At this time Lao-tse was formally canonized and his supposed works were made part of the State examination, while both Taoists and Buddhists were permitted to become State officials, and even the Nestorians were received at court and a church was built for them. T'ai-tsung not only received them and heard their doctrines, but he had some of the sacred books of the Christians translated for the State examination. Finally, however, in the ninth century, after the Buddhists had been persecuted by the Confucianists in the eighth century, the Taoists, who at that time had been undergoing a new sentence of banishment, were again recalled, and succeeded in having not only the Buddhists but all other foreigners put under the ban as irreligious teachers. All Buddhist establishments, more than fifty thousand, were broken up and the Buddhists, Manichaeans, and Nestorians were "sent to their own lands." After this, though the Buddhists were again tolerated, the Taoists had no rivals save the Confucianists till the Mongols began to favour Lamaism. Marriage was practised by the Taoist priests till the time of the Sung (960–1127), but the Taoists were otherwise favoured by this dynasty[1] and for that reason were obnoxious to the conquerors of the Sung; but they became powerful again in the fourteenth century under the Yuan Mongols; and the Ming dynasty (1368–1643) at least treated them with consideration, though forcing them to pass examination in the Confucian classics if they wished to enter public life. In the next century, however, they were regarded as imposters by the emperor

[1] The first Sung emperor opposed the Buddhists, but contemporary rulers favoured them and began to build at this time pagodas to preserve relics of Buddha. A few of these edifices had been built previously, but most of the existing pagodas date from the tenth century. Kublai Khan, the first Mongol emperor, was strongly attached to Buddhism.

and were literally laughed out of court. Later Ming emperors even treated them as heretics.

It is from this later period, perhaps from the sixteenth century, that we have the chief Taoist literature of today, the *Book of Rewards and Punishments* and the *Book of Secret Blessings*. The former reckons out how many years are to be deducted from a man's life for every fault, twelve years down to a hundred days, according to its magnitude, and embodies the ethical code, to practise which leads to quiescence on the part of "recorders of crime," as certain spirits are called. The rules of this code are partly moral, partly practical; on the whole their ethical quality is unimpeachable. Thus, from the first of these books:

Thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not break up marriages; thou shalt not kill for gain; thou shalt not envy, nor covet; nor suck the brains of others; nor injure living things, except as enjoined for sacrifice; thou shalt not destroy men's tools; nor open floodgates, nor laugh at deformity; nor bury an effigy to inflict an incubus upon a man; thou shalt not murmur against Heaven, nor against rain, nor against wind; nor give alms and then regret it. Honour thy parents; wives, respect your husbands; women, be gentle and obedient. Man, do not rage on the first day of the month; nor dance and sing on the last day of the month or year;[1] do not weep or spit toward shooting stars nor toward the north pole (which is the door of heaven), nor point out a rainbow; be virtuous, humane to animals; pity widows and orphans and all those who are unfortunate; rejoice with them that rejoice; help the needy; do not boast; do not swear to thy innocence before the gods, nor give bad food to the people, nor love wine and dissipation; live with thy wife in harmony and do not dispute angrily with those near akin.

The most popular moral or religious book with all sects in China is the somewhat similar *Book of Secret Blessings*. With injunctions like those above as to honouring parents, helping the needy, saving those in danger, feeding the hun-

[1] Because the hearth-spirit ascends to heaven to register man's faults and good deeds on the last day of every month and the spirits of Heaven and Earth examine the virtues and sins of each on the last day of the year, with a view to rewards and penalties.

gry, etc., it lays especial weight on kindness to animals: "Abstain from shedding blood; do not tread upon insects on the path; burn a candle in your window to give light to the traveller; do not spread nets to catch birds, nor poison fish and reptiles." It also inculcates the rule of devoting one's wealth to the good of one's fellow-men; of loving good and fleeing from evil; of charity toward all.

How much the Taoist pantheon has inherited from remotest antiquity and how much invented or borrowed is difficult to say. The Taoists regard the stars as divine beings, especially the Great Bear, and generally deify natural phenomena such as thunder, lightning, and ocean. They worship dragons, who cause rain and convulsions of nature. They have also, as already noticed, deified men as patron gods of occupation, a god of scholars, a god of soldiers, etc., who lived and died as common mortals hundreds of years ago. Some spirits grant riches, others old age, happiness, etc. Stars in the Great Bear are especially honoured; all stars are divine, sublimated essences of things. The planets represent the five elements, fire, water, earth, wood, and metal. Jupiter, owing to its long cycle, is revered by astrologers. The Taoist religion today is a State-religion and the third section of the sacrifices, which contains many Taoist elements, is a reflection both of old Sinic divinities and of the more modern cult of "benefactors" and stars.[1] Genii and demons swarm everywhere. They bring reports to heaven of man's acts below. They pluck a man in examinations or

[1] The "third section" of spirits contains twelve sorts of deities to whom sacrifice must be offered at least once a year: Physicians of the past; Kuan Ti, the War-god; Wang Ch'ung, a star, once a man, as god of scholars; the North Pole, as throne of Heaven; the Ruler of Fire; Cannon gods, worshipped by the military; gods of walls and moats; the god of the Eastern Mountain Summit (his temple is north of the altar of the sun; eighty-six mountains in all receive sacrifice); the four dragons; the female divinity of navigation, together with male river gods; gods of the soil, together with the god of architecture; and gods of storehouses. Imaginary spirits are the Unicorn, Phœnix, and Dragon, portentous apparitions, worshipped to get sons, rain, etc.

pluck out his eyes or cause eclipse and pestilence. Some of these are new in form but the idea is old. Borrowed from Confucianism, a rival of God (Shang-Ti), is Yü-Huang-Shang-Ti as Supreme Lord or (as some say) next in power to the Three Holy Ones, a triad borrowed from Buddhism and arbitrarily interpreted as Lao, the father of the race, and the cosmic principle.[1] There is also another triad called San Kuan, which makes a trinity of "three rulers" (of heaven, earth, and water). The Buddhistic Avalokiteshvara was still portrayed as a young man with a moustache in the eighth century; he is now sometimes male and sometimes a goddess called Kuan-yin (goddess of mercy). Buddha himself has become "Mother Buddha" (in Wu-tai). The god of future punishment is Yen-lo-wang; he is said to be the Hindu Yama.[2]

The Taoists have developed both astrology and the science of prognostication. They draw auguries from observation of all the changes of nature. Phenomena of this sort are carefully mentioned in the Li-Ki and their interpretation was made a science during the Han dynasty. All officials have orders to observe and report extraordinary phenomena, colour of sky, storm, eclipse, rainbow, heat, and rain (some stars influence wind; some influence rain). Gales and earthquakes are recorded as auguries, also all monstrosities, unnatural births, etc. A hen with three legs, for example, indicates that there will be undue female influence about the throne. Cases of resurrection are reported as omens. Chance "words of boys" are oracular; beasts and birds, above all "wind and water," Feng Shui, or Ti Li (geomancy) are means employed to this end. Feng Shui is a science by itself; no house, no grave, no business, can

[1] See Legge, *Religions of China*, London, 1880, p. 167f. The original three are the Three Jewels (Triratna).

[2] The ignorant Buddhists of China worship Fuh and Poosa (Buddha and Bodhisattva) as God, the latter being "more sympathetic," the former higher in rank. Poosa is virtually God to the lower classes, but Kuan-Yin sometimes replaces him. Edkins, *op. cit.*, p. 97f. Compare Kuannon in Japan, below, p. 299.

be begun without it. Even those not Taoists do not dare to act without a Feng Shui magician.

Such is the popular religion of today. Officially, both Taoism and Confucianism are State religions, but while the latter is the religion of the learned, the former is both the real religion of the mass of the people and the religion without which even the learned cannot get along. But Confucianism alone has the influence imparted by the possession of a literature which is virtually holy writ. Taoists have no intellectual standing. The Buddhists, like the Taoists, get their adherents only from the uneducated. Even the Taoists and Buddhists themselves are said to reject all teachings which (they think) are inconsistent with Confucianism. "Ever since 631 A. D., when the Confucian classics became the sole subjects for competitive examination, they have been the main study of every generation. . . . By all who are educated, Confucius, the Perfect Sage and Throneless King, is worshipped as a god." [1]

In reviewing Chinese religion, it is obvious that after Buddhistic influence begins we are dealing with a mixed creed and cult and in estimating the Chinese for themselves we must judge them before Dharmaraksha and Kashyapa fulfilled the dream of the white horse and its rider.[2] It is to the Buddhists that the Chinese owe their introduction to religious philosophy. Before the advent of Buddhist sects we have much ethics and a little metaphysics, but no profound philosophy of religion until Bodhidharma, in apostolic succession from Buddha, laid the foundation of the Zen school of religious Contemplation. This and other Buddhist sects, of China and Japan, will be more conveniently

[1] Douglas, *Confucianism and Taoism,* London, 1887. By the Confucian classics is meant here (as often) not the classics as Shu, in distinction from the Canon, but, in general, the nine books (Five King and Four Shu) of canonical authority (see p. 224).

[2] Arthur Lloyd in his *Creed of Half Japan,* London, 1911, compares Rev. vi. 2, composed, he says, a year after the Chinese emperor saw the vision (of Buddhist invasion) fulfilled in 67 A. D. The future Avatar of Vishnu, for that matter, will also appear riding on a white horse!

treated together under Japanese religion (below).[1] It remains to inquire whether other religions affected the Chinese. Babylonian influence of the unknown past may be rejected as too hypothetical to be probable. Tartar influence probably added little; it adversely affected pure Chinese thought. Mohammedanism and Mazdaism both reached China in the seventh century. The former is still represented by a local body of believers but neither of these religions of themselves made any real impression upon the Chinese people. Manichaean beliefs entered China without any lasting effect in the ninth century. Jewish teaching is said to have reached China during the Han period and in the twelfth century; a small Jewish colony (largely Mohammedan) is still to be found at Kaifungfu.[2]

The Nestorian Christians, whom we have seen strongly entrenched under imperial favour in the seventh century, appear to have left not only a famous monument [3] but many disciples, who under subsequent persecution became absorbed either into Mohammedanism or into the secret society known as the Religion of Immortality (literally "the pill of immortality"). They believe in a "Teacher from above," who was reported to have lived on earth seven centuries before (i.e. before 755 A. D.). As early as the third century Bardesanes reports Christians in China. A few Japanese cult-words, like *ansoko* for incense, are of western (Parthian) origin. Eating of meat and marriage of priests may be due to Christian example. Some knowledge of Christianity may have come into China before the seventh century, but if so it was probably without much effect. What is highly prob-

[1] The tenets but not the sects themselves were transmitted to Japan in the case of the Bidon, Nehan, Chiron, and Soron sects.

[2] Some of the modern sects called Buddhist are really Taoist mixed with other elements. The "Bread and Tea" sect, for example is a form of Wu-Wei (Do-nothing). It embraces a number of sincere opposers of idolatry who as vegetarians offer the gods only tea and bread. They worship Heaven and Earth, the emperor and the religious teacher.

[3] Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China,* London, 1916.

able, however, is that the persecution of Wu-tsung in 845 (like that of Timur, in the fourteenth century) drove into hiding the two thousand foreign missionaries then living in China, many of whom were Christian. Before this persecution the Nestorians may have affected the Chinese Buddhist sects, as they would by then have affected Japanese scholars, who were studying in China in the same eighth century.[1] Yet it is easy to exaggerate the importance of this supposititious influence. Chinese and Japanese analogues to Christian teaching are quite explicable without recourse to the hypothesis that they were borrowed.

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[1] The great Chinese empire of the first century of our era gave opportunity to come in contact with the far West, which an embassy of 120 B. C. had already made known. This embassy notes the use of stamped silver coins and horizontal writing in Judea and Persia. The Nestorian monument, originally unveiled in 781, was found in 1625. It mentions the fact that the Virgin was born in Ta Ch'in (Judea).

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

RELIGIONS OF JAPAN

SHINTOISM AND BUDDHISM

THE present inhabitants of Japan (Nippon, "Sunriseland," from the Chinese "Chipangu") are in part racially allied with the Chinese, being of Mongolian origin, possibly from two branches of that race. But the earliest religion is more akin to that of the Malay race. In both there is the same fanciful deification of nature. There is a superficial resemblance to the cult of the Ainus. The two peoples, together with certain troglodytes, were in the same localities for centuries, and though the Ainu are apparently of different stock and were antagonistic to the invading Japanese, they shared many religious traits with the latter, as indeed would be indicated by their common use of the Kamui rods, probably because they were originally on about the same plane of culture.[1]

Our first knowledge of old Japan, its culture, myths, and religion, is derived from two sets of official documents, written in Japanese and Chinese, and dating from 712 and 720 A. D., respectively, called Kojiki (Records) and Chronicles (Nihongi). They were written for the purpose of preserving tradition but with a distinct tendency to inculcate the

[1] When we first hear of the Japanese they were still emerging from the stone age, using both metal and stone weapons, being in part hunters and fishermen and in part agriculturists. They raised rice, barley, millet, and beans; used horses only for riding, had no architecture, no vehicles, no cattle, no cotton, and no *saké* or tea. Their first notion of writing was derived, probably in the third century A. D., from Korea, that is, eventually, from the Chinese, to whom the Japanese owe the beginning of higher culture. For the Ainus, see p. 46f.

divine nature of the imperial house, and they are affected by Chinese influence throughout. As history they have no more value than the Hindu Puranas, which were written about the same time, or the Chinese Shu King, which also combines myth and tradition with useful implicit teaching, but their general contents is valuable since they preserve old tales which reflect popular belief. The later of these works first recognized prayers directed to the ancestors of the emperors, who, according to the tradition established by these histories, are descendants of the "heavenly king" Jimmu (Tenno), the great-grandson of Ninigi, reputed grandson of the sun-deity. The date of Jimmu is traditionally 660 B. C. There is no reason to believe that this is correct; but it answers the same purpose as the assignment of the foundation of Rome to the year 753 B. C. The date of the empress Jingo, the warlike queen who, in the course of her long life of a hundred years, "conquered Korea," is traditionally about 200 A. D. Her son Ojin, who was afterwards deified as "god of war" under the name Hachiman, is said to have died in 310 A. D. But the earliest certain date in Japanese history is 461 A. D.

The religion of this early period had at first no name. There was no need of a designation until it became necessary to distinguish it from the other religions which soon submerged its primitive character. It was then called by a Chinese name Shen-tao, "Way of the Spirits," or in Japanese Shinto, afterwards translated by Kami no michi, "Way of the Superior" (powers). The native histories do not pretend that this religion was inspired or revealed. The complete system of Chinese ethics was brought into Japan at an early date, perhaps the fifth century A. D. Its special religious effect was to emphasize ancestor worship, which at this early time was thus made a part of the official Shinto cult.

In its more original form Shinto has no cult of ancestors. Such a cult depends on the realization of the family, the preservation of family names, and the belief in a continued

existence hereafter of one's ancestors as powers capable of affecting the welfare of the living. Of all this there is no trace in primitive Shinto.[1]

The belief in regard to the soul and ancestor seems to have been that found in many other cases of parallel culture. The fact that the Mikado is divine as descendant of the Sun does not show that common people may boast of this descent, and so the fact that Mikados and other great men, scholars, kings, and heroes, live revered hereafter does not show that common people live after death, still less that they are worshipped. The Polynesians, the Africans, and even the Eskimos made a distinction between such people as had a future life and such as had none. Shinto, till influenced by Buddhism and Confucianism, seems to be quite inarticulate regarding the future. There was certainly no heaven or hell for the vulgar mass to go to; they were imagined as living underground for a time and food was given to them to prevent their being angry and becoming spiteful demons; but there is no indication that this implied a cult of ancestors or that the ancestors were thought to remain alive as potent spirits. Probably there was no thought about them at all. Many people in a primitive state trouble themselves not in the least as to a hereafter and have no fixed notion as to whether they will live long beyond the grave or not. The Japanese conception of spirit is itself faint. As is seen in the legends, the early Kami are powers as phenomena, and so with human beings, when the living phenomenon passed the man passed. As is said of the amorphous first gods, "they had these names and died." Distinguished people may have two souls, a rough and a gentle soul, and they may continue to exist; but the vulgar go down to the earth and perish, unless perhaps they appear as birds or snakes and so continue a fresh phenomenal life, but even

[1] Most Japanese scholars and some Europeans, misled by the later faith, teach that Shinto was from the beginning "pure ancestor worship." Saito in his useful *History of Japan in China*, London, 1912, p. 26, even translates Kami by "ancestors."

this is an unusual occurrence. The soul-idea (*tamashii*, "ball of wind") is connected primarily with breath; death was called "breath-departure," and soul was "wind-ball." There are no prayers for the welfare of the dead; they are not invoked. Human sacrifice made at the tomb of royal persons has sometimes been cited in support of the "pure ancestor worship" of Shinto. But on the contrary, this custom, which is found in other lands in exactly parallel circumstances, proves only that the extraordinary people thus honoured were supposed to retain their royal state hereafter, and as they were all divine beings by virtue of their descent from the Sun, the practice indicates merely that royal persons were divine enough to survive. The Manchu Tartars and some of the Chinese followed this custom and also confined it to the nobles. According to tradition, more than a hundred male and female attendants were thus buried with one Japanese empress (before history begins, perhaps in the third century), and the burial of the living with the dead continued till 646 A. D.; but the substitution of effigies for living victims soon set aside the barbarous practice, though the substitution itself retained the idea. Finally, even the use of effigies was discontinued, as Buddhistic burning, till the recent revival of Shinto, took the place of the older burial (about 700 A. D.), even in the case of emperors. The older Shinto regarded everything connected with death as imparting pollution and recognized no religious funeral rites. In the early histories, "the state of the dead in general is nowhere alluded to."[1] Florenz has pointed out that the general practical distinction between

[1] Chamberlain, *T. A. S. Japan*, 1906, Appendix p. lvii. For the underworld, Yomi, separated by a hill from earth and somewhat like earth (in having hills, houses, etc.), see *ib.* p. xlvi. The Bon-odori, or lantern feast of All-Souls celebrated in July, is a Buddhist not a Shinto festival. At this time the souls of the dead return to earth. Mourners wear white clothes and white sandals are given the dead for the journey to the next world, according to modern usage. Over the "land of gloom," Yomotsukuni, presides Izanami, as a sort of spirit of death.

Shintoism and Buddhism with the mass of Japanese is that the chief joyous festivals are in honour of Shinto gods; but in mourning and death the people turn to Buddhism.

All the early stories show that the sun-goddess was the supreme object of devotion, both to men and to gods. Deities preceding her and her contemporaries are fanciful figures without religious significance and perhaps due to foreign influence. The objects of religious regard and of mythical interest are, like the sun, the moon, fire, the lightning (as dragon-sword), three water-gods, volcanoes, mountains, trees and animals; but not ghosts. These phenomena are revered directly, as spiritually potent *per se,* not as containing spirits. In other words the earliest Japanese belief was pure naturism. At the same time lower spiritual beings are regarded as incorporate in earthly forms. But Fire, for example, is not a spirit of Fire but a phenomenal power, whose cult is still retained in the now tricky "fire-walking" and in the yearly fire-festival (Nov. 8), when fires are lighted in honour of the food-goddess, Inari. The wife of Ninigi underwent a fire-ordeal to prove her innocence. So Water is judge in the water-ordeal.[1]

Popular spirits, such as ogres, *oni,* and goblins with bird-claws, *tengu* (some *tengu* have temples), mountain genii (*sennin,* in human form), represent phenomena though not themselves phenomena. Yet most of these, not worshipped but dreaded, are later creations than the early worshipped forms of nature. The first deities were nebulous forms, many being sexless, but they reflect a nature-cult. This is clear in the "earth-propitiation," Jishidzume, not to be accounted for by any ghost-worship. The Great Offering at the beginning of a reign, with its tasting of first fruits, is the chief Shinto ceremony. Though now for the Mikado alone, it was originally a general practice in which the worshipper joined the deity in the feast. Gratitude is shown; it is not a religion of "perpetual fear" (as Lafcadio Hearn

[1] The red-hot axe-ordeal is another fire-test; but the ordeal by boiling water is a later form.

calls it). Human and animal sacrifices were made direct to rivers and other gods, but without any idea of sprinkling with blood. Gift and bargain, and occasionally the scapegoat idea, are the sacrificial principles of Shinto. The gift was often a mere symbol of affectionate regard.

In a history of religion, mythology serves no purpose except to illustrate religious ideas. It will be superfluous, therefore, to record the trivial and obscene tales of the gods of myth. What is imperative is that they should be recognized as mainly mythological, *quasi* historical, not as religious. A brief outline of the story of creation shows that there was no idea of a creator-god as supreme deity; that the myth-gods who appear as progenitors of the race and land are not religiously important, since they merely appear as actors but receive no worship; and that the host of octad gods are mere names, probably never recognized as divinities at all.[1] The account of the first gods in the Kojiki is as follows:

There were once two beings, male and female, who began of their own accord (not commanded to do so by a Supreme Being) to "invite" each other. First the female invited the male; but this did not please him. Then he invited her, and she agreed with him to become the parents of Japan and other islands, the sun and other gods. Each of these two beings, on account of the "invitation," has the same prefix, *izana*, Izanagi, "male who invites," Izanami, "female who invites." They carried out what they had planned; but Izanami died in giving birth at last to the fire-god, and descending below earth became foul with corruption. Izanagi

[1] There are different sets of these gods-by-name. First, to explain creation, are assumed such gods as Master-of-Heaven, High-august-producing-wondrous-deity, and, third, Divine-producing-wondrous-deity, who simply came into existence and died. There are others of this sort, who merely appear and die, till the advent of Izanagi and Izanami. Another set spring, chiefly in groups of eight (a Buddhistic holy number), from Izanagi's clothes, from the drops of blood shed when he kills the fire-god, and from the head and trunk of the fire-god, all octads being "gods" without real existence.

sought her and found her, but Izanami, though decomposed, was angry and he barely escaped to upper air again, where he slew the fire-god, from whose body came an octad of gods, and washed his eyes free of the filth of the place of dead. From his left eye came the Sun,[1] from his right the Moon, from his nose Susanowo, the "violent" god of rain or water, afterwards also of the underworld. In his "violent" and mischievous tricks he let fall, as it were, a number of gods of no account. He plagued his sister, the Sun, till she shut herself up in a cave, when, with the help of one of the, unaccountable, "gods without creation" (in the first set of gods), he planned to make his sister, the Sun, appear; which he did by dancing obscenely till she looked out (reminiscence of sun-dance?[2]) to see why the gods were laughing, on which was shown to her her own reflection in a mirror and she was told that the gods had found another fairer sun. At this she came out and all was sunny again. When the gods, after banishing the "violent" one from heaven, because of his tricks, learned that earth was now quieted, the grandson of the Sun came down and secured constant peace by slaying all who opposed him. This was Ninigi, great-grandfather of Jimmu (above, 660 B. C.). The violent god also had human descendants, who lived in Idzumo.

Out of all these myth-gods only the sun-deity, Amaterasu (Omikami) and the food-goddess became objects of a cult. They all, whether good or bad, receive the appellation Kami, that is Superiors, a title conferred on any creature, god or animal, who shows superiority to the common.[3] From the Sun descend the emperors, called the Mi-Kado (*kado,* gate, or *mika-to,* "great place"), where justice is

[1] She is thus twice created (a mixture of myths).

[2] The Kagura or sacred dance at Ise and Nara may perpetuate this. The equinoctial (sun) festival called Higan (March 17–21) is, however, a Buddhist celebration.

[3] Some of the gods have tails; others, geographically remote, are known as "savage gods"; others become animals. Of the Kami, there are eighty myriads, or in one account eight hundred myriads.

administered. She, as shown in the legend above, is not a creator-deity. It is centuries later before the god Masubi is poetically invoked as "creator of men." The shrines or temples, *mia,* of the pure Shinto faith celebrate only natural phenomena and natural forces. Most of these have only local festivals. A few are national and widely celebrated. Notably at Ise are found the "outer" and "inner" (Geku and Naiku) shrines of Food as goddess and Sun as goddess, respectively. The primitive functions of these divinities have been enlarged. To the Black Stone, Geku, thousands of diseased and maimed persons flock annually and cure themselves of disorders by making offerings. They carry off the shavings of the peeled rods called Gohei, found also in the Ainu cult, which are now supposed to harbour spirits repugnant to evil (spirits). Tickets enclosing such shavings, Ise-o-harai, are used at the semi-annual festivals of purification. The ordinary Shinto temples contain no idols but Gohei, a mirror, a jewel, and sword, connected with the legend of the Sun and her "violent" brother, together with the usual gong, which is struck by the worshipper to attract the deity's attention. The visible mirror shown in Shinto shrines is a loan from the Buddhist Shingon sect. The true mirror is always concealed. This is the mirror which is a token (called the "spirit") of the Sun. Possibly from imitation of Buddhist structures also may have been derived the Torii or gate-ways closely resembling the Hindu *torana,* which stand as gates to Buddhist topes in India. The temple itself is comparatively late. At first the gods lived in a walled enclosure only. The first emperors lived in structures which were both palace and temple. To the Sun and Food as goddesses are presented offerings of food and drink except at festivals, when the Shinto tokens, mirror, sword, jewel, and cloth are given to the shrine. Great care is taken not to pollute the food by the breath; the face is veiled. This cult is without doubt the earliest. The only general ritual in early days was the Ohoharahi or great purification, the object of which was twice a year to free the land of evil,

either as disease or sin. All "foulness," incest or leprosy, for example, was deposited on a horse and washed off in the sea, the scape-goat idea. It is now regarded as a propitiatory service. Similarly the ritual called Norito is now regarded as "laudation," but its original meaning was to ask for favours for a consideration (*do ut des*). The most ancient prayers contain both praise and statements regarding offerings made as *quid pro quo*. The Mikado celebrates an offering of first fruits and, according to later regulations, there are festivals consisting in imploring the gods [1] to give good crops, rites to invoke the water-god, the fire-god, etc., to do no harm. But there is no invocation of ancestors, nothing to indicate that the Japanese looked to ghosts to give them goods, as in China.

Apart from nature-worship, there are innumerable traces of phallic worship in phallic symbols found everywhere. It is impossible to dissociate these symbols from those used in certain houses where the meaning is obvious, though an attempt has been made by Shintoists to soften their significance by the explanation that they merely represent power and so are used as admonitory warnings against trespass. They are still openly invoked by women wishing to succeed in their ancient profession. Temples, at Nikko and elsewhere, retain numerous Konsei or phalloi for their original purpose.

Shinto had no organized priesthood; the emperor was the religious head and acted as chief priest. Other priests were laymen acting as attendants of the shrine. There was no formal cult of animals (the fox-cult is late) [2] or of trees, but

[1] Thus the harvest-god, Hitoshi, is implored to give rice, etc., and is rewarded with a horse, cock, and pig. All these gods in the "godless month of October" desert their shrines and go to the temple of Idzumo, except the deaf "god of luck," Ebisu. In Idzumo is found today the purest Shinto.

[2] Inari, the food-goddess (or food-god), originally rode a fox, as other gods ride stag, tortoise, etc. This fox became revered as itself a divine power, injuring crops. "Fox-possession" is a popular superstition; the victim must pay a priest to exorcise the demon-fox.

both are occasionally revered as Kami.[1] There is no totemism and no regular metempsychosis, but transmigration into animal forms is spoken of in legends. " Possession," in this life, by foxes and demons is common. Buddhistic influence has made itself felt in the reckoning of myriads of gods, whose number as Kami is of course unlimited. It is said there are thirty-seven thousand Shinto shrines; but many of these are indifferently *mia* and *tera* (Buddhistic). It is difficult also to extract from common Shinto domestic service the unadulterated Shinto form. Each family now has at home a Kami-dana or god-shelf and, apart from this, Ihai or tablets to the ancestors (Chinese), to whom offerings are made and before whom a lamp (Buddhistic) is lighted. Handclapping and bowing in the ordinary service represent the nearest approach to " praise and prayer." No moral or spiritual blessings are asked for. At festivals music and dancing are ritualistic. Statues as idols have been taken over from Buddhism.

Besides the lack of a priesthood, Shinto, until affected by Buddhism, had no idea of a heaven or hell, no idols (the mirror can scarcely be regarded as such) and no religiously moral code. There is in fact no ethical distinction possible in gods who are all equally gods whether good or bad. Intercourse with the gods was not the object of the simple divination practised by the Urabe (diviners). It was not to find out what was the gods' will, but to peer into the future, that recourse was had to dreams, to chance utterances, to the cracks, on the deer's shoulder-blade and tortoise-shell, made by fire (Chinese model). Of deep religious feeling there is none in pure Shinto; the devotional act is perfunctory. Religious fervour entered Shinto with the worship of the Mikado, who concentrates in himself the intense loyalty of the people and is both loved as emperor

[1] Crabs and bugs found in certain parts of Japan are still popularly regarded as embodying the spirits of certain clans and leaders of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Star-worship, in distinction from sun-worship, is not an early Shinto trait.

and adored as divine representative of the Sun. But all this is a new feature of Shinto. There were many centuries when the emperor was disregarded and looked upon as in no sense a *quasi* divinity.

Although Shinto had no moral code, it recognized the virtue of courage and kindness as religiously endorsed by the character of the sun-deity. It also, in conjunction with the Chinese model, from which in this regard it is difficult to separate it, valued expressly the Chinese Five Relations, but laid the weight, not upon filial piety, as did its model, but upon loyalty. Magic, incest, and bestiality were regarded in general as offences against the Kami. Lying was not religiously offensive. Marriage, like burial, was without religious sanction. Modern Japanese moralists, and so Motoori in the eighteenth century, defend the lack of a higher ethical code in Shinto by insisting that all moral systems imply a defective morality. The good old Japanese were so good that a moral code was superfluous. Under the influence of Chinese civilization was eventually evolved the Bushido "Way of Warriors," the code of chivalry. It reflects the spirit of Japan at its ethical acme, though drawn as much from foreign as from purely native sources. This code taught loyalty to the emperor,[1] inculcated obedience to authority, stoicism, and Giri, or duty (right) of revenge and of committing suicide, *harakiri,* on occasion. It taught also, by practice as well as teaching, that no means was too base to compass the end regarded as righteous. A life of

[1] The great code of Prince Shotoku, which (*circa* 600 A.D.) is based on a Chinese model, already insists on "paying due heed to the orders of the emperor." The "prince is like heaven, the subjects like earth." This code also insists on the (Bushido) rule of "politeness." Bushido, therefore, cannot be regarded as a Shinto product, but a combination representing the warriors' interpretation of rules of conduct, the base of which lies at the close of the pure Shinto period. It derives from the inherent character of the Japanese as modified by Chinese influence, but it did not attain its real meaning till the Tokugawa Shogunate put an end to feudalism and established Confucianism as interpreted by Chu Hi, the Chinese philosopher of the twelfth century, who inculcated obedience to the emperor as the first duty of man.

debauchery, the sacrifice of women to such a life, lying and murder, if practised for the sake of one's chief, were not only blameless but obligatory. It descended also to points of refinement in dress, taught good manners, "politeness," and also emphasized the training of women, not treating her according to Western notions of chivalry but educating her to be courageous and self-controlled. It ignored chastity in men but insisted upon it in women, unless it was necessary to sacrifice it for loyalty's sake. This code arose in the Kamakura period (1186–1339 A. D.) and was that of the Samurai, the warriors of the Daimios or feudal lords, who in the person of the chief Daimio, the Shogun, held all the power in the middle ages. They used it to make a mere effigy of the Mikado, who was not restored to imperial power till the revolution of 1868. Buddhism contributed not a little to this end (see below), but there is no Shinto protest against the submergence of the emperor till quite late. To pass over the Buddhistic period for a moment, it will suffice to say that it was not till the fourteenth century that there was any attempt to revive pure Shinto, which for six centuries had been merged with Buddhism. Kitabatake Chikafusa (1354 A. D.) made a first endeavour to reconstruct a pure Shinto, as opposed to the mixed Shinto composed of Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism. In the seventeenth century, Hayashi made another effort to free Shinto from Buddhism, but his own Shinto was largely Confucian.[1] It was not till much later, under the influence of learned and patriotic leaders,[2] that the present conception of Shinto came into being,[3] an idealized Shinto, which discards other

[1] When, in 1603, the Tokugawa clan obtained supremacy, the educated classes turned Confucian.

[2] Mabuchi (1697–1769), Motoori (1730–1801), Hirata (1776–1843) devoted themselves to the revival of "pure Shinto," frowned on the Shogunate, as on Buddhist, and Chinese learning, and sought truth in Japanese imperialism. This movement culminated in the disestablishment of Buddhism in 1868.

[3] The Yuitsu sect of Shinto started in the fifteenth century as a "Unitarian" (yui-itsu) sect in opposition to the mixture of Shinto and Buddhism called Ryobu (below). In its early form it was

religions while it has little faith in its own mythology, but emphasizes what it considers the spirit of Shinto, that is, devotion to the native cult, especially as represented by the cult of the (Mikado) descendant of the Sun, withal as expressing the emotion of patriotism, the feeling of national unity as a religious trait. The substitution for religion in Japan today is Shinto as Yamato-Damashii, the Spirit of Old Japan.

Shinto now covers in popular usage a number of superstitious and licentious practices, such as the Tenri- and Remmon-Kyo, founded by ignorant peasants, which go under the name of Shinto without having any real relation to it. Shinto has been largely affected by Buddhism, chiefly in a Chinese form of that faith. Japan itself has modified its borrowed religion and philosophy, but has originated little. No high ethical code and no native philosophic system arose among the Japanese, perhaps because Japan was influenced from without before it reached the highest intellectual level. Its best philosophical work has been in synthetic harmonizing of precedent systems.

Buddhism, as has already been indicated, meant much more to Japan than it did to China, where it impinged upon a long established religious culture. Into savage Japan in the sixth and seventh centuries of our era Buddhism suddenly brought its whole paraphernalia of books, images, gods, saints, hells, heavens, and means of "salvation," and with its overpowering appeal to sense, feeling, and thought inundated the simple religious elements with which it came in contact. Most of the Japanese "gods" were only natural powers regarded as supranatural; many of the mythological figures were rather "heroes" than gods, resembling such figures as Hiawatha among the American Indians. These were said to be mischievous spirits and were talked about as figures of a story rather than worshipped. Of

merely a combination of old Shinto with Taoistic and other elements. Geku-Shinto followed in the next century, promulgated by the priests of the Geku-shrine and mixed with Confucianism.

man's place in the universe, of the universe itself as real or ideal, of a basis of religion, of a God, of any need of "salvation," no Japanese had apparently thought at all until Buddhism arrived in Nippon. In the sixth century (583 A. D.) an image of Buddha was sent to Japan from Korea, where Buddhism had been at home for two centuries; but this formal introduction coincided with a domestic calamity which made the new religion, or rather the new god, for the religion was not yet understood, seem inauspicious, and though the Koreans tried again to implant their faith in Japan it was without result. The real promoter of Buddhism in Japan was Prince Shotoku Taishi (593 A. D.), who first learned from a Korean priest the simple moral code of a Buddhist (not to steal, not to lie, not to get drunk, not to kill, and not to commit adultery). Shotoku was virtually the ruler of the country and used his power to erect many Buddhist images, build forty-six Buddhist temples, *tera,* domicile 1,385 Buddhist monks and nuns, and support with all the power of the court the now firmly established faith. He was also instrumental in preparing the Japanese code of laws referred to above, based on Chinese models.[1] Buddhism thus introduced was an alien creed and its many missionaries felt the need of making the common people believe that it differed only in form from Shinto. For this purpose they had to adopt eventually the same means which in the first centuries of our era led to the successful introduction of pagan gods and heroes and festivals into the Christian church as forms of Christian figures and feasts. Thus, as in America the Jesuits said to the Redskins, "Whom you worship as Manito we call God, worship Him," so the Buddhist priest said to the Japanese barbarian, "Whom you worship as sun-deity

[1] In 605 A. D. there was already direct communication with Chinese Buddhism. In the laws of Shotoku it is said: "Honour the three jewels of Buddhism, the priests, the ritual, the founder. It is the highest religion in the world. Without Buddhism there is no way to make men turn from wrong to right."

we call the Sun of righteousness and of being, Vairocana, worship Him." The union thus effected became known as Ryobu Shinto, the Twofold Way of the Gods. Other Buddhist figures, saints and incarnations, were as easily amalgamated and, what had been lacking in Japanese belief, a system of eschatology based on a moral code.

As Buddhist power began to make itself felt, always under royal patronage, Buddhist practices replaced Shinto customs. Thus burial gave place to cremation and the slaughter of animals for sacrifices was discontinued in favour of floral and vegetable offerings. Buddhism ignored ancestor-worship, which by this time had become Shintoistic as it was Confucian. But the identification of Shinto gods with Buddhist spirits went far to heal this breach between the two religions. In 673–686 A. D. the emperor Temmu forbade the eating of flesh and made the Buddhistic service obligatory in every home. Under the empress Jito (690–702 A. D.) there were already 545 Buddhist temples in Japan. For two centuries after this, Chinese culture and Chinese Buddhism were the objects of unstinted regard and deference on the part of the court. The reason was largely political. To maintain itself, the imperial power tried to break up the old government of clans and families and substitute a centralized power, after the model of China. It did away with the provincial plenipotentiaries who had usurped, as the court looked at it, royal prerogatives. It appointed salaried officers to govern the provinces instead of hereditary heads of clans, who had received taxes and made their own government. Taxes were now paid direct to the emperor and all land was declared to be owned by him. Court favour thus paid to the Chinese system included Chinese culture of all kinds and Buddhism as representative of Chinese religion. It was not foreseen that exactly this element was to prove deleterious to royal ambition.[1] Undoubtedly the educated classes and

[1] As early as the eighth century a Buddhist priest, favourite of the empress-dowager, caused the exile of the emperor and endeavoured

court circles, which included men of the highest attainments and often men who had had a prolonged training on Chinese soil, looked askance at the barbarous simplicity of Shinto and welcomed Buddhism both as an intellectual gain and as a political advantage. But the insidious arts of the Buddhist religious leaders, who were veritable pontiffs, possessing their own estates and their own military adherents by the thousands, soon made themselves felt to the detriment of the very patrons who had established them in power. Not only were the weak-minded emperors persuaded that the way of salvation for prince and people was best followed by the retirement of the emperor from the world, whereby the Buddhists got rid of their rulers by the time these puppets began to feel themselves too royal (the age of religious retirement was at latest from forty to forty-five), but the overweening pride of these ecclesiastics flung into the field again and again armies which, when an emperor proved obdurate, attacked and subdued the royal forces and brought the power of the emperor to naught. Moreover, when not contending with the throne, one sect would fight another whenever the objectionable sect needed to be repressed. The monasteries were in short armed camps of religious fanatics and potential traitors from the moment they arrived at power to the moment when they were suppressed. It was they who, as religious leaders, influenced and encouraged the Daimios and Shogun "leaders of armies" to resist the centralizing effect of imperial prerogatives, until first the Fujiwara[1] family (670–1050 A. D.) and then others, the Taira and Minamoto families, of more military character, reduced the Mikado to a mere effigy. The emperor Shirakawa[2] (1073–1087 A. D.), who finally had to invite the Minamoto clan to defend him against the priests

to place himself upon the throne. He was prevented only by the courage of one man who got from a Shinto shrine an "oracle" forbidding the act.

[1] The ancestor of the Fujiwaras descended from heaven and the family is said to rank with that of the emperor in age and honour.

[2] This emperor robbed his treasury to build temples. Under him

and thus inaugurated the dynasty of this clan, complained that "dice, rivers, and Buddhists" were the three things that would not obey him. When such a clan became allied with the religious leaders it became too strong to be extirpated and the best the court could do was to retain the semblance of dignity which it lacked.[1]

Of the sects introduced into Japan, some were mere schools and their adherents were merely secluded scholars, who had no effect on statecraft or on the religion of the masses. Others were militant and aggressive; their adherents were both scholars who disputed in regard to the interpretation of scriptures and worldly schemers who utilized religion to influence politics. To the mass of people, the various forms of Buddhism, represented by the "twelve schools" (or more), were, as metaphysical variations, unintelligible. The populace reacted not to such intellectual subtleties but to the outward glory of a religion which presented to their unaccustomed eyes and ears a magnificent ritual, imposing temples, gorgeous processions, richly clothed priests, waving banners, genuflexions, mystic mutterings, incense, bells, chaunts, readings in an unknown tongue, and added to all this the promise of a future life of happiness and the service, at their disposal, of learned and potent magicians, which was the view held by the common people in regard to the monks.

It will be useful, however, to sketch in briefest outline the distinctions between the Buddhist sects, because at least two of the twelve became the real interpreters of Buddhism to the common people. Curiously enough, most of these sects are not established upon a broad basis of

the Buddhists fought in arms against each other and against the government.

[1] The Taira family was overthrown in 1185 A.D. It was superseded by the Minamotos and they held power till subdued by the Ashikogas, whose dynasty lasted from 1338 to the end of the sixteenth century. This last family in 1392 settled the contest between the "two emperors" (of the south and north) in favour of the northern court. Defeated by Nobunaga, they finally yielded to the Tokugawa family (1603–1868).

Buddhistic scriptures but each upon a body of doctrine drawn from one late Buddhistic tract. It is as if Christian sects were based on selected writings of the Church Fathers, a City-of-God sect, etc.

Of the sects, the majority are of Chinese origin and they are divided also by geographical distinctions. The earliest, brought from China, were sects of the old Nara period (720–760 A. D.). Then come the two great mediaeval sects (c. 800–1000), when Kioto was made the capital; and finally the four most important sects, Zen, Jodo, Shin, and Nichiren, of the Kamakura period (between 1175 and 1253). Only the oldest sects belong to the Hinayana or Little Vehicle. We shall find also that there is a sudden change of base in the religious position of these sects, from knowledge to faith, from agnosticism or atheistic idealism to the idea of God, as mercy or immortal life or immortal glory, Amida, etc. But the idea itself was not new. Faith and God were old properties of Buddhistic propaganda and Amida was contemplated mystically long before there was a Jodo sect. It is simply that in Japan as in India the need of God and the faith-form of salvation came later to sectarian expression. The period intervening between that of Buddhistic organization and this reform was one of degeneration, civil wars, and the rise of military clans.[1]

It will be unnecessary to discuss all the sects, which, though counted officially as twelve, really number, when the sub-sects are included, about fifty. Typical sects or schools which really have no religious importance among the people are, for example, the (seventh century) Kusha, a school studying particularly one text which, as its name implies, resembles a "storehouse" of Little Vehicle meta-

[1] For convenience these periods may be roughly estimated as: 500–800 A. D., period of establishment, introduction of old sects, Prince Shotoku and the Nara sects; 800–1000 A. D., ecclesiastical organization, the Kioto sects, Genshin, the abbot of Eshinin, pioneer of the Amida cult; 1000–1200 A. D., ecclesiastical decay, civil wars, Minamoto dictatorship at Kamakura; 1200–1300, religious reformation, Amida-worship, Zen sect, etc.

physics; also the synchronous sects called Sanron[1] and Jojitsu (subjective idealism), the latter of which, now extinct, was a school of the Little Vehicle, while the Sanron professed to be eclectic; and the Vinaya or Ritsu sect (Little Vehicle), all of which were branches of or studied especially the tenets of the Hosso, of Dosho and Gyogi Bosatsu. The Vinaya (sect) was brought directly from China to Japan and established without modifications in the eighth century. The Hosso sect, brought to Japan in 625 A. D. (or c. 650?), is still extant and has the longest history of all the sects. It was Gyogi Bosatsu, a leader of this sect, who (above) first thought of identifying the Sun with the Buddhist Vairocana. At present this sect is the smallest of all, having only forty-one temples and less than seventy priests; but historically it is one of the most interesting, since it came directly from India to China, whence it was almost at once transplanted to Japan, and is most closely connected with the Hindu Yoga philosophy. Like the Sanron it is eclectic in its scriptures and as a Mahayana sect teaches subjective idealism. Many of the earlier sects have disappeared. They yielded, probably because of their lack of contact with "real life,"[2] to the later schools, most of which belong to the Great Vehicle. Of these, the pantheistic Kegon sect, which came to Japan in 735 A. D., is made picturesque on account of the fables attached to its transmission and the divine manifestations which took place when it was revealed. In the eighth century also came from China the somewhat similar but warlike Tendai sect, which dared to assert and maintain temporal authority against the court. It was introduced (767–822) by Saicho (Dengyo Daishi) and teaches that salvation may be ob-

[1] This school denies the real existence of phenomena and maintains that nothing is known of the noumenal world.

[2] The sects at first were aristocratic schools of scholars supported by and resident in Nara, the capital, or near it. All that the common people got from them was the universal Buddhistic truths, knowledge of Karma (Japanese Ingwa), desire of Nirvana, worship of Buddha, celebration of his birthday (April 8), etc.

tained by the realization of what it calls "Buddha" in oneself through any means fitted to the intelligence of the learner (hence unjustly called "Jesuitical Buddhism" by some Western scholars). It even took into its fold Shinto gods, such as Fudo, the many-faced god who dispels demons with fire. It is based on the text called the Lotus of the True Law (or Perfect Truth). At one time it had 40,000 monks, but it has at present little influence in its original form, though it has developed three sub-sects. This and the following Shingon sect were most influential during the Heian period (794–1186 A. D.), toward the close of which the monks began to take more interest in politics than in religion. In the following period (1186–1339) Yoritomo (d. 1200) had to forbid the priests to carry arms.[1]

Shingon or the True Word sect (also based on the Lotus) followed Tendai. The Word was no more than a *mantra* or magic formula; one who knew it could produce any desired effect, including salvation, by thinking. Kukai or Kobo was its introducer, a clever painter and engineer (774–835 A. D.), who had studied Buddhism in China with Saicho (804 A. D.) and like him established Shinto gods as Buddhist saints. Buddha in this sect, as in most of the Mahayana sects, was not so important as the Universal Being called Vairocana (Jap. Biroshana), a form of Buddha, or rather that eternal Buddha of whom the historical Buddha is a manifestation. Magic and a gorgeous ritual made this sect acceptable to the masses; the doctrine that mind and matter are one and that every one can become Buddha (for Buddha is the universe inherent even in dust) endeared it to the admirers of mystic pantheism. Tendai and Shingon are the only sects to adopt the Tibetan prayer-wheel. A similar contrivance, seen at some temples, is more

[1] The Tendai was an attempt (begun in China by Chi K'ai) to harmonize all sects; but in Japan it tended to adopt the "vacuity" principle: real being is beyond all phenomena and relativity; the universal must be manifested in the particular; reality unites both. This was the doctrine Nichiren (below) sought to restore to purity from the mixed Shinto-Buddhism of the later schools.

original. It is called *rinzo*, a revolving book-case containing Buddhist scriptures. The believer who revolves it with the hand gets all the merit of revolving the contents of the volumes in the head.

The last two sects are the first of the Kioto sects, called by some writers the mediaeval sects in distinction from the old sects, which had already declined by the eighth century. Their influence was clearly in the direction of popularizing religion and making it easy for the common people, though the metaphysics of the Tendai and the mysticism of the Shingon were only for adepts. After the prestige of the Tendai was lost, an offshoot of the sect carried still further the popularization of Buddhism.

This was the Zen or Contemplation[1] sect, which has three schools. Its original thought is that book-knowledge is vain; one must find salvation by looking into one's own soul. This view led to a practical revolt against idolatry and made the believers quietists (the Rinzai school, founded by Eisai, 1141–1215). Another school of this sect gave up this extreme view and devoted itself to study as well as to contemplation (the Soto or Sodo school, founded by Dogen, 1200–1253). The names are taken from Chinese Buddhists of an earlier date. The third school (Obaku) was founded by a Chinese priest, Ingen by name, in 1650. The Zen sects were virtually Japanese (not Chinese). They remained not only active but militant and acrimonious up to the present day. The most remarkable result of this teaching of contemplation, a mystic self-intoxication, which has earned the Zen the name of Quakers of Japan, is that it has become the favourite sect of the warrior class. Yet this apparent contradiction is easily explained. The Zen sect was located at Kamakura (military headquarters). Contemplation and finding God within oneself easily become in unphilosophic minds a *laissez faire* religion, which emphasizes the beauty

[1] That is Dhyana, the school of Bodhidharma, which reached China in 520 A. D. The method was old; the sect merely stressed the old feature.

and godliness of non-action in religious matters, while the essential contemplation is transformed into idle thought or vacuity of thought. It thus gave the soldiers freedom from ritual and from mental effort, which was all they desired. It became and still is one of the largest and most popular sects, and to its influence is partly due the chivalrous character of the native soldier. It may be said to have transported Buddhism from the school to real life.

But in all the sects thus far mentioned, salvation, though admittedly better than non-salvation, was rather a vague benefit to the common man. He was taught that salvation meant Nirvana, practically (in Japan) absorption or union with the Blessed All, and since the alternative was a dreary outlook of perpetual pain he was easily induced to strive for salvation, especially when this was attainable at little or no cost, as among the adherents of the Zen sects. Because, without exception, these sects granted salvation as the reward either of knowledge or of the illumination which came from contemplation, they were known as sects inculcating the old way of Salvation by the Law. Just after the Zen sect had begun its existence, arose the first of two even more popular sects, which together go by the name of Jodo or Happy Land sects, teaching salvation by faith in Amida. These sects substitute, for knowledge and illumination as means of salvation, simple faith or faith combined with its expression in ejaculation. But, and this inducement was even stronger than the simple means of salvation, the happiness promised to the faithful was no longer the abstruse joy of union with an incomprehensible all-entity but the sensuous joy of a heavenly paradise. This belief is based on a Buddhist text describing future felicity in material terms, and the Buddha here is regarded as (Amida) Amitabha or Amitayus (Limitless Glory, Limitless Life). The believer looks forward to the Happy Land, Sukhavati, to which he may attain hereafter by merit and faith, expressing his faith in the words "Bow to Amida," whose grace will bring him to the Happy Land where Amida will

meet his soul.[1] This is the pietistic religion of pure Jodo, founded (1133–1212 A. D.) by Genku (Honen) as a reform, for Honen was originally of the Tendai sect, which saved only the elect, while Jodo saves all believers.[2]

A little later this reform was itself slightly reformed by Shinran (Hanyen; 1173–1262), whose knowledge of theology was doubtless inborn, for he claimed descent from a Japanese god. He was a pupil of Honen who, though famous for saintliness, suffered from the jealousy of the orthodox and was banished; some of his followers were slain. Undaunted by this precedent, however, Shinran renewed the evangel, only simplifying it a little more, so that he felt obliged to call his sect the Jodo Shin-shu, or True Jodo Sect. This re-reformed sect abandoned even the "bow to Amida" formula as a means of salvation and maintained that one did not have to wait for death and a greeting hereafter from Amida to become sanctified; but Amida is found in life in the soul of whosoever has faith in him. This creed found favour with the Shoguns and the common people, who became converted in too large numbers to be expelled. Faith, not virtues, was the shibboleth of the sect. At present it has ten sub-sects and nearly twenty thousand temples, being the most popular and numerous of all the sects, though the Zen is a close rival. The Shin-shu (as it is usually called, though it is also termed Ikko and Monto, "gate") is really a Protestant theistic church, which relies on "the merits of another" and on faith as means of salvation. Faith brings change of heart and so cleanses it of sin. Shinran, like Luther, shocked the church-world by marrying and his monks follow his example, marrying and even eating meat, a practice abhorred of all Buddhists except

[1] Sukhavati means "happy" (land). It is erroneously rendered "pure" by those (and others) who think of "a land of pure delight." Sukha does not even imply pure; it is joy, happiness, the antithesis of *duhkha*, pain, misery (never impurity). For the texts, see SBE. xlix.

[2] The essence of this creed was discovered by Honen in the writings of the Chinese monk Zendo (Santao).

Buddha. The disciples of this teacher need not study Vairocana, the mystic sunflower of pantheistic divinity, centred in petals bearing the name of Amitabha, Manjusri, Avalokiteshvara, Maitreya, and other Buddhas and Bodhisats, as taught in Shingon, nor must they pass through three grades of wisdom. They need only lead a moral life and have faith in Amida. Even Jodo demands that meritorious deeds should back up faith, be it only the merit of repeating the "bow to Amida" formula; but the Shin teaches that faith alone is necessary and then Amida, realized in the heart, is within oneself, not, as in Jodo, waiting to welcome one, after death, to the Happy Land.

As Honen got his pietistic inspiration in regard to faith while reading Zendo's works, and as Zendo lived in China, where Nestorians were settled in 635 A. D., some have even thought that the Happy Land sects derive from Christianity, an intrinsically improbable thesis in this form, since they are based on a text which, older than Chinese Buddhism, easily lends itself to the application made of it by both sects. The Shin use a rosary, but this was imported from India. It is the leading sect in the care of the lowly and the only sect which "provides a way of salvation for women." The metaphysicians of this sect maintain their belief in an immanent (not a personal) divinity, and assert that the common conception of Amida is only for the benefit of those unable to understand truth. But, to the mass of worshippers, Amida is practically saviour and God. They are well-nigh monotheistic; they are saved by the grace of God and live with him in Paradise for ever. In other words, the people of Japan have gone through the same stages and come out at the same place as have the common people of India and elsewhere, to whom religion without God and Heaven is meaningless. In this particular the Shin stands in sharp contrast with the Zen, which ignores God and promises nothing as to a future life. In another, outer, particular it resembles Zen; for it also is a military religion beloved of soldiers, and as a church

militant has interfered with effect in politics. Jodo recognizes other divine forms, notably that of Kuannon, the goddess [1] of mercy, whose seven or more, even thirty-three, images are often found in Buddhist temples. Yet in this regard the Jodo merely retains that background of polytheism which lies behind all Oriental pantheism and theism. Finally it may be observed that in both Happy Land sects the distinction between the moral code of the layman and that of the monk, which dates from the beginning of Buddhism, is definitively abandoned.

The last important sect of which we have to speak is that of (Rencho) Nichiren (1222–1282 A. D.). Very different estimates of his character have been made. To one scholar, his sect is "the most superstitious and bigoted of Japanese Buddhist sects." [2] To another, Nichiren was a great apostle of righteousness. The sect arose at a time when Kublai Khan was threatening to destroy Japan and Nichiren came into notice first as a prophet of evil, which might be prevented if the people were converted to the truth as he saw it. They had sinned, said Nichiren, in adopting Shingonism, which was mixed with Shintoism and Hinduism and led merely to sorcery. Again he opposed the cult of Amida, who had usurped the place of Buddha, the formalism of the Ritsu school, and the "devilish" religion of the Zen. He took as his guide the scripture called the Lotus of the True Law (or Perfect Truth, as he termed it), which had been rightly presented by Dengyo before it was misunder-

[1] Kuannon is now the goddess of mercy and is one of the most beloved of Japanese divinities, answering in this capacity to the Virgin Mary as the merciful. She really is a male (or sexless) divinity and was so depicted when first introduced into China, where she or he represents Avalokiteshvara and as such, a Buddhist figure, deserves a place in the church, which cannot be said of many other divinities adopted by the Buddhists and converted into church dignitaries. Chujo Hime, an early Buddhist nun, famous for her pious tapestry, is now regarded as an incarnation of Kuannon. On the Chinese form, see above, p. 270.

[2] A judgment made by a native and cited by Chamberlain in *Things Japanese,* London, 1890, p. 116.

stood, and his confession of faith was simply to pronounce its title. Nichiren preached with fierce religious zeal and if he is mocked as a revivalist who has "deified even mud," it must not be forgotten that he also taught what Buddha taught, not salvation by the grace of Amida, but that each one must work out his own salvation. To Nichiren, this was accomplished by observing the law, by self-examination, by reflecting on the blessings vouchsafed to the true believer, and by constant prayer. One must not only know but live the truth, which is eternal, as its revealer is eternal. He believed himself to be a reincarnation of an ancient saint; he was a mystic; Buddha manifests himself in trees and grass, in the whole universe; but Buddha is Lord and Father of all; we are his children; religion is the realization of this truth and of the Buddha-nature in ourselves. "Behold the kingdom of God is within you." Surely we cannot condemn this teacher as a fanatic demagogue,[1] though his intolerance was not in the spirit of ancient Buddhism.

The remaining sects are small and unimportant, though the native theistic Yudsu Nembutsu ("Bow to Buddha") sect has 358 temples and the Ji[2] has 515 temples. It was not till three centuries after the founder of the last of these sects that reviving Shinto began also to divide into sects, to the number of about a dozen. None of these is anything more than an adaptation of Shinto to Buddhism or an adaptation of Chinese philosophy to Shinto. One of these is based upon the philosophy of Chu Hi combined with Shingon Buddhism and another reverts to the Chinese Yi-King. These two sects, the Suiga and

[1] There are now seven sub-sects, 5066 temples, and a great multitude of followers of Nichiren's Hokko-shu. For a sympathetic account, see Anesaki, *Nichiren the Buddhist Prophet*, Cambridge, Mass., 1916; for one less appreciative, Griffis, *The Religion of Japan*, New York, 1895, p. 281. The Kamakura Zen, Jodo, Shin, and Nichiren sects represent distinctively Japanese Buddhism.

[2] The Ji-shu, founded 1275 A. D. by Ippen, uses the same ritual as that of the Tendai and Shingon, but is closely related to the Jodo.

Deguchi sects, belong to the seventeenth century. An earlier sect is that called the Jikko. It resolves Izanagi and Izanami into the male and female forms of one absolute deity, who resides in the Fuji mountain, which should be worshipped as the intellectual centre of the universe. Comment is superfluous. A Japanese proverb says "when folly passes by, reason draws back." One of the latest of these eclectic sects is that called Shingakuha. It arose in the eighteenth century and teaches "heart-culture," inducing religion by the use of colloquial language, humour, etc.

Among most of the Buddhist sects there has been an easy tolerance of gods not their own but drawn into their fold by naming them saints of Buddhism. These gods go by the general title of Gongen, temporary manifestations of Buddha. Thus Sarasvati, the wife of Brahman, is revered as Benten, goddess of sea and sky. She appears also as one of the Seven Happy Gods of Fortune, who, historically, may be Kubera, the Hindu god of wealth, Sarasvati, Mahakala (Time as god), the Buddhist Maitreya, two forms perhaps representing Lao-tse,[1] and one Shinto god. This group of gods exorcises demons by means of beans, hated by demons, on New Year's eve and serves as a bugaboo to children. Another god is Daruma, Hindu Dharma, god of justice, who renounced his eyelids to see better, a form of the Hindu "unwinking gods," but is degraded at present into an image, having a pipe in his mouth and serving as a sign for tobacconists. An earlier figure is Jizo, of the eighth century, who compassionates mothers and children. The Tendai sect tolerated the worship of the Two Kings (Ni-o), who are really Indra and Brahman disguised as Gongen. Ema, or Emma-o, god of the dead and ruler of hills, seems to be a god of Buddhism. Statesmen and generals are also deified or canonized. Ieyasu, the implacable but great unifier of Japan, notorious

[1] Griffis, *op. cit.*, p. 218. The Japanese names are Bishamon, Daikoku, Ebisu, Fukurokuju, Hotei, Jurojin, and Benten or Benzaiten (serpent-symbol). The identifications are not assured.

as the persecutor of Christians in the seventeenth century, was a member of the Jodo sect, which was favoured by the Shoguns, and he is now glorified or deified as Toshu-gu, Great Light of the East, or Gongen Sama (in idol-form). Takamori, the desperate upholder of feudalism against the new *régime* (died in 1877), is now the regent of Mars. The earlier rebel Masakado on dying proved so malevolent a ghost that his spirit was appeased by making him a god, till, in the revolution of 1868, when he fell into disfavour, his idol was hacked to pieces, and his divine office was handed over to a Shinto god. Other idols commonly found in Japanese temples are those of the 500 early Hindu saints or Arhats (Rakan in Japanese). Some of these at least really lived, so that they may be set down as the first of Buddhists exalted to a *quasi* divinity; but owing to the nebulous character of gods in Japan it must never be forgotten that to be made a "god" is a small matter, a decoration, so to speak. With men it amounts at most only to canonization. Like most Japanese practices it was adopted from the Chinese, and, as in China, even scholars are thus dignified. So the wise imperial councillor Michizane, the minister of the emperor Uda (893–898 A. D.), was canonized as Tenjin Sara, the heavenly Patron of Literature; he now has many idols. Mr. Benj. S. Lyman, an American scholar and engineer of Philadelphia, who developed the Japanese mining industry forty years ago, has recently been made "god of metals."

The immense importance of Buddhism in the cultural and religious evolution of Japan cannot be overestimated. "Almost every branch of industrial and artistic development owes something to the influence of the [Buddhist] creed."[1] It gave the Japanese a culture and religion which have had a lasting effect for good. At the same time it must not be forgotten that all the Buddhist sects lost their spiritual value as they became mobs of hired soldiers fight-

[1] Professor Asakawa in *Japan, History of Nations,* Philadelphia, 1906, p. 33.

ing for or against a political chieftain. In the fourteenth century the monks became mere militia. Sect fought with sect and especially the Shin and Nichiren sect-feuds cost the lives of thousands of monks. The only sects which were not entirely transformed by military activity were the Zen (Soto and Rinzai) sects whom the Ashikagas supported. They, almost alone, upheld religion and learning in that troubled era.

But what Buddhism accomplished ethically is another matter. In the period of degeneration (1000–1200 A. D.) the Buddhist monasteries, like those of the same period in Europe, were centres of vice and debauchery and Buddha himself, in the docetic interpretation toward which the Mahayana leaned, could offer no commanding personal model to which appeal might be made in favour of a moral code, especially as even the learner's own personality was questioned. Despite these disadvantages theoretically, the Buddhist had a high moral code, but its practical strength was due to the infusion of Confucian ethics.

Christianity was brought into Japan by Xavier in 1549 and found at first no opposition, owing to the anarchical state of the country, in which the Buddhists had had a hand, so much so indeed that the war which caused the overthrow of the Togashi family goes by the name of the Shin war. It was at this time that the Jesuits arrived and their initial success was due to this political reason. For Nobunaga, who suppressed the Shogunate for thirty years, would have been glad to suppress the Buddhists also. He did in fact burn the temple of Enriakuji, really a fort filled with an army of Buddhist priests, who had pillaged the country and acknowledged no authority for half a millennium. Nobunaga was a member of the ancient Taira-Oda family but he was not himself a Shogun, though he formed an alliance with (the Tokugawa) Ieyasu in the interest of the imperial power. The only reason he supported the Christians was that he wished to weaken the secular power of the Buddhists. Under imperial patronage

of this kind it is not surprising to learn that within forty years there were from two to three hundred thousand Christian converts. Most of them were ordered by their Daimios to be converted, sometimes "within a day." The Jesuits, however, naturally saw in this unexpected catholicity on the part of the Japanese the hand of God. But missionary success lasted only till the Tokugawa Shoguns began to fear that Spain was seeking under guise of religion to make Japan a Spanish province. For by this time the Japanese had become acquainted with Portuguese and Dutch traders and knew what Spanish ambition meant. The result was that even in 1587 an edict of Hideyoshi[1] banished all foreign religions, the short-lived patronage of Christianity ceased, and the foreign sect was prohibited by the Tokugawa. Ieyasu then began a systematic persecution of the sect (in 1614), obliging converts to recant by trampling on the crucifix and meting out to the Jesuits the same measure they themselves had adopted toward European heretics, namely torture as barbarous as that of the

[1] At the death of Nobunaga in 1582 his chief officer Hideyoshi (a man of low birth) became the most powerful man in Japan. Ieyasu (of the Tokugawa family) envied his position and at first rebelled against him; but as each of these leaders feared the other, they eventually laid aside their differences and Hideyoshi, highly honoured by the emperor, became chancellor of the empire. He conquered Korea and China before he died in 1598 and was succeeded by Ieyasu, who, refraining from foreign conquests, devoted himself to founding the fortunes of his own Tokugawa family and establishing a Shogunate that gave lasting peace to his country. It was not till Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu had established peace that Neo-Confucianism, in the Shushi and Oyomei (Wang-Yang-Min, above, p. 265) forms, became fully established in Japan. The Shushi school, recognized as orthodox in China by the Ming emperors (1402–1644), was made the authorized system by the Tokugawa Shoguns. It was encouraged especially because it promoted loyalty. The Oyomei school trusts more to intuition than to knowledge (compare Zen). A third school of Neo-Confucianism is that known as the Classical school of Yamaga Soko (father of Bushido) and Ito Jinsai. It stresses emotion but professes to go back to Confucius. A fourth, Eclectic, school is a combination of all existing Confucian schools. See A. K. Reischauer, *Studies in Japanese Buddhism*, New York, 1917, p. 143f.

Inquisition. The persecution even in Japan was not all on one side. Daimios, who had been converted by the Jesuits, persecuted such of their vassals as refused to become Christian,[1] and this undoubtedly strengthened the suspicion that the "Kirishitan" were endeavouring to make Japan a Spanish dependency, as was charged by the Dutch. Ieyasu was a national reformer and a statesman of high order, who rescued Japan from internal disorders that had raged for two hundred years and gave her a peace which lasted for two hundred more. His measures were harsh even toward his own countrymen, for he deliberately impoverished all the Daimios in order to weaken them and thus preserve the country from their incessant contentions. He permitted the imperial power to retain little real power and established a Shogunate which endured till 1868. In these important political activities the suppression of Christians, who had shown arrogance and intolerance, was only an item. He died two years after the persecution was started. Besides the Jesuits, the Dominicans, Augustinians, and Franciscans had founded missionary settlements in Japan. Converted Daimios had even sent out investigators to visit Spain and Italy. They remained eight years and visited the Pope (1582–1590). A similar expedition of Christian Samurai started in 1613 and returned in 1620, after another visit to the Pope. Despite the (1587) edict of banishment, Christians continued to enter the country disguised as merchants and for that reason were all the more assumed to be spies of Spain. Finally they took sides with the enemies of the now all-powerful Tokugawa family, and were implicated in an open rebellion (1637–39) in behalf of Masudo Shiro, Tokisada, who was desirous of becoming the ruler of the empire. In order to win support among the farmers and common people he let it be known that he performed miracles and was the "heavenly messenger" prophesied by Xavier, and destined to establish

[1] Nobunaga destroyed Buddhist temples and killed the priests with their women and children.

Christian supremacy. Supported by the Christians he seized a province, murdered its governor, and set up an independent principality. He was overthrown and his supporters, among them the Christians, were massacred. Christian thus became synonymous with rebel and traitor; but a Christian might evade death by becoming a Buddhist. Not only missionaries but all Europeans as such were now suspect. No European books were allowed to be brought into the country and all ports were closed except to the Dutch. They, because they had never been missionaries but on the contrary had rather aided the authorities against the Jesuits, were still permitted to enter by one port. It is well to consider these political data. They palliate somewhat the crime of persecution, though they cannot undo the horrors enacted during fifty years. In 1716, the six-year census, called "examination of faith," was instituted and given into the hands of the Buddhists, who by means of this register were able to keep track of and suppress most of the genuine converts to Christianity. Yet in 1865 some of the descendants of the early Christians were discovered still clinging to the signs of their old faith. Four thousand of them suffered imprisonment for their fidelity (1867).

The changes during the last century have been mainly along political lines, the re-establishment of the Shinto ritual,[1] the exclusion and readmission of Christianity. No notable novelty has been introduced except that of interpreting Shinto in various unhistorical ways by way of adjusting it to modern needs. Thus in 1849 Shinto was first taught as a monotheistic religion by Kurozumi, who regarded the sun-goddess (Heaven-Shining One) as God (*quâ* the sole source of vitality), with whom man should seek to be in communion. Both Buddhism and Shinto were formally disestablished in 1884. Buddhism had been abolished as a factor in the state religion after the restoration of imperial authority in 1868. But the Buddhists were still

[1] This was not intended as a reassertion of Shinto religion as the State religion, but it seems to the people to imply this.

allowed to preach patriotism and humanitarianism (1872). Freedom of religious thought was granted to the people and in 1875 the Doshisha theological school was founded by Neeshima, who had been a student in America. Subsequently, there was a temporary union of the three older cults, Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism, called the "Way of uniting three religions," to oppose Christianity. Since the war with China (1894–95) and that with Russia (1904–05) the national spirit has reawakened the warrior-spirit and there has been a strong tendency to regard Shinto as the national religion, though the modern followers of this "ancestor-worship" do not themselves believe in a future life. Morality is on the whole taking the place of religion among the educated classes.[1]

Prophecy is no part of history, but as Japan is the only great nation without a religion recognized by the State or generally acknowledged by the people, it is a tempting field for speculation. Its statesmen inculcate the religion of loyalty. Its philosophers believe in a Oneness which transcends human categories. Its plain people are idolaters or agnostics, or in theistic sects recognize Amida as God. Yet in this regard the Christian missionary objects: "they cannot conceive of God as a person." But in such a statement "God" translates Buddha as the Absolute and it would perhaps be tempting, if temerarious, to inquire how many Christians regard The Absolute as a personal God. What is significant is that Japanese Buddhism regards Amida simply as the highest personal expression of Buddha, that is, as the highest conception of God humanity can have, because the Absolute cannot be conceived at all. God, in fact, to the Japanese theologian appears in a trinity, first as the Absolute, second as personified Mercy and Wisdom in the form of Amida, and third as the historical Buddha (or any one of the many Buddhas). Salvation,[2] obtained in the old sects by "turning from

[1] Anesaki, *Religious History of Japan*, Tokyo, 1907, p. 47.

[2] Salvation in early Buddhism means escape from eternal life; in

ignorance and opening" (the mind to truth; *tenmāi kaigo* is the formula), is in the theistic sects, as it seems fair to call them, though some missionaries strenuously object to the term, a matter of grace extended to a believer: "All the doctrines of Buddhism are grounded in mercy." That this saying may lead to ethical laxity is true; so Lutherism actually led to antinomianism. The Japanese say, "He whose heart is pure, to him the heart of every being is pure." May we not conversely say also: He who has been ready to take as pure religion the best of every religion, his heart is religiously pure? But there is another Japanese saying: "If the heart be pure, the Way will be open." This Way must combine the ethics of loyalty with the faith of philosophy.

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the theistic sects it means admission to Heaven as a friend of God. The Karma complex (substitute for soul) of the early Buddhist has also become purely psychic or animistic in these sects.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE RELIGION OF EGYPT

We turn now to a group of religions all more or less intimately related, the Mediterranean-Mesopotamian group, composed of Egyptian, Semitic, and Aryan elements interwoven to such a degree that the religions of Babylon and Rome, of Abydos and Athens, etc., cannot be regarded as quite independent, and yet it is difficult to determine in how far each is dependent upon the other. Racial lines become rather unimportant. The southern Aryans had some connexion with those of the North, but, in the South the Aryans were merged in the older Mediterranean civilization; while in the East the connexion between Aryan and Semite was of the closest. We shall begin with the oldest of the Mediterranean religions and then take up the oldest Semitic branch and, after studying the other religions of this complex in their natural order, irrespective of race, come to an end with the religion which, representing the union of Aryan and Semitic, is also the logical close of the series, since it is, as it were, the full expression of all that is enduring in the preceding religions.

The religion of Egypt appears to be an indigenous creation. In its later stages we have to do with foreign types, such as the Nubian god Dedun and the protecting dwarf-god Bes, who may have come from Somali-land. Especially in the Delta was there Semitic influence sufficient to add to the Egyptian pantheon the forms of Baal and Astarte. But these are easily distinguishable from the native gods. The earlier pantheon contained the products of different Egyptian localities gradually fused through migration and

politics into closely related or even indistinguishable figures. That Egypt received its mythology from Asia has often been suggested but never proved.[1]

The indigenous religion, in distinction from mythology, was but a phase of African religion in general; since the Egyptians retained many primitive elements in their religious customs and in their animal gods. A number of Sudanese beliefs and practices, even religious symbols, are like those of the Egyptians. But much in this field is too speculative to be regarded as assured, and at present it will be better to assume that Egyptian belief is not imported, though it may to a certain extent have been inherited from earlier conditions, and it may be that the pre-dynastic inhabitants differed racially from the later in degree, having less admixture than those, say, of the sixth dynasty (c. 2500 B. C.).

One of the great gods of Egypt was Ptah, the divine sculptor, who, by uttering their names, conceived and made the world and the gods. He himself was the god of Memphis and as early as the Pyramid age, that is from 3000 B. C. to 2475, was already extolled as the creator. His site, it is said, was called Hat-ka-Ptah, "temple of the soul (or genius) of Ptah," pronounced by foreign tongues *aikypta,* Aegyptos. It is fitting that Egypt should have received its name from a god and the name itself, if the etymology be correct, may serve as a reminder that more than two thousand years before Christ a creator god was recognized whose word, as conceived by the heart (mind), was the source of the world and of spiritual power.[2] But centuries must have elapsed before so philosophic an explanation of creation was evolved, for behind the image of this

[1] Prof. E. G. Smith, in his recent work, *The Ancient Egyptians and their Influence upon the Civilisation of Europe,* Cambridge, 1911, seems to think that an Armenoid element from Syria altered the course of later development, and that the Pyramid men were a new type. But it is still questionable how sharp a line should be drawn between the Ethiopic and Mediterranean peoples, and whether a new type arose in the Dynastic period.

[2] A similar creation is attributed to Thoth, the god of wisdom (see below).

Ptah stretches a long number of years in which the deity was of lower form. This lower form, nevertheless, is also of importance, since its very antiquity illustrates the fact that, however far back we trace Egyptian history, we find, a theogony and theology which already foreshadows the system of later millenniums. The Egyptians were, in short, from the beginning a religious people. Nor was theirs a religion wholly occupied with death and sorrow, as one might suppose who knew only the *Book of the Dead* and such documents. As Renouf has emphasized, early religious rites were accompanied with music and the dance, not simply to scare away demons but to exhilarate the human worshippers. Festivals were cheerful; there were gay songs; even dogs were trained to howl a pleasing melody; and in the popular cults there was a boisterous natural note which seems almost Hellenic in its mixture of religion and sensuousness untinged with grief and boldly joyous, the embodiment of pleasure in life rather than fear of death. The sun received offerings of fruits and flowers, not bloody sacrifice, and hymns of joy, not funereal dirges. And if the effigy of a corpse was exhibited at banquets, as Herodotus tells us, it was only that the guests might not forget to enjoy themselves, while yet there was time. Not a mere reminder of sad things; but *Eat and drink, for to-morrow ye die; therefore be merry now.* Yet this may imply scepticism as to the future, which finds voice at an early age (*circa* 2000 B. C.). Beyond the grave, it is said, is "the land that loves silence"; hence again, "Be joyful now." In the Lay of the Harper, this admonition is followed by another: "Be devoted to pleasure; but be just; love right, hate wrong." It is already a moral religion. Charity, compassion, gentleness, forgiveness are strictly enjoined. To show compassion to the poor, and to be honest in word as in deed, are virtues which ensure happiness hereafter. The funeral formula is *en hotep*, "in peace," and this "Peace be with thee" was felt as an assurance as well as a benediction in the case of the good. For after

death the god Osiris judges the soul according to the rule of morality thus formulated. Its fate accords with the evil or good it has done. Yet eternal life must be insured by the care of the living descendants, who give nourishment to the dead. The *ka* or soul, image or genius of a man, is revered by his family, who establish a shrine for it with regular offerings, lustral water, etc., given to the *ka* every tenth day. Such is the outline of this religion as it existed for centuries. But there was no purgatory; prayers could not better the condition of the dead. The poor and ignorant had a mean place hereafter, yet they suffered no punishment because of their ignorance; only sinners perished.

But before entering upon a fuller description of this religion it will be necessary to trace in outline the periods of development to which reference will constantly have to be made. There are great gaps in Egyptian history concerning which we know nothing.[1] What happened from the VII to the XI dynasties (2400 to 2100 B. C.), is a matter of conjecture. Doubtful is the relation between the southern and northern kingdoms, between the native and Hyksos rulers (c. 1680 B. C.), between Egyptian and foreign culture. There were forty-two provinces in Egypt and each had its local god or gods. But the chief difficulty in the interpretation of the religion lies in the antithesis between the higher and lower forms, between the priestly and bucolic religion, that is, in the internal rather than the external factors, in the fusion and combination of all these great and little gods of which each section of Egypt had an over-supply. In rough outline the history of the land begins with a king called Menes, mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 4, 99) as "the first mortal who reigned over Egypt." He was supposed to be of Abydos, of the district This,

[1] Egyptian chronology is based on the statements made by Manetho (third century B. C.), who arranged the kings in dynasties, on sundry native lists of kings, and on a calendar cycle, which may have begun 4240 B. C. For details, see Breasted, *History of Egypt*, New York, 1911.

in upper Egypt about a hundred miles below Thebes, which Herodotus says he founded, and probably lived in the fourth millennium B. C.[1] The two kingdoms of upper and lower Egypt were then united. The early dynasties, after this perhaps mythical king, are reckoned in groups. First come the First and Second dynasties, about 3400 to 2980 B. C. Then comes the Old Kingdom or the Pyramid Age, when Memphis was the capital, including dynasties III to VI, about 2980 to 2475, that is, the first five hundred years of the third millennium B. C. (other authorities give to the Old Kingdom the dates 2700 to 2000). To this age belongs the maker of the greatest pyramid, Khufu, or Cheops as known to the Greeks. By this time a king was already deified, namely Snofru or Soris, last king of the third dynasty, who had fought in the East (he also first opened copper mines). Some scholars have supposed that he extended his power as far as Mt. Sinai. Internal wars in all probability account for the gap till the eleventh dynasty. The XI and XII dynasties, called the Middle or Feudal Age (Kingdom) represent the centuries 2160 to 1788 B. C. (sometimes reckoned from 2000 to 1800 B. C.). At this time Thebes became most prominent. Syria and Palestine were known. Then, after two centuries of invasion (the Hyksos kings),[2] followed the dynasties XVIII to XX (first half), about 1580 to 1150 B. C., called The Empire. In this period[3] the Pharaohs made Syria a province of Egypt. Then came a period of decadence, when the priestly power got the upper hand and the XXI dynasty was founded by a priest of Amon-Re. This period of Decadence extended from dynasty XX second half to dynasty XXV, about 1150 to 600 B. C. After this, the Restoration, dynasty XXVI,

[1] Or earlier! His approximate date is 3400 B. C. (Breasted), or 4400 B. C. (Brugsch), or 5650 (Wiedemann).

[2] Probably Semites, perhaps Amorites.

[3] The famous XIX dynasty (1350–1200 B. C.) includes Ramses II (1292–1225 B. C.), who may be the Pharaoh of the oppression. The XXII dynasty was founded 945 B. C. by Sheshonk (Shishak, I Kg. xi. and xiv.).

663 to 525 B. C., the latter the date of the Persian conquest by Cambyses; followed by the Greek conquest of Alexander in 332, and by the Roman conquest in 31 B. C. Between the XXI and XXVI dynasties there had already been a succession of foreign invasions, Lydian, Aethiopic, and Assyrian (all part of the Decadence, above).

From the religious point of view there are three lines of thought to be distinguished during this evolution. First, the old belief of the people in animal-gods, which has resulted in a confused mass of strange divinities, half human in aspect and half animal. Second, the State religion of the sun-god and the belief that royal personages are sons of this god and go to him after death. Third, the belief in Osiris as a power inimical to the Sun, an earth-power associated with death but also with the production of life, until this was finally fused with the sun-religion, which then developed into a monotheism, about 1375, when Amenhotep IV gave up the worship of the old sun-god, Amon, and instituted that of Aton. The great periods of Egyptian history are those of the XII (begins c. 2000), XVIII and XIX (1350–1200) dynasties of Thebes. In the eighteenth dynasty Thothmes (Thutmose) III (1501–1447), who owed his throne to a conspiracy of the priests of Amon, practically ruled the then known world. Ramses I (1350 B. C.) was the first king of the XIX dynasty. But the power of the priests destroyed the power of the State and by 1100 B. C. the State church ruled the Pharaoh.

Although we find sun-worship in Horus-form and Reform established in the earliest period, the fact that animal-gods were already regarded as forms of the sun probably shows that these animal-gods were older than the sun-god, and, if so, older than the other nature-gods. Yet it is not at all certain that Sun and Nile were not gods as primitive as Bull and Crocodile. With animals were worshipped stones and trees, and these lower, aboriginal, deities had so strong a hold upon the people that they were never re-

nounced till civilization modified them out of recognition or did away with them altogether. There is no strong evidence to support the view of Sayce[1] that such a wave of early culture swept over Egypt from without as to introduce new religious notions and rites, (e.g., the deification of kings). Egyptian kings were worshipped by the fourth dynasty.

Among animals, serpents hold a high place, but as objects rather of abhorrence than of regard. Thus in the Pyramid texts there are many charms directed against them. The sun-god Re was wounded by a serpent and the Pharaoh, who is one with Re, is protected from them when dead by charms. But this was under the sun-cult, and a charm against the serpent is an indication that the magic of the charm has taken the place of a belief in the potency of the serpent. Pilgrimages are made even to this day to the "mountain of the serpent," where are tombs to a male and female serpent, which have been worshipped there for six thousand years. Just such a god was the serpent worshipped by the children of Israel. This serpent-worship reaches its culmination in the dread of the asp or cobra-like viper and the uraeus, poisonous snakes, particularly feared, and hence venerated; out of the general horror of which grew the cult of the dragon-serpent Apop (Apophis) with seven heads, the foe of Re and Horus and the monster of the deep inimical to all souls entering the underworld. He thus became the personification of the darkness of night and of all evil. The sun-god Re and Apop fought much as Marduk and Tiamat fight in Babylonian legend. According to Budge,[2] the two stories are so much alike that they must have had the same source. Yet this is not an inevitable conclusion, since such antitheses appear in mythological form elsewhere. This serpent is not an animal, still less a totem. It may be said here once for all that many

[1] Gifford Lectures (1903), *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia.*

[2] *The Gods of the Egyptians,* London, 1904, I, p. 327.

writers have assumed totemic origin for serpent, bull, etc., in Egypt without remembering that totemism implies not only clan-worship but also brotherhood with the animal-class on the part of man. No primitive totemism is found in Egypt. The contempt poured upon the Egyptians by the Greek and Roman world was based on partial ignorance of what the animals were whom the one revered and the other despised. Before the Greek ridiculed him, the higher sort of Egyptian had already passed from pure animal-worship to nobler conceptions; but the mass of the people still worshipped snakes, and stones, and probably the priests in general believed in such divinities.

It would be useless to enumerate the animals regarded as gods by the Egyptians, because the cult was localized at first in each instance; a list of them simply represents the animals originally regarded as divine at different places. It will suffice to notice the most important.

Herodotus tells us of the worship of Epaphos (Hd. iii. 28), that is the bull Apis of Memphis, the animal sacred to Ptah. This god appeared to the people (and thus made a holiday) at an unfortunate moment, which angered Cambyses. On its tongue was a beetle, on its back the figure of an eagle, and when Cambyses wounded it, he went mad. This is the "new life of Ptah," a bull that conserved the life of the creator-god in animal form. He had annual festivals and when he died a costly funeral. But this is only one elevated form of cattle-worship. The bull *per se*, as well as an incarnation of a higher god, was a bucolic divinity. As Serapis of Sinope, late in Egyptian history, the Apis became an "Osiris-Apis" and through this connexion was reintroduced to the Greeks as an equivalent of Hades. The Golden Calf of the Israelites may have been the symbol of the original god as bull of Memphis.[1] As

[1] Joseph married the daughter of a priest of Heliopolis, where the Sun was worshipped as a bull or a bull as the Sun, the animal being a form of the sun-god; this is the Mnevis form of Re.

"Serapis," the bull was encircled by a serpent, representing immortal life.

Of the worship of the ram, *ba*, it need only be said that its cult was heightened (as reproductive god) through the accident of *ba* being also the word designating soul.[1] Hence the *ba of* Amon-Re was at once the "ram" and the soul of the Sun. Khnum, the cataract-god and creator, has a ram's head. At Bubastos there was a cult of cats, perhaps originally as the foe of snakes; but there was no general worship of cats before (c. 2100) the XI dynasty and it was not till the XVII dynasty that the cat became chief god of Bubastos. Earlier than the cat at the same place was worshipped the lion, and the cat may perhaps have represented the nobler brute. Later every cat in Egypt was mummified and brought to Bubastos for burial as a divine creature, sacred to Bast, the goddess with the head of a cat or lion, almost identical with Pakht (wife of Ptah). The lion, separately, was also revered as an embodiment of the Sun, as most local divinities were made forms of the Sun. This primitive lion-worship (become sun-worship) has been perpetuated in the form of the ("throttler" lion) Sphinx at Gizeh, which is of the IV dynasty and probably older even than the Great Pyramid, near which it stands. This figure, about 140 feet long (the head is about 14 x 30), is a lion with a human face, and its position is such as to face the rising sun. Lion-gods guarded the tunnel through which the Sun passed at night. They were called "Yesterday and Today" (Akeru, later Sef and Tuan). But human-headed lions (really representing kings) also guarded the palace of the king as son of the Sun. They were to keep off evil spirits and did not represent mysterious wisdom, as the Greeks thought. They were also male divinities, not, like the Greek sphinxes, winged lionesses.[2] Some

[1] So India confused *aja*, "goat," with *aja*, the "unborn," eternal.
[2] But the goddess Sekhmet, representing the Sun's destructive heat, has a lion's head. The cat is her manifestation.

Egyptian sphinxes have lion-heads, others have human heads and leonine bodies; still others, the head of a ram.[1] The great sphinx at Gizeh dates from the first half of the third millennium (time of Cheops) or earlier, and is an idealized lion, perhaps intended as a form of Horus. Before it are altar and temple grounds.

A good example of the very local character of some animal gods may be found in the statement that the crocodile, Sebek, was killed in some places, as an Elephantine, and worshipped in others, chiefly at Thebes. It is feared and so killed; it is feared and so deified. As a god it kept off hostile tribes across the river. As a demon it was associated with Set, the enemy of Osiris; but by the VI dynasty (c. 2475 B. C.) it was identified with Re, the Sun. In the Delta the hippopotamus, Rert, was more generally worshipped as productive and beneficent. It is the emblem of Set and also mother of the Sun in later syncretism. Other animals worshipped here and there are the elephant, jackal, ichneumon, hare, hedge-hog, shrew-mouse; also the bear (perhaps), and the wolf (cf. Lycopolis); but not the dog, except as jackal. The pig, as associate of Set, the god of evil, was detested. The ass was regarded by some as a god, by some as a devil. The baboon was the animal or emblem of Thoth, but his head was always that of the ibis.

Among birds, mention must be made first of Horus, the falcon (symbol);[2] then of the fabled phoenix, Bennu, heron-type of resurrection, typified by the new Sun of which it was the emblem. Herodotus (ii, 73) reports what he considers to be the general belief:[3] "It seldom makes its appearance. . . only once in five hundred years, as the inhabitants of Heliopolis say; who narrate that it comes only on the death of its sire. Its plumage is golden-coloured and

[1] A sphinx with a hawk's head represents the hawk-god of Erment (south of Thebes) called Mentu, god of war in the XIX dynasty.

[2] Sokar, the death-god, appears as a hawk, i. e., hawk as soul (especially of kings).

[3] It is doubtful, however, whether this is a correct report.

red and it resembles in shape an eagle . . . it comes from Arabia and brings the body of its sire to the temple of the Sun." The same authority mentions the various animals considered as gods in his own day and says that the Egyptians also worshipped real birds [1] as well as the phoenix and that eels and some fishes were sacred to the people. Among all the lower animals, none was so sacred as the holy beetle or scarab, the symbol of the rising sun and also god of creation and resurrection. Owing to its "self-existence" (supposed to be born of itself) it became the symbol of eternal life.

It does not present an adequate view of Egyptian religion to present these animals as other than they were. To refer to Anubis as "the ancient mortuary god," without emphasizing that this god was the jackal, who was a mortuary god because he devoured the dead, is to give a false impression. The underlying truth thus glossed over is that the beast himself was at first a god; only as a later phase can we speak of the god of the dead as a divinity having only a trace left of his animal origin.[2]

If we turn now to the higher gods we shall find a number of local divinities whose tendency is to enlarge their domain and become vaguer in consequence of a wide-spread synecretism. These gods represent natural powers as well as abstractions; they were presumably local divinities gradually amalgamated both with each other and with higher gods even than themselves. They often appear in triads and enneads and even in groups of three enneads, which consist of the chief local gods. The triad, usually of father, mother, and son, is replaced by an ennead consisting of eight gods grouped about the chief local god. Altogether

[1] Both the ibis and baboon represent Thoth. The vulture represents mother-gods. The goose is connected with Amon.

[2] Anubis was the god of the necropolis of Siut (Lycopolis), where the city-god was the "path-opener" (Upwawet), wolf-god or sun-god. The city and necropolis gods are often identified. Thus Ptah is not only Ptah-Tatanen (two gods in one), but also Ptah-Sokar (the necropolis god).

the composition of such enneads, belonging to different cities, reveals the names of what we may consider the most revered gods. Thus at Heliopolis (On) Atum, the sun-god, the head of the ennead,[1] begets of himself the air-god Shu and his wife Tefenet (of unknown meaning), from whom were born Geb and Nut (earth-god and sky-goddess), whose children were Osiris, Set, Isis, and Nephthys. Later the same city recognizes three enneads, twenty-seven gods reckoned as three dynasties prior to the historical first dynasty of Menes.

On the other hand, as opposed to these nature-gods, for the most part local gods of the Delta, the ogdoad at Hermopolis in upper Egypt consisted of such abstractions, though furnished with animal heads, as the elements or powers (differently interpreted) in male and female form, the latter being one with the former but with a grammatical ending indicating the feminine, although the group of eight is headed by (Hermes) Thoth. He was the local moon- and time-god of creation and magical powers, the scribe of the gods, who represents science and art and is represented by the ibis or peacock and baboon form, whether as symbol or as original deity.[2] As such he became the Greek Hermes trismegistos (also the planet Saturn). His consort is Maat, the Right Order, goddess of measure and justice, whose "priests" are the judges.

The best-known triads are those of Abydos (Philae), Osiris-Isis-Horus; of Memphis, Ptah-Sekhet-Iemhotep; and of Thebes, Amon-Mut-Khensu. Amon is at first a local earth-god. Mut, the mother-god, is identified with Isis, the cow-mother; the sky being woman or cow as productive female; Khensu, her son, is the moon; Sekhet, wife of Ptah,

[1] The sun-god himself is born of Nun, the water of primeval chaos, or springs from a lotus or appears on the sun-stone pyramid. Each local god is revered as creator. Some of these local divinities were female. Thus the Sky, as creatrix, spins out the world.

[2] Probably originally Thoth with four powers, abstractions or perhaps quarters, frog-headed beings (grouped with four others with serpent-heads). Compare Michabo and the Four Winds (p. 86).

is identified with Pakht, and has a lion's head. As already noticed, she is a goddess difficult to distinguish from the cat-headed Bast; she is daughter of Re, the sun-god. The Sun is male, as is the Moon; but Earth is also male and heaven, the sky, is female in this mythology. Mut as sky-mother has a vulture's head. As mother of Horus, Isis is Hathor, cow; she is also identified with the star Sirius (Sothis), as Osiris is with Orion, and at a later date with Venus. Probably Hathor was originally quite distinct. None of these family triads imply a real trinity. At Elephantine the triad was not even a "family three," but a male god with two females. The enneads are not fixed; sometimes ten or eleven gods make a group. The individual relationship of the gods is also not fixed. Horus, the fourfold early sky or sun-god in falcon-form or as a winged disc, is son of Isis and of Hathor and also son of Re; son too of Geb and Nut (Earth and Sky), and of Osiris, who himself is father, brother, and husband of Isis and father and son of Horus.

Evidently different localities and different times are represented by this confusion. We may distinguish in general two geographical groups, one that of the North and one of the South, originally two warring nations afterwards politically united. The earlier great power was that of the South, the seat of the sun-cult. Opposed to this is the realm of lower Egypt, the Delta, where the earth-god Osiris was recognized and identified with various local gods, such as Hapi, the river, the ram at Mendes, and the tree at Busiris, and was associated with Isis, local goddess of Buto near Busiris; but he was opposed to Set (Typhon), god of storm, dearth, and death, later as Sebek, the crocodile-god of Ombos, and as Apop, god of darkness, a god of Upper Egypt and the eastern part of the Delta. Set later became the serpent and Satan of the Osiris-cult. Re, the material sun, whose name-power Isis controlled and whose eyes had to be restored, was worshipped by the "great house" (Peraa, Pharaoh) of On (Heliopolis). He was

called Atum-Re, later Amon-Re. Osiris, his foe at first, was a death-god from his connection with the earth or burial. Re is the god who goes through the sky on his boat, rowed by stars, of two poles lashed together, like those of a Nile boatman. This is the "boat of millions of years" in which his worshipper, the king, hopes to sail with him. The early cult of the sun is an aristocratic, royal service; it is always the king who hopes to be friend or even overcomer of Re; it is the king for whom the great pyramids are built, and to whom stores of provisions are offered in the tomb of the pyramid. The royal pyramid itself is a symbol of the sun, and the obelisk, crowned with a little pyramid, is of the same general character. The pyramid texts depict the power obtained by the king through magical charms, which he uses to get entry into the eastern sky, where was the home of the Sun and other gods. He fares thither on a boat ferried by Look-behind, the poleman, and arrives at the garden of the Tree of Life, and finally is welcomed by the gods, whom he subdues or even devours by magic charms, ousting the scribe of Re from his place, or perhaps becoming a passenger or rower in the sun-god's boat. All felicity and power is his and he uses it unscrupulously to get a good place in heaven and even to take the place of the sun-god, so that in some texts the king actually becomes Re.[1] Such is the royal religion of the South.

On the other hand, in the Delta, opposed to this cult but almost as old, is the Osiris-cult. Osiris is not an active god, as is Re. He does not help his worshipper, as does Re, by interfering in his behalf; but his son Horus does this for him. The worshipper on dying at once becomes Osiris, and then Horus, as his son, exerts himself for the dead. Osiris is the god of the poor people and is only gradually exalted to the sky; his native place is earth and the realms below earth. It is only later, for example, that the stars

[1] The different sun-presentations are due to the fancy that the god sails across the sky (as above) or flies (as the hawk, Horus); or he is a bull-calf born of Hathor every day, etc.

as souls become his followers, and Osiris himself makes one of the four Horus gods, taking the place of the older Horus of the East. The great strength of Osiris lay in the popular belief that he was a human god; it was on earth that he lived and died, and as soon as the country became one politically the two cults began to merge, till even the priests of Re had to accept Osiris as a great god and represent him as ascending to heaven, though the pyramids themselves bear texts showing that at first he was regarded as a foe to the sun-god. The royal state theology had finally to give way before the cult of the humanized earth-god. Even the local habitation of Osiris is changed. Originally he is "First of the Westerners"; then he goes to the East, the home of Re, where is the sycamore "on which sit the gods in the East." The life of the dead is then changed to a sky-life, even in the Osiris cult, and finally the two gods are identified, and thus what was primarily the happy fate of the king becomes the fate of the pious poor. At first the dead king is warned against going to the West: "Those who go West, come not back again." At first, too, the common dead are called "those whose places are unknown," or vaguely thought of in the West, or again they were thought to be stars, but this last belief gave way before that of the Re-cult. The pyramid texts do not speak of any hereafter in the nether world; to them the sky was heaven, the abode of the blessed dead. The union of the two lands, the South and the North, took place, however, as early as the twenty-seventh century (when "Unis unites the [North and South] [1] two lands"), even if the political activity of Menes as uniter of the Two Lands in the thirty-fourth century be disregarded. As Re is amalgamated with Atum or Tum, oldest name of the sun-god, and with Amon, so at last he becomes one with Osiris, as Osiris in turn is identified with Ptah. Especially noteworthy, however, is

[1] Unis (Unas) was a king of the fifth dynasty for whom was built the oldest of the five pyramids containing the Pyramid Texts at Sakkarah (the date according to Brugsch would be about 3300).

the similar amalgamation with the lower ancient gods, the animals. Thus Anubis, the jackal, god of the grave of shallow sand, becomes associated with Osiris and with Set. Set himself, perhaps the Moab god (Numbers xxiv. 17, "break down the sons of Sheth, 'tumult'"), was at first, as explained above, the god of storm and death, who later became the evil genius, foe of Osiris.

In the XVIII dynasty, Thutmose (or Thothmes) III (1501–1447 B. C.) set up a temple to this foe of Osiris. It has been supposed that Set represents a foreign Semitic invasion but this is merely supposition. The pantheon is not one of very divine beings. All these gods are anthropomorphic; they are not omniscient, nor omnipotent, but have feelings and passions like men, suffer, conquer, and are overthrown. Even Re suffers from the serpent and is overthrown by human spirits. The combination of local gods, which makes a god indicated by a double name Re-Amon, Re-Atum, etc., is sometimes utilized to identify different gods as forms of one at certain periods, as "Khepera in the morning, Re at noon." The motherhood of Mut, the mother (-sky), passes over to Re and the god is called "father and mother of all." Even the gods not of nature-origin share in this syncretism. Ptah, who kept his life in the Memphis (Apis) bull, is regarded as a form of Re, but he was originally the chief god of the "city of the good," Memphis, the oldest capital of Egypt (Egypt was the sacred name of the town). As said above, he formed a triad with Sekhet and Iemhotep, who was the physician god. As other gods become assimilated to Re, so foreign gods join the Osiris cycle. Thoth (Hermes), the literary god of art and learning, stands in Re's boat, but he also assists Osiris. He appears originally to have been one of the animal gods (ibis), but one of his forms is Khensu the moon-god ("traveller"). In the earliest period the antagonism between South and North was still apparent in theology. Horus, son of Isis, leads smiths and metal-workers to the North and overcomes the land. He is a hawk-form of the

sun, *heru*, "he above," and was probably the earliest god worshipped by the whole country. He is of especial interest because of his Greek name Harpocrates ("god of silence"), that is Heru-p-khart (or Harpekhred), originally the "Horus-child" or younger Horus, son of Isis, as the rising sun. Hathor was the mother of the elder Horus. Hathor, sometimes sky-goddess, absorbed other goddesses, as Re absorbed other gods. She, like Isis, had a cow's head and was both mother and daughter of Re, who in his own cycle was father of Horus. Sayce regards her as Ishtar, Astoreth of Canaan. She became the type of the supreme woman, goddess of love, dance, song, yet perfect mother and daughter, who was identified by the Greeks with Aphrodite. Yet she was also a goddess of the underworld, who received the souls of the dead, as well as consort of Horus.

The Amon-cult united with that of Re when Amon, afterwards important as an oracle but at first an obscure local god, became glorious in the XII Dynasty and reached independent greatness, as Thebes became the capital of Egypt. This local Amon was raised to be a form of Re, when Thutmose III conquered Palestine about 1500 B. C. His god absorbed then the other forms. It was a priest of this god Amon who founded the XXI Dynasty.

Busiris in the Delta means "plain of Osiris" and his field of marshmallows, asphodels, was merely the cemetery of Busiris; but the sepulchral temple of the god, an old royal tomb, was at Abydos. The views regarding the true nature of Osiris are as numerous as the authorities who have discussed him. Dr. Budge imagines that Osiris was first a king and was then identified with the Nile (the Nile appears independently in the triad of Elephantine as a creative principle). Sir J. G. Frazer sees in Osiris the type of the divine king, whose health and strength are preserved for his people by slaying him when he grows weak or old and thus passing on his power to the next king. Cases of this sort are found in Europe and elsewhere. But that Osiris was actually a king (any more than Adonis) rests only on the

support of his "tomb" being that of King Khant. Yet even the tomb of Zeus was known and Osiris is rather, like Attis and Adonis, a spirit than a man. It is perhaps more reasonable to suppose that the people regarded him as a king because of his story and to find in his earthly rather than human nature his first existence. We have only to extend this to the general fruitful spirit which is shown both in Nile and in earth-growth to get the most consistent explanation of the god. Yet the important point in the religion which centred about Osiris is not how he began, but what he was to Egypt. He was looked upon as a man-god who had lived, suffered and died and then risen again from the dead.[1] The story is told crudely. He is destroyed by the sinful Set and is dismembered; but Horus sacrifices his eye and with it awakens the dead god to life, so that ever after a gift to a god is called an "eye of Horus." When Osiris rises from the dead he becomes the lord of the underworld and every soul that dies and hopes to rise again is called Osiris, the god being identified with the soul even of the humblest worshipper. One fact is certain, that, like Maat[2] and Ptah, he was not a beast-god. Accompanying Osiris as judge of the dead, Anubis, the old beast-god of burial at Siut, is there to look at the balance, and Nephthys the mother of Anubis, who is sister-wife of Set, joins in judgment, so that the Osiris-cult is mixed up with the older animal-cult, but Osiris himself has no trace of animal origin. His sister-wife is Isis, who mourns for him when slain and finds his remains, and their child is Horus, the earliest form of the goddess-mother (Madonna) with the child.

[1] For allusions (there is no direct evidence) to Egyptian king-killing, see M. A. Murray in *Man*, 1914, No. 12; and for an Ural-Altaic case, *ib.*, 1915, No. 13. The great festival at Sais was a sort of All-souls, when all the dead returned. The case of Osiris is thought to be supported by that of the Shilluk king, but he may have been merely the legendary founder of Fashoda. The deification of the king as Osiris does not prove an earlier sacrifice of the king, but it suggests it.

[2] With Maat as the right order, justice, etc., a pure abstraction, compare Tao and Rita, in Chinese and Vedic mythology.

Thus Osiris represents the type of resurrection and eternal life and at the same time is the father in the triad of father, wife and son. Osiris's cult as it expanded absorbed that of Re, whose attributes were transferred to Osiris. According to Plutarch (*Isis,* ch. ix), Isis is one with the goddess of Sais,[1] whom the Greeks call Athene. She was the great mother-goddess (also mother of the Sun), whose shrine bore the inscription, "I am all that was and is and is to be and none hath ever raised my veil." The father of Osiris is Geb, the earth-god whose chief cult was at Heliopolis. Geb and Nut (sky) produced the sun-egg, and Geb's symbol is the goose, whence he is interpreted as the "great cackler" (Kenken-ir). He is likewise father of Set and Nephthys. Nut pours out water for the soul of the dead and her holy sycamore at Heliopolis is still holy to the local Christian.

Not quite so confused as his gods is the soul of the worshipper. At first, indeed, we are confronted with a strange medley of "souls," the *ka* and the *ba,* the shadow-soul, and other forms, but in fact, though savages have several souls and something of this sort might have been expected, the Egyptian did not have a shadow-soul and a spirit, *khu,* distinct from a soul, *ba.* He had a body which survived death, a *ka* or genius and a *ba* or soul.[2] These might be duplicated in the case of gods (Re has fourteen *kas* and seven *bas*) but for a man one apiece was enough. The *ka* is a spirit born with a man and given him by the god. It is not part of a man's personality; it guards him particularly in the next life, so that when a man dies he "goes to his *ka*" in the sky (so even of Osiris, "he went to his *ka*"). The *ka* is thus the superior guardian and when a man dies he is dominated by his *ka,* who speaks for him to the god after death, brings him food, assists and protects him, as a

[1] She is supposed by some scholars to be of Libyan origin, perhaps at first a war-goddess.

[2] Compare Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt,* New York, 1912, p. 56, note 2.

sort of guardian angel. Originally the *ka* is only given to a king, afterwards to each and every man. A man's personality consists in his intelligence (in his belly) and in his breath as vital power, symbolized by a cross and called *ba,* a soul, which, however, begins to live as an entity only when the man dies, so that ceremonies are performed to make the dead "become a *ba.*" Hence food is given to support life hereafter and transform the dead into a soul, as Horus's eye transformed the dead Osiris into a living soul. His body was a part of him without which he could not live; he was reanimated and re-embodied. He was not naturally immortal. His faculties had to be restored to him by "making him a soul, *ba,*" so that he might exist again as a person. Thus his "power" and "body" were given to him. The belief in the *ka* made every object finally have a *ka* and led to the naïve belief that figures of men placed in the tomb could represent men who afterwards were "respondents," Ushebti, forced to work for the dead man who controlled them in the Field of Peace, or Elysian Fields, where the respondents took the place of slaves in the agricultural hereafter.[1] In the earliest belief, the soul of the common man at least and perhaps of kings lingers in the tomb, for which reason so many loaves of bread and jugs of beer had to be provided for it. But later, when all went to a better world, this food had to be conveyed to heaven for the soul and bequests were regularly made for the sole purpose of keeping up the nutriment of the dead. The dead, too, were at first malicious, seeking to draw others to death; for which reason even Osiris and his followers are kept away from the tombs. As, too, even loved ones when dead were thus moved to injure their living friends, so the dead also as well as the living were afflicted by the dead, and were furnished with medicine to keep off their attacks. The soul in common belief went eventually to heaven. At this time it was represented in the form of a bird or grasshopper,

[1] In the same way, figured food in the tombs took the place of real food, into which it could be converted by a magic formula.

or it was thought to climb up a ladder, which was guarded by gods. They would let no one pass who did not have the right formula or open sesame which would let him by. Thus magical formulas played always a great part in Egyptian religion. The cult of lucky days was also an essential part of religious ceremony. But oracles were not much respected till a late period, when "Jupiter Amon" in Libya became renowned chiefly as an oracular god. The cult of formulas was connected with a special kind of metempsychosis. It was not, as elsewhere, a general belief that one on dying became reincarnate, but by the virtue of magical formulas one might, if one wished, become a sparrow or flower. This form, however, ceased at the will of the individual and the belief had no moral content, such as is found in the scheme of Karma in India. The effect of this magical cult was felt in Greece, where, too, the Osiris mysteries affected the Orphic mysteries.

In Egypt itself there came out of this regard for magical formulas the so-called *Book of the Dead,* which was not a book at all, but formulas and hymns, of magic purport, to aid the dead to cross safely to the other world, to determine the judgment, and live happily hereafter. These became a collection called "Going from day," the *vade mecum* of the dead. The various parts having been put together in modern times, it is now a volume of some two hundred chapters, containing charms, directions for the ghostly journey, hymns, prescriptions for restoring the body, etc. But besides the magical contents these inscriptions contain a moral code and a hymn to the Sun, called chapters 125 and 15, respectively, and these relieve the dreary monotony of senseless magic. The moral teaching was, in a way, part of the magic, for it was to overcome the forty-two gods, who were stern censors, that it was carried with the dead. Thus, as the amulets and magical formulas guarded against devils and monsters, the moral code guarded against the still worse monsters called gods, who, if not satisfied with the soul's report, would bar it from bliss and give the victim

to the "Devouress" of hell to eat, or, according to a later view, the flames of hell tormented him; which was the "second death." This collection, called *Book of the Dead*, belongs to the Osiris cult. To the Re cult belong two inferior collections, the *Book of the Other World* and the *Book of the Gates*. The first (*am duat*) belongs to the XIX Dynasty (1350 to 1200 B. C.) and the second depicts the gates to the caverns in the under world and tells how to pass through them; it reverts at least in part to the age of the Middle Kingdom (about 2000 B. C.). The soul might go by either of two ways, land or water, a lake of fire lying between, which one had to avoid. Consequently the map of the next world was a necessary part of one's equipage. Then one might by mistake get into the place where souls were executed, or find himself going upside down; so there were special chapters, entitled Not Entering the Place of Execution and Not Walking Head-Downward. Those who did not escape but walked head-downward became foes of the dead and formulas against these foes were also necessary. Much of the eschatology and even more of the sacrificial rites may be historical (as they are logical) developments from savage African beginnings.

The future which consisted in being in the boat of Re and sailing with the sun-god across the sky, and that others which consisted in being an inhabitant of the Fields of Peace or Elysian Fields of Osiris, may both be regarded as later views compared with that primitive notion of the hereafter which held that the soul crept into the tomb and came out of it to eat the offering, a view held perhaps longest at Memphis, where the cemetery-god was Sokaris, but probably the original view of all Egyptians before the rise of the Osiris cult and the extension of the Re-heaven to ordinary people.

The priesthood and the temple-service of early Egypt are not of the same antiquity. Formal temples are not known in the earliest texts; they are supposed to have been built first during the Middle Kingdom (2160 to 1788). Of what

sort were the buildings devoted to the gods before that, or if there were any besides pyramids and obelisks, we do not know. Probably the tombs served as temples of a sort and the sacred stone or tree may be regarded as a natural temple. In the temples, when erected, animal figures representing the gods were systematically cared for by priests, who gradually formed themselves into a body, partly hereditary like a caste, which eventually exerted a political influence sufficient to usurp the throne. Before temples and a formal priesthood, the prototypes of the religious festivals chronicled by Heredotus may already have existed; they celebrated powers of nature personified in more or less priapine form and there is no reason to suppose that the erotic-religious element was lacking at any time. Perhaps there were even temples of this cult that were later destroyed, for in the first place the Hyksos probably demolished much of the early architectural work and in the second we know that kings sometimes destroyed temples of inferior gods, to build those of their own superior divinities.

The king originally acted as head-priest and he was always the over-priest, even when the priesthood was complete. Nobles and their ladies acted as servants (priests) of the local god, but as voluntary officials. The priest officiated as magician through the power of the spoken or read word, to which a magical power was attributed. It was, however, rather through political prestige given by the powerful king of a city that the priesthood as a whole acquired political authority. In time the shaven priest became mightier than the king, who held at first, but had not retained, the spiritual dominion. The laity had no part in the service of the god, except as musicians, etc. Festivals, processions, sacrifices, the receiving of offerings, were all in the hands of priests, whose revenues were enormous, the State gradually assuming the cost of maintenance of temples. Human sacrifices were discontinued under the Ramses realm; they were chiefly for providing guardian spirits for new buildings. Crude superstition expressed itself as else-

where in magic, philters, luck-charms, amulets, etc. Dreams were of import; lucky days were observed. Finally, as a means of salvation, magical formulas became as potent as morality.

Of Egyptian contact with the Semitic world we learn a good deal by inference as well as by actual historical data. As early as the beginning of the third millennium before Christ the Egyptians were in touch with Arabia and Palestine. Memphis, the capital of this period, was known to the later Hebrews also as [Men-]Noph (cf. Hos. ix, 6; Isa. xix, 13). Again, in the nineteenth century B. C., Palestine was invaded and a city (perhaps Shechem) was captured. It was at this time that social ethics was strongly developed. Then came the Semitic invasion of, or with, the Hyksos (c. 1680), the conquest of Syria by Thutmose III in the fifteenth century, the Egyptian control of the mines at Sinai, the interchange of letters with foreign potentates in the fourteenth century,[1] the Pharaohs of the oppression and of the Exodus in the Nineteenth Dynasty (thirteenth century), the building of a sun-temple in Canaan about 1200; an expedition into Phoenicia in the twelfth century by Wenamon; the marriage of Solomon and the daughter of Pharaoh (1 Kg. iii and ix), the intercourse between Shishak and Jeroboam with an invasion of Palestine, and so on till the time when the Nubians conquered Egypt, the period of Sennacherib (2 Kg. xix), the sack of Thebes by Ashurbanipal (Nahum ii, 8 calls Thebes No-Amon, city of Amon), in 661 B. C., and the death of Josiah at Megiddo in 608 B. C.

Contact with Crete (and so with Greece) is indicated by the Egyptian labyrinth of the nineteenth century and other works of art and by the similarity in the names Elysium, field of Alu, Rhadamanthys, Re of Memphis, etc., as well as by the constant wars with the Philistines (of Crete or Asia Minor).

[1] Seven of these letters were written by a king of Palestine, c. 1360 B. C.

Thutmose III had merged all the priesthoods of the country into one sacerdotal body, headed by the priests of Amon, local god of Thebes, who as a form of Re became the chief god in the sixteenth century. The conquests of this king (1501–1447 B. C.) extended over Palestine,[1] Phoenicia, and all Syria; his empire thus established lasted till 1360 B. C., during which period Egypt was in close connection with the Semitic world, both without and within the borders of Egypt. Palestine had been invaded as early as 1850 B. C. by Sesostris III. Egypt was no longer an isolated land. The kings who give us the great hymn to the Sun and the hymn which for the only time in Egyptian history is monotheistic in tone come from a family that had probably been vassals of Semitic conquerors. It is in these circumstances that a sort of monotheism first appears in Egypt. It appears only to disappear immediately. Nothing could seem more un-Egyptian than this religious phenomenon, thus suddenly rising and as suddenly going, the phenomenon of a One God, who disperses all other gods and under whose power all the paraphernalia of the old religion are swept away, that nothing, not even the consecrated formulas of the old creed, may impair his majesty. Scholars, however, are rightly loath to recognize anything foreign in this sudden exaltation of the "disc of the Sun." It is in fact a good instance of what may happen without a "foreign loan." We may compare the similar (personal) exalted height reached in Mexico and Peru (above, p. 113). In none of these cases was there a higher religion from which the loan could be made. Moreover, the pantheistic tone leading to the *quasi*-monotheism of Egypt was native.

The first significant hymn to the Sun itself is that of Amenhotep III (c. 1400 B. C.), "most splendid of Egyptian

[1] Thutmose carried away from Lebanon a silver statue which may have been the counterpart of the Palestinian Mother-goddess. This goddess shows the marks of Hathor and even wears the Egyptian *uraeus* symbol. In 1468 B. C. he ruled as far east as the Euphrates.

emperors."[1] In this hymn the sun-god, who is still known by his old name, is acclaimed as the god "begetter not begotten," by whom all men see, the disc of day, creator of all and giver of their sustenance, the great hawk of the sky, the primordial being who made himself, the sole lord who takes captive all lands every day — that is, a universal god. But the god is also called here "a mother, profitable to gods and men" (a humane power who is both father and mother). The son of this king, also called Amenhotep (IV), succeeded his father about 1375 and established the worship of Tum or Aton, that is the disc of the sun, but only in the sense of power or real being of the sun as the one god. The old symbol of the sun was the hawk or falcon and the triangle contained in the pyramid, but as these were purely Egyptian and the young king desired that his god should be understood through all his realms, he wished a symbol to correspond and took for it the disc with rays each terminating in a hand, as the old theology had represented the sun with arms. The disc represented the heat or the source of power, the essential power of the sun. The king made himself high priest of this sun at Heliopolis, discarding, however, all the physical notions of Re and Amon, the sun-boat, and the voyage through subterranean caverns. This god was in fact a sun-god only in name; he was a one god and as such opposed to all other worship. The young king gave up politics for religion; he became a zealot, discarded his own name because it contained the word Amen (Amon)hotep and changed it to "Aton is satisfied" (ikhn-aton), expunged from all the monuments the word Amon,[2] even in his father's name, and treated thus all other gods. Finally, he left Thebes and built a new capital as the centre of solar monotheism or pantheism.

[1] Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 315. Kings of this period traded with Arabians and worked the mines of Sinai.

[2] To destroy the power with the name. Thus Isis obtains power over Re when she learns his name by a trick, according to an old myth.

The hymns to this god are the highest expression of religious thought in Egypt. Aton is thus addressed:

"Thy dawning is beautiful in the horizon of the sky [the Horizon-Horus was part of his name], O living Aton, Beginning of life! . . . Thou art all (Re) and thy rays encompass all lands; all hast thou made, all thou carriest away captive. . . . Creator of the germ and maker of the seed, thou givest life to the son in the body of the mother, soothing him that he may not weep, nursing him in the womb, giving breath to animate all. When in the shell the fledgling chirps in the egg, thou givest him breath to preserve him alive, and when thou hast brought him to burst the shell, then cometh he forth from the egg to chirp with all his might. Manifold are thy works, sole God, whose power none other possesseth. Thou hast created the earth according to thy understanding [heart] sole God, [beside whom there is no other]; when thou wast alone didst thou create, men and cattle, large and small, all that go upon their feet, all that are on high, all that fly with wings, and also the foreign lands, Syria and Kush (besides) this land (of Egypt). Thou settest each in his place, thou providest all their needs; every one has his possessions and the days of each are reckoned; diverse are their tongues, their forms and their skins; thou hast made different the strangers. All the lands far away — thou makest their life, a Nile hast thou set in the sky for them when it falls (as rain) making waves upon mountains and like the great flood watering their fields. O how excellent are thy designs, O Lord, that there is a Nile in the sky for strangers and for the cattle of every land. But our Nile cometh for Egypt from the lower world. Thou makest the seasons, thou nourishest the gardens with thy rays as a mother with her breasts; even the sky afar hast thou made, millions of forms thou makest, shining as living Aton, dawning, glittering, going ever and ever returning; through thyself alone thou makest millions of forms. And thou art he who art in my heart; none knowest thee, save me, thy son Ikhnaton, whom thou hast enlightened in thy ways and might. Thou art the life of life; through thee men live."

Shall we say that Ikhnaton was pantheist or monotheist? Most of his hymn has perished, for it was copied in only one tomb; parts of it or other short hymns are found in other tombs at Amarna. A few verses from these show much the same thought:

"Beautiful is thy rising, O living lord of eternity, Aton; thy glow brings life to all hearts; thou fillest Egypt with thy love; God, creator, maker of all, men and cattle large and small, trees that grow in the soil, they live when thou dawnest, father and mother of all; they see by means of thee and ever their heart rejoices because of seeing thee, when thou dawnest as their lord. When thou settest in the western horizon, they sleep after the manner of the dead, their heads wrapped up, their nostrils closed, until in the morning thou risest; until thou risest in the eastern horizon. They lift up their arms to adore thee; thou makest hearts live through thy beauty; yea, men live when thou sendest forth thy rays and every land rejoices. Singing, music, and shoutings of joy are all in the hall of the god" (the *benben,* pyramid).

This king, who got tribute even from the Aegaeans, was not destined to succeed in his plan of ousting the old gods. Scarcely had he died when his work was undone, and a conspiracy of priests reinstated the old cult. This pantheistic religion was, therefore, somewhat like that which we have seen arise elsewhere as an individual belief, but it acquires special dignity from its early occurrence and the philosophical basis for the belief. Aton is a pantheistic, almost monotheistic god. He is the only god but he is in his creation, as it is said, "thou art far, but thy rays are on earth." He is god in nature. "The flowers of the marshes are drunk with the god; the birds lift their wings in adoring him; his beams are in the depths of the sea." But if Ikhnaton was "the first individual in history," [1] in rejecting time-hallowed myths and standing as a being apart from his predecessors, he was peculiarly lacking in judgment. The people he governed he forced to worship his god, frightening laity and priests alike to bow to this divinity alone — till it was inevitable that the reaction should completely overthrow his purpose. Thereafter only an echo here and there survived; the faith of Aton was done away with, but Atum-Re retained some of his marks, the monotheistic phraseology was kept more or less, the feeling

[1] Breasted, *op. cit.,* p. 339.

that the god was in man remained, the personal element which makes a direct bond between worshipper and god persisted. The sun-god, restored under his old name, was now the god of the poor, the god who hears the prayers of all, who brings the Nile for all, but who also like Osiris judges all; Amon-Re "assigneth him that sinneth to the fire and the just to the West." In this he resumes the function of Re as judge of righteousness, as he appeared long before the Osiris cult. In the early texts, Re is already a god of truth, piety, and pity, and it is not till toward the end of the pyramid age that Osiris becomes ethical and judge of ethics. One further conception, that of Re as the perfect god, not only as the good shepherd, as he is depicted in early texts, but as the restorer of the happy age after the deplorable tumults of the tenth Dynasty, about 2160, when the Feudal Age began, has led to the view that this is a Messianic teaching. We possess the complaint of one Ipuwer, who laments the sad condition of the land. At the end of his lamentation the sage contrasts the present with the past, a happy time, and cries out, "Where is the god today who hath no evil in his heart, doth he sleep? Behold his might is not seen." Now this does not seem like a prediction or even like a hopeful expression, and to call it "Messianism nearly fifteen hundred years before its appearance among the Hebrews" is an exaggeration or even contradiction of the data, for we are not entitled to add "as yet" to the last clause, and the whole cry is one of despair without help or hope.[1]

Some rather forcible analogies may be pointed out between the development of Egyptian religion and that of the Hebrews, even if we ignore Messianic hopes. Thus the nature gods yield their functions, as such, and become in-

[1] Otherwise Lange, followed by Breasted (*op. cit.*, p. 212: "This is but the earliest emergence of a social idealism which among the Hebrews we call "Messianism"), who concludes that it may have been the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* which inspired the Hebrews with the idea of a Messiah. But the Egyptians' ideal is of the past rather than of the future.

terested in man, being spirits with the same interests as those of man; the upholding of moral laws becomes their office. Again, the many gods become unified, are on their way to unity long before they are recognized as one god. Life hereafter is only for a few of nobler sort, who live with the sky-god. But the great god is still restricted to a small province. With enlargement of the political horizon the god also is enlarged; with political disaster, on the other hand, the wail of hopelessness and scepticism is heard. Then too the paternal side of monotheism produces the sense of personal piety and then appear the individuals, preacher and psalmist, voicing this sense of personal responsibility, as well as continuing the sense of social justice derived from antiquity. Finally in the substitution of magic and form for ethical verities, as when even the sinner can magically compel his heart not to testify against him, and when the priest and sacerdotalism take the place of inward piety, are involved decadence and fall — points admirably brought out in the work of Professor Breasted already cited.

But we cannot abandon the Egyptian religion without consideration of a few more points. What strikes one most strongly is that the people are intensely prosaic, not romantic, not very imaginative, not at all philosophic. A few great minds think great thoughts, a few love beauty; but the people as a whole are repellantly material, their minds are primitive minds, thinking always in concrete images; their virtues are practical. Again, an unbiassed view of the religion shows that the concrete imagery of the mass made it necessary for them to preserve the rudest conceptions. In the case of Osiris, plants sprout from his body. In the celebration of his resurrection, the "passion play" was a rude contest between the forces of good and evil carried out by the crowd of worshippers whose religious zeal voiced itself in war-cries and resulted in a free fight, where heads were broken and lives were lost. Nor must we forget that the popular conception of Osiris was that of a phallic god, whose effigy was carried through the

streets in a howling Bacchanalian procession, in which the phallic sign was conspicuously exaggerated; such traits in short as we find in other nature-religions.

Since Osiris was the chief god of Egypt for some two thousand years, we may well close this account of the national religion with a closer examination of those features which made the strongest appeal to his worshippers. Let us assume for the nonce an Egyptian environment. Our great god incorporates that spirit of productivity which shows itself in the source of life, the Nile, and in the field made verdant and fruitful by him. Long since he was king of our land, the son of Earth, who had given him this land to care for. His rule was beneficent, he established justice and slew his foes. Beside him stood ever his sister-wife, Isis, who cared for him and protected him, as queen of the land. Osiris ruled the North, but in the South was his brother Set, storm, darkness, desolation, opposed to light and love and bountifulness. Set prevailed, either[1] luring the good god into ambush or openly assassinating and dismembering him; at any rate, "his brother Set felled him to earth" (some say, he was drowned). But when Isis heard of this she mourned and searched for her husband, "sadly going through this land nor stopping till she found him"; and at last she found him at Byblos or Abydos (two versions). Isis and Nephthys her sister together searched and found him, in the form of birds going hither and thither, and at last discovering his body (or collecting it) they embalmed it (or Anubis came from heaven to do this); but out of his tomb grew a sycamore which embraced the body of Osiris, symbol of the god's imperishable life, and out of him even dead came forth life for Isis, who bore him a son to avenge him. This was Horus, who, grown strong, came forth from the Delta, where Set had sought to slay him, and finally overthrew the southern god; but in the conflict he lost an eye. Then the god Thoth,

[1] Here and below two versions of the tale are given.

the wise god, spat upon the wound and healed it, but Horus took the eye and found Osiris and by giving him the eye brought him back to life, reuniting his dismembered limbs (or taking off the bandages of the embalmed corpse). Then came the triumphant cry: "He wakes, Osiris wakes, the weary god awakes and stands; he controls his body again. Stand up, thou shalt not end, thou shalt not perish." This is the cry that has echoed through the years, "thou shalt not perish." But Set was judged in the tribunal of the gods, for the strife between them was adjudicated by the divine Enneads, and Osiris was vindicated. And Thoth gave the verdict: "All the gods are satisfied, all the gods of the earth, all gods south and north, west and east, gods of the nomes and gods of the cities." And Set from that time on bore Osiris upon his back, as Atlas bears the earth.[1] But Osiris was proclaimed king.

This is the drama, the overthrow of Set, which the passion play presents in eight scenes year by year. And now let us turn to the final scene, where Osiris, judge of the dead, receives the soul. For each must die, but each, if good and kind in life, dies but to rise again; each is himself an Osiris. So the soul, armed with magical formulas to guide it safely to the judgment hall, comes at last before the god who died and rose again and who now stands as judge of all the dead. Forty-two gods sit around him and the soul makes its plea: "I have not slain; nor robbed; I have not stirred up strife; I have not lied; I have not lost my temper; I have not committed adultery; I have not blasphemed the god; nor reviled the king; nor stolen temple-food," etc., etc. Then the soul speaks to the gods: "Hail to you, gods, report no evil of me to this god whom you follow; speak the truth for me to the god of all; save me from *babi* (the Devouress), who eats the entrails of the dead on the day of judgment. I come to you without sin, I have done that wherewith the gods

[1]Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

are satisfied. I have given bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked, a ferry to him without a boat. I have given offerings to the gods and for the dead. I am pure of mouth and of hands." Then the god Osiris upon his throne with Isis and Nephthys behind him and the sun-god's Ennead, the Nine Gods of Heliopolis, look upon "the balance of Re" (both indications of the originally solar court of justice) and as the balance is manipulated by Anubis, Thoth presides over the pen and writing-tablet, to record the verdict. Behind him lurks the Devouress, to devour the sinner if the verdict goes against him. Destiny and the two goddesses of birth look on, as do the divine spirits called Taste and Intelligence (in some cases Truth escorts the soul into the hall). Anubis calls for the heart of the dead man. This is put into the balance and on the other side a feather, emblem of truth. Then Thoth says, "I have judged. No sin is found in him. His soul is justified by the great balances," and the Nine Gods say, "He is sinless, the Devouress shall have no power over him; let him have the bread of Osiris and a domain in the field of offerings." Horus then leads him to Osiris, saying, "His heart has come forth righteous; he has no sin; Thoth has judged him; he has written it down; the Nine Gods have spoken." Then the soul kneels to Osiris and says, "Behold me, I have not sinned, I have not lied; let me be of thy beloved and of thy followers." This is the end of the drama. The god who died an innocent death receives into his kingdom his follower, if he, too, be innocent. No sinner may live with him; the beast that rends the entrails devours him who is found unworthy. Unquestionably a moral power underlay this belief. Yet it must not be forgotten that the moral side of religion underlay also the cult of the sun-god. And it must be said of both cults and of the combination, which results in Osiris instead of Re being the judge hereafter, that magic goes hand in hand with morality. If in the final judgment morality decides the issue, yet magical formulas not at all moral are neces-

sary to bring the dead man before the court, failing which he is liable to go astray, become a homeless or impious ghost, irrespective of his previous morality.

The sun-cult, with its monotheistic tendency, as compared with the Osiris cult, became rather a philosophy suited for higher minds, while the Osiris cult appealed to the people by virtue of its human sympathy. Osiris had the advantage attaching to all gods who have themselves been human.[1]

In summing up the religion of Egypt, we may say that the gods are primarily of two sorts, animal gods and natural phenomena. Half-animal gods are a later product. Despite their forms they are wholly anthropopathic. That local gods imply, as Petrie asserts, an antecedent monotheism, is an erroneous induction. Each little place had its own little Power as chief god, but it also had others. The gods in general appear to be indigenous local spirits, later synthesized, as people came together. The Osiris cult is native to the Delta. In it is found the prototype of two great religious features, which redeem the inanity of the general Egyptian cult. The first is the image of the man-god, suffering, dying, resurrected, and become the saviour of men. Not less remarkable (and rarer) is the ethical importance of the belief, unknown to the early Semites, that a future beyond the grave is conditioned by the ethical quality of the life here.[2]

Unimportant, though of some interest, is the fact that the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife is like an old Egyptian story;[3] that the Christian *agape* and monastic estab-

[1] On the relation between this myth and others of like character, in which a dying man-god is revered as type of resurrection after death, see particularly Frazer's *Adonis Attis, Osiris,* London, 1914.

[2] Compare H. O. Taylor, *Ancient Ideals,* New York, 1906.

[3] Dr. Daniel Voelter, *Die Patriarchen Israel's und die Aegyptische Mythologie,* Leiden, 1912, has sought to show that the whole history of Joseph is nothing but the Osiris myth in the form of an Israelite legend; but his conclusion seems forced. The Joseph story may have inspired or reflected the Egyptian (1209–1205 B. C.) *Tale of Two Brothers.* Compare on this tale Renouf-Sayce, *Rec-*

lishment may have come from Egypt (the Therapeutae of Egypt who had an *agape,* were, however, a Jewish sect); that the Madonna and Child as an art-form is an imitation of Isis-Horus; and that a Logos-germ may be seen in the Creator-god's creation through the thought or word. Hebraic bull-worship and serpent-worship may have been brought from Egypt or may as well have been native products due to the same stimulus.

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN RELIGION

THE foundations of Babylonian history have been materially strengthened in the last decades. Recently discovered inscriptions reveal records of kings of the fifth millennium B. C.; new dynasties have been found; fresh light has been cast upon the relations of Mesopotamia with the West. A certain readjustment of dates has in consequence seemed to be necessary. Sargon, whose control of the Euphrates valley foreshadowed Semitic supremacy, may be restored to his old position as king *circa* 3800 B. C. instead of 2800; Hammurabi (perhaps Amraphel, Gen. xiv. 1) may be of 2200 B. C., instead of 1950 B. C. But some scholars still think it impossible to ascribe so remote a date to Sargon, though Nabonidus (555–539 B. C.) says that Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, lived 3200 years before his time and to other scholars this statement appears to be supported by the newly found lists of kings, among whom figure Etana (Ethan of the Bible) and Gilgamesh, and even Tamnuz, hitherto known only as legendary and divine beings. A conservative estimate may, however, refer the beginnings of Babylonian history to at least the fourth millennium B. C.

That Babylonian culture was at first largely Sumerian is generally admitted. But whence the (future) Babylonians first came, and whether they found prior Sumerian settlements north of the Persian Gulf is not certain. All that we know positively about the early period is that long before the supremacy of Babylon there were various small southern sites, Nippur, Lagash, Erech, etc., apparently of Sumerian origin, while farther north Agade (Akkad) and

Sippar represented a primitive Semitic stock. Both groups, separately or together, were at sundry times opposed to Elam, till Hammurabi, sixth king of an entirely new dynasty (the first Babylonian), of Amorite origin, routed Elam once for all, and Babylon became supreme till overthrown by the Kassites and Assyrians.[1]

The Sumerian population of Lagash, once the chief southern town, for defence against the Semites combined with other Sumerians and gradually formed a confederacy of the Southern Sumerians against the Semites of the North and East. The first king to become king of both North and South was Sargon, whose concealed birth and escape in a box set afloat on the river is a parallel to that of Moses, and also to that of a hero of the Hindu epic. Sargon became king of Sumer and Akkad, but this dynasty did not last long. Shamash, sun-god, was the chief deity of Akkad or Agade. A *patesi* or lord of Lagash was Gudea, whose religious zeal aided the development of temple-structures.[2]

About 2000 B. C., Hammurabi of the first Babylonian dynasty welded all the people of the various Sumerian and Semitic strongholds into one State, improved the old inherited code of laws, and gave a permanent form to the discordant religious elements, in that the special god of Babylon was made representative (substitute) for the city-gods, who inevitably had to disappear or become connected with the great god. The older Semitic and Sumerian gods, sun, moon, and Ishtar, were kept thus under the Baby-

[1] Who the Sumerians were, even of what stock, no one knows. Apparently they came down from the eastern or northern hills, as their gods were described as of the mountain (house). They had a predilection for the moon-god and for sundry goddesses (Nin-divinities) afterwards semitized as male (gods whose names retained the *nin-*). The first three kings of the Assyrians were of Hittite stock and the Hittites were perhaps Aryans.

[2] According to the old reckoning, Sargon and his son Naram-Sin would belong to the middle of the third millennium and Gudea would be dated c. 2350 B. C. They may all be much older (see above). Naram-Sin was one of the few deified kings.

lonian (Amorite) god Marduk; the Amorite Adad or thunderer (Rammon) was added to the pantheon; and the gods of the small towns became relatives of the great Marduk, whose compound name probably means Amorite-sun-god.

The influence of this Babylonian religion upon the Western world used to be regarded as overwhelming; but it was less early, less direct, and altogether less important than was once assumed. It probably had no early influence upon Egypt and very little upon Greece. The mother-goddess worship, conspicuous in all Babylonia, was not confined to Mesopotamia but was generally Semitic. Certain legends, such as the story of Actaeon devoured by his hounds, and Adonis mourned by Aphrodite, drifted into Greek mythology from Semitic sources (not necessarily Babylonian), but Greek religion was not affected by Babylon in any important phase.[1] Even the neighbouring, though later, religion of Zoroaster was not markedly affected by the Babylonian cult.[2]

The Assyrians, from Ashur in the north, appear to have been at first in close contact with the Hittites. But the Assyrians were still a rough mountain race when Babylon was already a commercial city. Like all these peoples they worshipped a god of the clan (Ashur) as well as the sun- and storm-gods. The original inhabitants of Ashur seem to have been neither Sumerians nor Semites,[3] but, if

[1] Greek mysteries have no Semitic counterpart. Incense came to Greek religion from the East, but not before the eighth century. The shepherd loved by Ishtar and changed by her into a leopard devoured by his hounds is recast as Artemis, Actaeon and the stag (myth not religion). Compare Farnell, *Greece and Babylon,* Edinburgh, 1911, pp. 290 and 314.

[2] Anahita as a form of the fruitful mother-goddess was probably a late adaptation. Stress has been laid on the majesty of the Zoroastrian god, on seven as a holy number, etc., and even on the fact that a list of Assyrian gods contains the name of Ormuzd; but these fail to prove that Zoroastrianism was drawn from, or was even influenced materially by Babylonian ideas. Astral gods were not early but late, as compared with the original Babylonian pantheon.

[3] King, *History of Babylon,* London, 1915, p. 141.

Hittite, they were later largely reinforced by Semitic elements. They are first heard of about 2400 B. C. From about 1800 B. C., when Hittite power centred in Asia Minor, the Assyrians made inroads upon Babylon, but they did not become important till the fifteenth century. Under Tiglath-Pileser (1130–1100 B. C.) they conquered Babylon, which at this time had been under Kassite dominion (1750–1175 B. C.). Assyrian supremacy is represented by the great names of Sennacherib (705–681 B. C.), Esarhaddon (680–668 B. C.), and Ashurbanipal (668–626 B. C.).[1] The seat of the empire had been transferred first to Calah and then to Ninevah. Babylon was destroyed in 689, Ninevah in 606 B. C. Cyrus, who founded the Persian empire in 550 B. C., annexed Media, which had helped Babylon overthrow Assyria. It was a new Babylon which Nebuchadrezzar II built (604–562 B. C.); to which, after besieging and taking Jerusalem (597 and 586 B. C., 2 Kg. xxiv.), he transported the Jews.

But as the Assyrians became, in dress and language, one with the Babylonians, so in religion. Except for Ashur and a special predilection for the Amorite god Adad-Ramman, the Assyrian pantheon coincided with that of Babylon. This again, in the main, united, by the process already described, with that of the Sumerians, Enlil of Nippur, Anu of Erech, Ea of Eridu, Nabu of Borsippa, Nin of Lagash with Bau, the great Mother-goddess. The Western Semites, however, did not affect female divinities except as Ishtar in various forms or names; the others they let die. Thus Nina, a water-goddess, becomes Nina Ishtar of Nineveh. As in Egypt, by merging gods there arose triads, of which the chief was Anu, Enlil, and Ea (sky, earth, and water). Anu of Erech was sun and sky; Enlil

[1] The close connection of these kings with the Western Semites may be remembered by comparing 2 Kg. xv. 19, 29f.; *ib.* xvi. 10f. (Ahaz); Sargon's overthrow of Samaria, 722 B. C.; Sennacherib's intercourse with Hezekiah, 2 Kg. xx. 12; Manasseh as vassal of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, 2 Kg. xix.; 2 Chron. xxxiii., etc.

of Nippur was a mountain-god of storm and earth; and Ea of Eridu was representative of water and magical wisdom, either because, as in Scandinavian myth, the two are naturally united, or because the priests of Ea had accumulated a special amount of magical matter and the god had thus become authoritative. Nebo or Nabu (compare Nebuchadrezzar) was a water-god of Borsippa later subjected to Bel-Marduk, the greater god across the river, but associated with him: "Bel boweth; Nebo stoopeth" (Is. xlvi. 1; lx. 7). With the rise of Babylonian Marduk, Ea is made father and Nebo son of Marduk, and other local gods similar in nature are identified, the solar element as Shamash, Ninib, Nusku, Nergal, Marduk; the lunar element, as Sin and Nannar (northern and southern representatives), with Ningal as his consort. One of these, Nergal, was a Kuthah god brought into Palestine (722 B. C.). He was destructive (war and pestilence) and thus became identified with Ninib, sun as war-god. While most of the female deities were merely earth-spirits or aspects of their male consorts, Ereshkigal, consort of Nergal, was a still important mistress of the under-world; Bau (above) had a great New Year's festival; and Ishtar or Nana of Erech received honour everywhere, both as a war-goddess and as a fertility-spirit. As Venus she was regarded as the daughter of the Moon, Sin. As moon-goddess she appears as Ashtart of the Phoenicians, Astoreth of the Canaanites. Her symbols are dove and pomegranate, a voluptuous Venus as contrasted with war-like Ishtar. The Assyrians called her Our Lady, Belit, and distinguished between the Ishtar of Arbela, the war-goddess, and Ishtar of Nineveh, the voluptuous goddess, who some have imagined was originally Hittite.

At Babylon, Anu, Enlil, and Marduk, as a triad, show that Ea has lost to his "son" the third place. Marduk in fact at first interprets and then, as mediator, ousts his "father" and becomes as "good shepherd" the type of a protecting god. He is usually interpreted as an Eridu sun-

god, but he is perhaps rather a parallel to Amurru of the Amorites, Ashur of the Ashurites or Assyrians, etc., a clan-god, who cared in every way for his people and so was typified as god of sun and life and of power and war.

It would be useless to analyse all the triads of this sort, Shamash, Sin, and Ramman, or Nergal, Ramman, and Nana, etc. The lesser gods are grouped as Annunaki and Igigi, spirits of earth and heaven. In Babylon, Marduk as Bel-Marduk absorbed the other divine powers, as he took the "lofty house" of Ea from Eridu and set it up in his new home. By thus absorbing gods Marduk might have become sole deity, but neither he nor Ashur became God, though Ashur as the sun, yet without an image, was even better fitted to make of the religion a monotheism, especially as he became the head of a supreme temporal power.[1] To meet the need of syncretism, however, old hymns addressed to other gods were made to say that Marduk was identical with each, or rather that each was Marduk, in order that the incantation, in which names had to be used with care, might be effective. So tales told of other gods were recast in honour of Marduk. Marduk's rival, of Borsippa, Nabu, regained glory in the West as god of wisdom (so in Moab) and culture, as well as water and agriculture. In Assyria he became the god of the stylus, of scholars, and at Borsippa of astrology.

To these gods were made sacrifices of animals, bread, fruit, wine, milk, all ready to eat and actually eaten at once by the priests, a communion service of the Mexican type, in which gods and worshippers share. To the gods were sung hymns mixed deftly with old magical formulas, so that exorcism united with requests for aid, magic with religion. Both divination (see below) and prayer reveal that the Babylonians were true Semites after the western type, that is they cared little for the next world but very much for this. The warlike Assyrians have been said to resemble

[1] He was represented, like Aton in Egypt, by a disc, inscribed with a bowman as sign of martial power.

the Romans, with whom there may have been even a remote racial affinity; in contrast, the commercial Babylonians resembled their own kin, Phoenicians and Carthaginians. For the striking difference between Babylonian and Assyrian is that the former is before all else a humane business-man and the latter is a cruel blood-thirsty warrior. Hammurabi was protagonist of peaceful civilization; Ashurbanipal delighted to pierce his captives' eyes with his own hand. Hence Assyria had no native civilization; she had to absorb that of others. The Assyrians were eastern Aztecs, the Babylonians they conquered were their Mayas. What is known as Assyrian literature is the literature the Assyrians appropriated and possessed by right of conquest.

Around the gods have gathered Babylonian tales of especial interest to the student of religions, as they are primitive parallels to the Hebrew legends. Creation, Adam, Noah appear here in a ruder form. We may take these up in their Biblical order.

In the Babylonian story, creation is preceded by a state in which chaos and order struggle as personified beings. When "heaven and earth were nameless," is the time when the drama begins. Only the watery waste existed, called Apsu, Mummu, and Tiamat, later differentiated into sweet and salt waters. Possibly we are to interpret the two as producing together the monsters born of them or of Tiamat, who represents the barren floods of Chaos, herself the greatest monster (T'hom) of her brood. But there is no attempt to revert to nothing; even earth was, only it was nameless. "Floods covered heaven and earth." This raises the question whether the ensuing struggle was not a nature-myth rather than a real creation-story. The flood and storm of the tale are interpreted by some scholars as wintry phenomena yielding to the spring-time sun-god. What lay back of Tiamat and Apsu is not revealed. Other accounts make the gods as old as chaos. Chaos bred monsters and then the divine Heaven and Earth, as Anshar and

Kishar, ancestors of Anu,[1] Enlil, and Ea, prepared for conflict, to maintain order. But they are not the aggressors; only the elements of disorder are aggressive. The eleven opposing monsters of Chaos are created by Tiamat and headed by Kingu, to whom Tiamat gives the tablets of destiny and whom she makes her consort. The peace-loving gods seem to fear: they send a messenger to Tiamat, "May her liver be pacified, her heart softened." Here the account becomes confused and what was probably depicted in the first form of the legend as the victory of Ea or of Anu (in the Erech version Anu is victor) is manipulated *in maiorem gloriam* of Marduk, for in this story Marduk reigns. In this version, too, Ea and Anu appear to dispose of Apsu and Mummu, while the greater Tiamat is reserved for the favourite god. At any rate, we next see Bel-Marduk, at the command of his father, going joyfully into battle, after preparing for the combat by making weapons, bow, lance, club, lightning-bolt, storm-winds, and a net wherewith to catch Tiamat. The gods get drunk with joy, anticipating victory and hailing Marduk as already lord of the universe. On Storm (his chariot) he rushes forth, haloed with light, from which Kingu shrinks. Him follow the seven winds. Tiamat, however, fears him not, but when Marduk challenges her, she fights, "raging and shaking with fury," yet all in vain. For Marduk stifles her with a poisonous gas ("evil wind"), and then transfixes her, also taking the tablets from Kingu and netting the other monsters. But Tiamat he cuts in two, making one half of her the sky, which is then bolted, to keep the waters from descending; as in Genesis the upper waters are debarred from those below by a "firmament." Marduk completes his victory by retaining the names and powers of the gods, given him for the fray, and assigns them their astrological spheres and stellar forms.[2] He then

[1] Anshar and Anu, forms of the same word, may be one.
[2] By taking the "names" of the gods he assumes their powers.

creates man out of his blood and bone, that the gods may have worshippers.

This myth recalls the "watery waste" of Genesis, but only remotely. Man is here blood-relation of his god. In the corresponding Sumerian version, creation is effected by Aruru with Marduk as secondary helpmate, showing the feminine divinity as mother-goddess. It is she, perhaps one with Ishtar, who creates Enkidu out of clay.

Another story suggests Adam and his fate. Adapa is a worshipper of Ea. He is catching fish near his lord's temple, when the south wind, blowing up the Persian Gulf, overwhelms him. In self-defence Adapa breaks the wings of the wind. Anu, being wroth at this, demands that Adapa shall come to heaven and explain his act. Ea now advises Adapa what to do. On arriving (Ea says), he will be offered the food and water of death and must refuse them. Adapa goes to heaven and first flatters Tammuz, who guards the gate, by telling him that he (Adapa) is wearing mourning, not described, for him. Anu accepts his exculpation. Then all the gods seem kindly disposed. Apparently thinking that, since the man has got to heaven, he might as well be made immortal, they offer him the food and drink of life. But, with Ea's warning in mind, Adapa refuses both, and so fails to attain immortality. So in Genesis iii. 22 it is said, "lest he put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life and eat, and live for ever." Adapa also puts on clothes given by the gods, but not to cover his nakedness. Sayce regards Adapa as one with Adam, whose story, however, has to do with two trees, one of knowledge and one of life. Yahweh Elohim in one does not wish man to become immortal. The recast Hebrew form prohibits the eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, with the implication that, if he obey, man may remain in the garden for ever; as Gen. iii. 3, which says, "ye shall not eat of it or touch it, lest ye die," must originally have

e "set up the stars as likenesses" of the gods and also "fixed the year."

been a reference to a deadly fruit. So the serpent says, "Ye shall not die," pretending that it is not the tree of death but of life. The substitution of a tree of knowledge (of good and evil) for the death-tree appears to be a later touch. The serpent also may be Babylonian, as a seal-cylinder contains a group of a man and woman and serpent about a tree (of life).[1]

The tree of life appears also in the Gilgamesh legend. Gilgamesh may have been an Elamite king who conquered Erech. His name, as already stated, is found in dynastic lists. In the story, he is a demigod hero. To overcome Gilgamesh, the creator-goddess (Aruru; see above) forms a man of heavenly sort ("of Anu"): "Aruru washes her hands; she takes a bit of clay; she throws it on the ground; so she creates Enkidu." He is an inhuman, hairy creature living with animals. But, protected by Shamash, by means of a hunter (*sādu*) and a woman,[2] Gilgamesh induces Enkidu to come over to his side. Enkidu, through his companionship with the others rendered quite human, supports Gilgamesh and fights against Khumbaba (perhaps an Elamite). After Gilgamesh, with Enkidu, has con-

[1] Jastrow, *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions,* New York, 1914, pp. 52–61. The Adapa story comes from a time when Eridu, now ninety miles from the Persian Gulf, must have been close to it; otherwise the worshipper would not be on the Gulf, "fishing for his lord," who is evidently close at hand. As the Gulf, owing to silting of the river, recedes ninety feet a year, Eridu, at this rate, would have been on the shore of the Gulf 5280 years ago. This would fix Adapa's exploit as occurring shortly after 3365 B. C., which is perhaps the time of the story.

[2] Nimrod also is a hunter (*säid*); he stands for Babylonian culture. Compare Genesis x. 10-11; "Nimrod's kingdom was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calnah, in the land of Shinar. Out of that land he went forth into Assyria and built Nineveh." The name Samson (Shimshon) is one with that of Gilgamesh's divine patron, Shamash, the sun-god. Samson's long hair may be a solar attribute, but his adventures with lions, his love-affairs, and other traits link him rather with Gilgamesh and Enkidu. Hercules (though this is doubtful) appears to be a Greek form of this myth, which has descended upon the fabulous Alexander, seeking in India the fountain of life. Professor Jastrow has recently shown that Enkidu is a double of Gilgamesh.

quered this foe, Ishtar desires him to be her lover; but he replies that the sad fate of her lovers is too well known: "Tammuz thou causest to weep every year; thou didst love a bird and crush it; the lion thou loved'st thou didst bury again and again" (etc.). Ishtar complains to her father Anu, who creates a strong bull to destroy Gilgamesh. While Enkidu holds it, Gilgamesh slays it. Ishtar then curses Gilgamesh; but Enkidu throws the slain bull in her face and threatens to slay her likewise. Ishtar mourns a day for the bull, assembling all the sacred prostitutes, her priestesses, of Erech. But now disease assails Enkidu, who dies and is lost to Gilgamesh. When the latter also begins to pine away (decline of sun-power after the solstice?), he fears for himself the fate of his lost friend and thinks of Utnapishtim, who alone of men has escaped the fate of death and may give him good advice. He tries to find this immortal man, meeting lions on the way, but conquering them with the help of Sin, and comes at last to Mashu, the mountain that reaches to the lower world guarded by scorpion-men. These he passes and comes thence to the sea crossed only by Shamash. It is an ocean on the way to the underworld and is guarded by the maiden Sabitu, who tells him that all men must die, and advises him to return and eat and drink and love, while he may. This clearly indicates that after death no joy remains. With the help of the sailor of Utnapishtim, however, Gilgamesh crosses these "waters of death" and, finally finding the "long lived" one, first inquires how, if to escape death is impossible, Utnapishtim, who is also human, is still alive.[1] Utnapishtim explains that he escaped at the time of the deluge and gives the tale thereof. But his wife pities Gilgamesh and prepares a root with the condiment *shiba* (old age) which she gives him to eat, after which he has to bathe in the fountain of life and also to eat of another plant. But as he reaches down for this latter plant, which will finally

[1] Utnapishtim in one version is alive, but weak and weary, not altogether like a god.

make him immortal, a serpent (demon) snatches it away. So Gilgamesh has to return; but first he gets permission from Nergal, king of Aralu (the lower world), to question the deceased Enkidu in regard to the condition of the dead. The daemonium or spirit of Enkidu then rises up like a wind, as the spirit of Samuel rises before Saul (1 Sam. xxviii. 7–9), and Gilgamesh questions him.

The story of the flood as told by Utnapishtim is as follows: A flood was sent upon the city of Shuruppak after Ea had warned it and at the same time had told Utnapishtim in a dream to build a ship and save his family. Enlil (Bel) had cast out Ea and so Utnapishtim was safe on Ea's waters but not on Bel's earth. The lord of the whirlwind, Ramman, brought on the deluge-storm, cyclone, which lasted seven days (another account says six), frightening men and gods; as it is said: "Brother does not look after brother, Men care not for another. In the heavens, even the gods are terrified at the storm. They take refuge in the height of Anu. Like dogs the gods cowered at the edge of the heavens."

The storm is further described: Ishtar is frightened and reproaches herself that she assented to this destruction: "I created and I have destroyed my own creatures." According to these words, the storm is not regarded as a punishment. Enlil is represented as opposed to the saving of man. All the gods sat down and wept; for men had been turned to clay and there was naught but water. After seven days, however, the flood ceased, and shortly after this an island appeared and the ship approached the mountain Nisir, meaning "salvation," where it remained for seven days. Then Utnapishtim tells how he sought to know whether the waters had gone down elsewhere: "When the seventh day approached I sent forth a dove. The dove flew about, but finding no resting-place, returned. Then I sent forth a swallow. The swallow flew about, but finding no resting-place, returned. Then I sent forth a raven. The raven flew off, and seeing that the waters had decreased, did

not return." Utnapishtim then gets out and on the top of the mountain sacrifices to the gods, who "smelled the sweet flavour and collected like flies," but Enlil is excluded, since without consultation he caused the flood (says Ishtar) "and handed over my creation to destruction." Enlil approaches, sees the ship, and angry that any one is saved, wishes to know who is responsible. Ninib tells him that Ea must have saved Utnapishtim, for Ea alone is wise enough ("knows all arts"). Then Ea speaks: "Thou shouldst punish the sinner, but be merciful and not destroy all," and of himself he says: "I did not reveal the decision of the great gods (to cause a flood), but I sent a warning dream to Atra-Khasis, which told him thereof." Atra-Khasis, the "very wise one," is Utnapishtim, the name which, in inverted form *khasisatra* was converted into Xisuthros, or Sisouhros, the hero of the flood in the classical writers who followed Berosus.[1] Ea means that he merely told the hero to build a ship. So Enlil became reconciled and blessed Utnapishtim and said: "Hitherto he was human; but now he and his wife shall be as gods; he shall dwell in the distance at the confluence of streams," that is at the confluence of the four rivers of the garden of Paradise, Euphrates, Tigris, Karun, and Kercha. The account ends with the assurance that there will not be another such flood. The structure of the ark points to its being a vessel of the Euphrates. The different versions in the Bible, one making the flood last one hundred and fifty and the other forty days (in the former Noah does not leave the ark for a year), show a combination of two stories.

This is the tale told Gilgamesh by Utnapishtim. It occurs in different versions, the details of which have been explained by Professor Jastrow.[2] Of late there has been

[1] Atrakhasis is also the name of the hero in an Akkadian tablet of c. 1800 B. C. The tale above locates the flood at Shuruppak (about half way between Nippur and Larsa). In Berosus, it occurs at Sippar. Berosus, the historiographer of Chaldea, lived at the end of the fourth century B. C.

[2] It is impossible here to give these details; they will be found

an attempt made to combine the deluge-story with that of the first man and Paradise, under the caption of a Sumerian epic, but the interpretation appears to be too doubtful to be relied upon.[1]

The request made by Gilgamesh, that Enkidu reveal the mysteries of life hereafter, is only partly granted. A satisfactory description is withheld on the ground that it is too sad to tell; a mere glimpse of the gloomy underworld is allowed, when Enkidu tells Gilgamesh that Ereshkigal (Allatu) and Etana live there. Ereshkigal is the goddess of the subterranean cavern, from whom come diseases and evil. Those who die unburied have no rest but must roam about on earth eating offal; only brave warriors who are buried and have attention after death are moderately happy hereafter. At least they "lie on couches and drink pure water," and are at rest. Yet other accounts reveal that the underworld was a realm of decay and horror, a prison described as a "house from which no one comes forth who has entered it." The inhabitants feed on dust and live in darkness, being "clothed like birds in feathers." Such is the description in the account of Ishtar's descent to the underworld (the death of vegetation), when she searches for her beloved Tammuz. In this gloomy place rules Ereshkigal, sometimes associated with Irkallu or Urugal, a per-

in Barton's *Archaeology and the Bible,* Philadelphia, 1917, p. 277f., and in Jastrow's *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions,* New York, 1914, p. 321f. In the view of Professor Jastrow, "the deluge myth rests on the annual decay and death of nature," perhaps magnified by the recollection of a particularly stormy season. Of the two Biblical versions, the Yahwist story stands nearer to the Babylonian legend than does that of the Priestly Code. The Hebrew tale introduces an ethical element not found in the Babylonian story. It differs from the latter also in making the deluge a prelude to the promise that the world, owing to the righteousness of Noah, shall not again be destroyed.

[1] This is based upon a cuneiform text found at Nippur. As first interpreted, by Dr. Langdon, the flood comes before the fall of man and the hero, named Tagtug, subsequently eats of the forbidden food, cassia, and so forfeits immortal life. But Tagtug is no Noah, there is no flood, and cassia is not a forbidden fruit.

sonification of the "wide place" itself. Sometimes, this Hades is a palace, with Ereshkigal and her husband Nergal[1] ruling there, but, however ruled, it is a place of misery, hard to get into and harder to get out of. Evidently the Babylonians, like the Hebrews, believed that the dead live not much changed from the form in life, for in the Gilgamesh legend Enkidu is recognized at once; but the formal descriptions in the later descent of Ishtar are not in accordance with this older view. So, too, in Isaiah xiv. 9f. and Ezekiel, xxxii. 18f., virtually the Babylonian Aralu is described and the dead kings and warriors appear crowned and girded as in life. Brave warriors seem to live with more life-spirit hereafter, as they show more spirit when on earth — a notion often found among savages. But the common dead are weak and do nothing; they talk but feebly and are unable to provide themselves with food. Those also who are neglected during their last moments live hereafter as they die here, sorrowful and neglected. When Ishtar descends, she finds the lower world encompassed by seven walls and storms her way through them; but even she has to submit to the removal of her crown, ear-rings, necklace, clothes, etc., till she stands at last naked before Ereshkigal, who afflicts her with disease, while all fertility on earth ceases. Ishtar returns by order of Ea, after being sprinkled with the water of life. Certain gods called "restorers to life" are recognized, apparently gods of solar origin who restore vegetation or perhaps raise from the dead. In any case the examples are few and for ordinary people there is no heaven or joy hereafter. Utnapishtim and his wife are translated, as a few Hebraic heroes are carried to heaven, but this pair do not go to heaven. They are carried to a sort of resting-place in earth. There is no paradise hereafter; when one dies one has no further concern even with the gods, who are the gods of the living.

[1] The god of Cuthah; hence "Cuthah" occurs also as a designation of the underworld, being the home of Nergal (sun-), god of death.

Neither Babylonians nor Hebrews practised ancestor-worship. In Babylonia a few kings are deified and worshipped with sacrifice. But there is no general cult of the dead. Likewise among the Hebrews we find Enoch[1] and Elijah (perhaps Moses) translated to heaven, and vestiges of a practice of offering viands to ghosts; but the belief that the dead live hereafter and the practice of providing them with food, or even that of putting implements and toys into graves, are not indicative of ancestor-worship. As already explained (above, p. 277), the worship of dead kings does not imply a general worship of ancestors.

Sheol, where none praises God (Ps. vi. 63), may be one with Babylonian *shu'ālu*, "grave"; it is described in Job as a place so gloomy that even its light is dark (Job x. 22), and the early belief of the Babylonians that the dead are all *ekimmu* demoniac shades, alive but weak shadows of human beings,[2] is reflected in Hebrew belief of the earlier period. Later, however, the Hebrew view changed and in the second century B. C., life hereafter was deemed a double condition, for "animals live below and men live on high," or in other words only the spirits of men, in distinction from those of animals "go upward"; but the very passage that suggests this view questions it (Ecclesiastes iii. 21). The sixteenth and forty-ninth Psalms are more hopeful. Again, in Babylonian mythology there was no ethical factor, no suggestion that a man was punished or rewarded hereafter for acts done in this life, as in the later Hebraic belief.

The Gilgamesh epic is a congeries of unrelated legends concerning the chief hero and others more or less closely

[1] On Enoch as Etana, see Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

[2] Shades are weak even when fed, but indignation makes them angry, and if neglected and unburied the ghosts may become evil demons on earth instead of resting underground. Fear of the dead is implied by covering oneself in mourning and cuttings of hair may be made to give the shades power (which resides in the hair). Necromancy, oracles from the dead, implies a belief that souls could be made to answer, perhaps even dragged up from below, but not permanently.

connected with him. Enkidu, for example, has no essential office in this story and probably is taken from another tale depicting how some first man, still savage and living with animals, is won from animalism by the love of a woman. It is too much to say that he represents Adam or that the woman who tempts him is a form of Eve, but there are points of similarity. Another figure of some interest is that of Etana, mentioned above as being in the underworld. He may be Enoch as well as Ethan (both words mean "strong"). His son's birth is attended by marvels. An eagle helps the child to be delivered and this eagle then tempts Etana to mount on his back into the sky, whereby the appearance of earth and sea below, as they ascend, is described. After they pass the gate of heaven (Anu), where they take a rest, they continue on their upward flight until the earth looks small as a garden bed, when suddenly they come crashing down and the next we hear of Etana he is in the underworld. The eagle is punished by the sun-god Shamash, who tells a serpent to creep into the carcass of a dead ox and destroy the eagle, when the bird comes to eat it. In 1 Kings iv. 31, Ethan the Ezrahite is cited as a type of superior wisdom.

Astrology has changed Ishtar into the planet Venus and as such her part in the Tammuz legend has been altered and it is as the planet that she is rescued from the underworld rather than as the mother-goddess. At an early period the greater gods were thus identified with planets,[1] Marduk as Jupiter, Ninib as Saturn, Nergal as Mars, Nebo as Mercury. Astrology was especially favoured by the Assyrians and by the Chaldeans. The sun in an agricultural community naturally remained the chief god, Ninib in Nippur, Marduk of Eridu and Babylon, originally Anu of Erech. He is sometimes kind, sometimes destructive, but always the just and righteous god. Shamash punishes

[1]The lesser gods were identified with fixed stars. On the astral side of the religion and its exaggeration by Winckler and others, see King, *History of Babylon,* London, 1915, p. 292.

crimes, pronounces judgment through the priestly judges, etc. The moon-cult was more restricted, being associated chiefly with Ur in the South, a Sumerian settlement, and Haran in the North. The Moon is "lord of knowledge," or "luminary";[1] his horns appear in the headdress of Naram-Sin. He sails through heaven on a boat represented by the crescent. It is when Ishtar becomes Venus that she is made the daughter of the moon.

To find out the will of the Babylonian gods, recourse was had to dreams and omens by a science of divination which was Babylonian (rather than Sumerian). One form of divination was based on the movements of the heavenly bodies. One was based on the interpretation of the liver of sacrificed animals, as the soul, which showed the soul or sense of the god. This latter idea rests on the early belief that the seat of emotion is the liver, as even in our day to be "white-livered" means to be cowardly. Another method of divining was to shoot arrows or throw them down before an image of a god and get a response through the position they assumed. Sometimes they were previously marked. This was practised by the Arabs and may have been the origin of the incident (1 Sam. xx. 29f.) described as shooting arrows beside the stone Ezel, the fall of which indicated whether one should stay or go farther on. Images or symbols of the divinity, such as were perhaps the Teraphim, were also consulted.[2]

Another point in which Babylonian culture touches that of the Hebrews is that of a taboo day. The Babylonian

[1] The moon was worshipped under this name at Ur, as Shamash was at Sippar. At Haran the moon is called Sin. Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar make an old triad of Babylon.

[2] In his *Aspects of Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria*, New York, 1911, p. 145, Professor Jastrow shows that Babylonian hepatoscopy, examination of the liver, on the part of official inspectors or seers, *bârû*, was carried to the Hittites and Etruscans. Other forms of divination employ oil and water, the bubbles marking events, and the careful record of unnatural phenomena, celestial and terrestrial, such as unnatural births as well as storms and earthquakes, exactly as in China (above, p. 270).

shabatum designated the full-moon's day, when the gods must be pacified, to interpret most naturally the equation of pacification and *shabatum*. In Hebrew the equivalent word designated a day of rest and refreshment, which gradually assumed a holy character. In a sense it was a holy (that is taboo) day to the Babylonians, as the pacification of the heart of the gods was essential at the (evil) critical "full-moon" period, to guard against ill-luck, incident on the declination of lunar power. It is a good example of the way the accursed and the holy unite.

The Hebrew Sabbath is often spoken of in connection with the new-moon as a parallel lunar phase. Celebrations at the middle of the month may revert to the original idea of the Sabbath.[1] But especially noteworthy is the fact that in Babylon, on the "evil seventh day," the king might not use food cooked over a fire nor ride forth, just as the Hebrew is forbidden to light a fire or go forth on the Sabbath (Ex. xvi. 29; xxxv. 3). This shows that the Sabbath, too, was originally an unlucky day. The multiplication of Sabbaths is also not without a Babylonian parallel, as special sacrifices were held on the 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th, of the (lunar) month and the 7th and 15th were very unlucky.[2] Probably the very natural division began as a *nefas* day, which would give it a rest-character. Characteristic of the two Semitic branches is it that the Babylonian regarded it as evil while the Hebrew hallowed it. But it must be remembered that the Hebrew made little of Sabbaths till after the Exile. Even as late as 800 B. C. the Hebrew Sabbath was not what it became later, for example in Is. lviii. 13f.

[1] Purim is thus celebrated in the middle of the month, though this is a Persian spring festival adopted by the Jews, in which Mordecai and Esther represent an original Marduk and Ishtar, perhaps another "king-killing" reminiscence.

[2] This division of the month by moon-phases with sacred days at the moon's halves and quarters is also Hindu; every "knot" day being a taboo day, though usually only the new and full moon days were observed as holy-days. Compare 2 Kg. iv. 23 for the grouping of the two days.

The most noteworthy Babylonian festivals were those of the New Year, Zagmug, and the Tammuz festivals, when Ishtar was wedded to her Lord at the vernal equinox and mourned over him at his death. There was a Marduk festival, when a procession went across from Babylon to Borsippa, amid general rejoicing.[1] But penitential psalms also accompanied this spring celebration (of ten days). As the Jewish Day of Atonement marks the opening of the year, when one's fate is inscribed for the year, so at the Babylonian New Year. The tone of the psalms is at its best in such an extract as this: "The sin that I sinned I know not; my god has visited me in anger. I sought help but none took my hand; I wept but none stood by my side. I cried aloud and there was none that heard. To my god, the merciful god, to the god I know not, I turn and pray. How long, O Lord! O Lord, cast not thy servant away· but turn my sin into a blessing; and may the wind carry away my transgressions; seven times seven are they; forgive thou them!"

The Babylonian hymns or psalms are for the most part more magical than religious; yet even as incantations or purificatory formulae they are not without an ethical element. Purificatory rites are apt to pass from physical to spiritual; taboo may be said to be the beginning of the ethos, but even taboo connotes a spiritual defilement and purification. So the Babylonian sounds a note leading to the expression of inner purification when he says: "I have washed my hands with pure water . . . (washed off) all that is evil in my body." There are also, as Professor Langdon has pointed out, certain congregational hymns of lamentation, which may be older than the private psalm, and which we may perhaps regard as models for Jewish lamentations learned on the spot. They appear to be very

[1] This was originally a solar festival, like that of Shamash at Sippar, in which the king represents the god. Nergal had a winter solstice ceremony of mourning. The Babylonian festivals were thus partly lunar and partly solar or agricultural.

old. In Assyria the ethical element is clearly connected with divinity, more especially with Shamash, as the Sun who is "judge" and whose daughters are Justice and Right. It is before this judge that the Babylonian king Hammurabi stands, and Shamash grows ever more a supporter of morality, as he is the all-seeing god of divination.

Closer connection with the West is found in the hymns of lament over Tammuz (Sumerian Dumu-zi), the early dying vegetation mourned by the mother of all life, or, as some interpret him, the spring sun, who is wept by the women (Ezekiel viii. 14). This is the Adonis pictured by Theocritus; in Babylon his sister was the "lady-of-the-field," and she and his mother (sometimes one) weep for him when the summer solstice brings an end to his life and he "goes to earth's bosom," where Ishtar later seeks him. His classical name is usually derived from Adon, "lord," though he is not a very lordly figure and is more the *deliciae* than the master of Ishtar or Venus. Hence it has been suggested that his name means "joy" (connected with ἡδονή). In Babylon, Tammuz is sometimes a goddess.[1]

The Babylonian and Assyrian form of religion, as has been said, is intensely practical, but with a slight tendency to ethical monotheism. This among the Hebrews resulted in real monotheism, which was revived again by the Mohammedans. The developed cult of these great sister nations of Mesopotamia cannot, however, give us the primitive Semitic form, already buried by syncretism and the mingling of two kinds of culture. In Arabia, we find a Semitic tribal society, not of a state but of a small community, and, since religion reflects social conditions, a tribal or clan religion. Every individual in the clan must worship the deity. There is no religious liberality in a small primitive community. Before Babylon also the rule

[1] Compare Kretschmer, *Glotta*, 1915, vii, p. 29f. The original story may have been Sumerian. Elsewhere the god is lamented by a husband-brother (so in the Osiris-Isis myth), while Tammuz is bewailed by a sister-mother.

was that every city had its god. But Babylon had many gods from many tribes and towns. In a small tribe the state and religion are one; the god himself is a member of the tribe. As such he is the head or lord of the town, as it represents a tribe, and often has no other name than master, lord, or king, Baal, Melech, El ("mighty one"). In Arabia, the primitive matriarchal or mother-headship form of government was still reflected in the female character of the divinities, many tribes worshipping an Allat (lady) instead of a lord.[1] But there were also in each religion countless spirits revered or feared as local powers, corresponding to the Jinns of today, while stones and trees were looked upon as in themselves divine and worshipped by the tribe. Here a striking contrast presents itself with the Aryans, whose earliest religion is a family religion not a tribal one. It follows that not the hearth, as among the Aryans, but the land is the centre of holiness. Hence too, as we have seen, the worship of ancestors plays no part in Semitic religions, whereas it is a prominent factor in Aryan religion. The nucleus round which the whole is rolled is different. Without the family cult there is no worship of ancestors, no raising of ancestors to become great gods; but the land is the centre, the spirit of the place (the local nature-spirit) is the spirit of the clan. All are related not only to him but through him to each other. On the other hand, the clan-ancestor remains a hero, but is not a worshipped god.[2] Hence the mighty tribal bond of clan-kinship; hence, too, the ethical teaching that blood-brotherhood was a sacred tie[3] and that tribal hospitality was a sacred duty; hence too, most important from the

[1] So (obscured) in Babylonian mythology, the goddess Aruru and the goddess Ereshkigal were respectively the prior creators and rulers of the great underworld.

[2] So in Babylon there is no family ancestor-worship but king Gilgamesh becomes a national hero. This might have developed into general "ancestor-worship" but it did not do so. Only kings received divine honours (see above).

[3] In mourning this blood-covenant is implied by cutting oneself.

religious point of view, the doctrine, not formally taught but inevitably assumed, that the sacrificial meal was not, as later, an offering of thanks to a god but a communion of the clan with the god of the clan. In Babylon the food of the gods is thus eaten by the people. Most of the Arabian tribes locate their god in a stone or tree-trunk, and the stone becomes the altar because it was at first divine, as the god. The Ashera or sacred groves of Scripture embody the belief in a goddess of vegetation parallel to the figure of Ishtar. As with her cult, so with that of the Ashera, which was apt to be a drastic and literal aid to the spirit of fertility. It was not necessarily a female figure that was thus revered.[1] The masculine Athtar is found in South Arabia, where the female principle has become male; but in general the greatest divinity of the Western Semites was the Magna Mater, as she was known in Rome, who became for a time a world-divinity sacred from the Euphrates to the Guadelquiver. In Canaan the worship was like that in the towns ruled by Ishtar in the Gilgamesh story. The goddess of fertility is served by women slaves of the temple, whose ministrations appear as a debauch of sensuality. In small places there was probably only the annual celebration of the spring-festival, but the towns intensified the religious evil and it became a scandal to the decent Westerners, whose own cult of similar powers was more veiled, that the gods of the East were mere profligates[2] and their service mere occasion for gross excess.

Unmistakable affinity with Hebraic legends is shown by those of Babylon, with which Palestine stood in some sort

[1] Neither in the Ashera nor in the Ishtar cult is there any trace of ethical dualism. The only dualism in Babylonia is the natural opposition of sun and storm. Sun and vegetation cannot be regarded as more than sex-dualism in nature.

[2] The sacred prostitutes, however, were not the only women servitors of the gods. Some, like the *entu*, magicians and diviners, were apparently chaste priestesses. Nabonidus appointed his daughter as chief of such a company of diviners.

of connexion at an early period. A Jacob lived in Babylon c. 1900 B. C. and a Jacob-town was known in Palestine c. 1600 B. C. Abraham also is a West Semitic (Aramaic) name known in Babylon at about the time of Hammurabi. But all this does not prove that Palestine was colonized from Babylon. It merely indicates that a Western Semite named Jacob and one named Abraham were with the large number of Amorites who took their way to Babylonia at the time of Hammurabi. It is at this point that we get a reasonable explanation of the resemblances between East and West from the point of view of legends and stories of the past. They had a common origin, not in Arabia several millennia before 2000 B. C., but to the west of the Euphrates, in the area where the Semites lived before they became respectively Babylonians and Palestinians. The Hebrews took with them two different versions of the Creation story and perhaps two of the Deluge; the other Semites knew still more. These other Semites preferred quantity; the Hebrews preferred quality; and even what they had they refined, just as they refined later the tales of other Patriarchs.

On the ethical side, the discovery at Susa in 1901–1902 of the code of Hammurabi and the subsequent discovery that this code reverts to a Sumerian model of *circa* 2500 B. C.[1] show that this king, who was paramount ruler c. 2000 B. C. as far as the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean, governed a city-population far more complex than that of the Hebrews of the Mosaic code, though his laws retain marks of the old barbarities preserved in the Pentateuch (ordeal, *lex talionis*). When this code was made, it was intended for a commercial population and probably was not used at all in the western dominion. At the time of the Exile

[1] Compare Clay, *A Sumerian Prototype of the Hammurabi Code*, Yale Oriental Series, i, p. 18f. The tablet, in the Yale Collection, bases the law upon the authority of the goddess Nisaba and the god Khani, patrons of writing and law. Hammurabi's code appears under the auspices of the sun-god Shamash; the earlier code, under Western divinities.

it was probably no longer in use, or the Jews would have improved their own code by copying it. As it is, although there are a few instances of correspondence between the codes (not so many as has been asserted), the dissimilarities and divergencies are much greater. And for a very good reason. The Hammurabi code is made for a more advanced type of civilization. Hebraic law does not even recognize the complex business life implied by the Hammurabi code. Thus, in contrast to the Pentateuch, Hammurabi regulates wages and prices, liabilities of agents, of builders, and of physicians. He has rules for adopting sons, for the treatment of the temple-women, a more complicated law of inheritance, a more civilized divorce-law. He permits imprisonment, instead of slavery, for debt and regulates usury, while the Hebrews took another two thousand years even to legalize interest on loans. Besides this, the Hammurabi code has nothing to do with ritual and religion, the main concern of the Mosaic code. In a word, the Hammurabi code is purely a civil code, while the Hebraic code is only incidentally a civil code, containing regulations for a much simpler agricultural community. In character, therefore, the Mosaic code is really more primitive than that of Hammurabi. The few common factors might easily have derived from a common stock of Semitic law, developed in each case according to national needs.

So much has been said or implied above as to the superiority of the Hebrews ethically (they deserve the praise), that an impression may have been given impugning by contrast the Babylonians and Assyrians. As for the Babylonians, the code just discussed shows a mild and humane monarch and the ethical character of the penitential psalms is high. From the palace of Ashurbanipal come also texts inculcating ethics as a religious concern: "Thou shalt not slander; speak what is pure; speak no evil; speak kindly. Shamash will punish him who speaks evil and slanders. Let not thy mouth boast; when angry, speak not at once,

lest thou repent afterwards that thou has spoken in anger. Approach thy god daily with an offering and prayer; and come before him with a pure heart." Again, in the same text, it is said that one should not oppress the weak but should give food and wine to the needy; one should seek right and avoid wrong, "for this is pleasing to the god," and "he who fears the gods will live long."

It must not be imagined, however, that "from the palace of Ashurbanipal" necessarily implies Assyrian origin or great antiquity. Ashurbanipal scoured the country for interesting texts and made a museum of them; those in foreign tongues his many learned scribes could do into Assyrian for him. What we actually know of these texts is that they are from about 700 B. C. and come from no one knows where. Now it is a striking fact that, although there are Babylonian flood-stories as old as 2000 B. C., yet the Creation and Deluge legends which most closely resemble those of the Hebrews come from this vague source and date, so that for all we know to the contrary the Biblical stories may actually have been composed before the creation and flood stories of the "Nimrod epic," as it has been called, though it is not an epic and has no connexion with Nimrod. Yet it would be too much to say that the Ashurbanipal jumble of legends comes from Palestine. Probably Amorites and Aramaeans lived originally to the West of the Euphrates, later spreading in two directions and each taking a store of legend and a few simple rules of conduct like "an eye for an eye." It was from this western land that Hammurabi, himself an Amorite, as were largely the Hebrews, derived, and since in his "First Babylonian Dynasty" five kings had already preceded him, it is probable that the eastward stream of Western Semites had begun their course as early as the middle of the third millennium B. C., or even earlier.

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CHAPTER NINETEEN

THE RELIGION OF ZOROASTER AND ZOROASTRIANISM

Zoroaster is the first of those few religious teachers who have so altered received religion as to seem to be the finders as well as the founders of the religions afterwards called by their name. Yet, like all the others, he built his religion upon a foundation which had existed from immemorial antiquity and which persisted long after the edifice raised over it began to crumble.

When and where Zoroaster was born is not known. One theory, supported by excellent authority, is that he was born not far from Urumiah, near the Caspian Sea, in Median territory, where, according to native tradition, his father, Purushaspa, lived, though his mother, Dughdhova, is supposed to have come from Ragha (Rai), near Tabriz. This district (Teheran) became the seat of the later faith and it was generally believed that Airyana Vaeja (Iran Vaj), that is, Atropatene or Azerbaijan, between Lake Urumiah and the Caspian Sea, was where the prophet was tempted by the Evil One. The literary data, however, point rather to Bactria than to Media as, if not the birth-place, at least the life-place of the prophet. It is this region that the geographical statements in the Vendidad appear to indicate and the language of the early Gathas, the only literary remains imputable to Zoroaster himself, is so closely related to that of the Rig Veda as to seem like an Indic dialect.

We have already seen how close was the connexion between the Vedic and Zoroastrian religions. The speakers of the two dialects must have lived near each other in place and in time; the worshippers must have had a com-

mon creed in many respects. The priests of both religions bear the same name; the chief object of worship is the same great Spirit; even the lesser spirits (gods) bear in part identical names; both religions hold the Soma or Hom plant in veneration; and in lesser details of the cult there is often a verbal similarity. The religion of Zoroaster, the Greek form of Zarathustra, was obviously built over a prior religion closely agreeing with that of the Vedic poets. But the *deva* or bright god of the Veda is the *daeva* or evil spirits of the Zoroastrian; the *dasyu*-slaying Indra of the Veda is one of these evil spirits, and the pagan *dasyu* he slays in the Veda is the good people or district of the Zoroastrian (*danhu,* a settlement of the orthodox), as the "demon nations" of the Chinese were their neighbours on the north. We may imagine then that, as the two peoples, originally contiguous, drifted apart, the distinction, still visible in the Rig Veda, between the cult of the Wise Spirit of the Holy Order and the cult of the lower nature gods such as Indra, was accentuated, especially as the cult of the Holy Order and the more spiritual religion became the cult opposed to the nomadic hordes, whose lawless deeds were themselves a reproach to the gods they worshipped, as it is said, "Ye (nomads) cause men doing the worst things to be called 'beloved of the *daevas*'" (Yasna 32). The mere fact that the word for god became the word for demon is not significant, since in India itself the word for evil demon, originally meaning spirit, was at first applied to a good god (Asura). The difference between one side of the Vedic religion and Zoroastrianism is only partial. Vedic hymns to the chief Asura are quite Zoroastrian in tone and show that the Wise Spirit (Asura) had a cult in India as well as in Bactria or Parthia, where Zoroastrianism probably arose.

The date of Zoroaster can be neither that assigned to him by Greek tradition (c. 6000 B. C.) nor by native tradition and modern scholarship (c. 600 B. C.). Many scholars believe that Zoroaster was born in 625 or 660 B. C., that in any

event he belongs to the latter half of the seventh century. Others hold that he was born about 1000 B. C. This at least accords better with the linguistic closeness between Vedic and Avestan early texts.

The oldest Vedic texts may date from c. 1200–1000 B. C. When one thinks of the linguistic changes likely to have taken place in an unlettered community in the course of a few centuries, the date 660 for the Gathas seems quite impossible. Probably Zoroaster lived centuries before the time to which he is usually ascribed. The current theory, based on tradition regarding his life, considers him a prophet patronized by a certain Hystaspes (Vishtaspa, Gushtasp), the son of Lohrasp, king of Balkh, the scene of his activity being in Seistan. It is believed by the faithful that Lake Hamun in this district, just west of Afghanistan, still preserves his seed. Probably his sect was at first a small and insignificant religious body. All the Persians worshipped the Wise Spirit (Ormuzd), who is the chief figure in Zoroastrianism; but this does not imply that he was first worshipped in the Zoroastrian faith. Some Medes were Mazdakas. The early Achaemenian kings do not seem to know the prophet's name and Cyrus worshipped any god (for example, Bel), just as the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal recognized Ormuzd. A king worshipped any god likely to be useful, politically or otherwise. Even Darius, a Mazdaean who is thought by some scholars to have been a real Zoroastrian, admits the existence of other gods besides Ormuzd, as no real Zoroastrian would have done, though to him Ormuzd is the "great god who made earth and heaven and made Darius the one king over many." [1]

Further legends regarding the prophet relate that Vishtaspa was converted to Zoroaster's belief when the latter was forty-two years old, after Zoroaster had been preaching for a dozen years without effect save that he converted

[1] Darius shows no acquaintance with the figure of Ahriman or with those of the archangels; but the argument from silence here has little weight.

his own cousin after ten years of instruction. This king had two councillors, brothers, who supported Zoroaster as they supported the king, and with their help Zoroaster (or Vishtaspa) soon converted by force, in religious warfare, the whole kingdom. At the age of seventy-seven the aged warrior-prophet was killed in one of these religious wars, while fighting against Turan, says tradition.[1] Not much besides this is related of the prophet's personal affairs. As a court-favourite he married a daughter of one of these councillors, Frashaoshtra, and his daughter Pourucishta married the other brother, Jamaspa, traditional author of the Vendidad, really a late priestly work. Tradition gives his lineage and tells of three wives and several children. Like the detailed account of the religious wars and conversions of foreigners in India and Greece, these tales may be fictions of succeeding generations.

But what emerges as important from the mass of tradition is the fact that we really have a double life of Zoroaster, one the life revealed in his own words and the earliest texts, another that invented by religious credulity. According to the first, Zoroaster was a man of good birth, lofty aims, and pure nature, but in no wise a supernatural being; according to the second, he was a glorified and supernatural man, whose conception was immaculate, whose mother was divinely ordained for her holy office; at whose birth all creation laughed with joy[2] and evil demons fled aghast; who, when grown, was conducted by an archangel into the presence of God, and in glory unutterable received divine revelation; who, finally, after seven visions and after once being tempted by the Evil One, died fighting for the true faith and

[1] Zoroaster, like Buddha, was an aristocrat by birth, belonging to the noble family of Spitama. Like Buddha also he (at twenty) abandoned his family to study religion. He studied for ten years, began to preach at thirty, and made one convert by the time he was forty. His first vision or revelation came to him at the age of thirty. Vishtaspa converted thousands by slaying the unconvertable!

[2] Zoroaster himself "smiled when born." His spirit (soul) was kept in the Hom till God's glory had purified his mother's body.

yet is not extinct; for in the fulness of time shall be born of his seed, miraculously preserved in the Seistan lake, another even greater than he, the Saoshyant or saviour, who shall bring salvation and everlasting bliss to the pious, and utterly destroy those that have opposed without cessation the coming of the millennium. This view is quite different from that of the Prophet himself who, as a mere man, wanders disconsolate and cries:

> To what land shall I turn, whither shall I go?
> I am separated from relatives and from friends;[1]
> The people and the rulers of the land, they treat me ill.
> Unto thee I lament, O Wise Spirit, give help unto me.

Zoroastrian literature, which goes under the general name of Avesta, perhaps "tradition" (Zend Avesta, meaning "Commentary and Avesta"), consists of the Yasna, Yashts, and the Vendidad, with some supplementary works. Oldest and most important, the liturgical Yasna comprise songs, Gathas, some of which may have been composed by Zoroaster himself, supplemented by minor litanies called Vispered, "all lords." The Yashts, twenty-one hymns to ancient divinities and heroes, are in part old, so that they are usually placed, together with the Haptanghaiti, an early prose work, next to the Gathas; but some Yashts are quite late, probably later than the Vendidad, another prose work perhaps meaning "against demons." Besides these, there are minor prayers and fragments (Khorda, little, Avesta), and this whole material is supplemented by late Pahlavi texts (such as the Bundahish and the Dinkard), which contain much valuable traditional matter, though they are themselves as late or later than the Christian era. Except for the Gathas, of unknown antiquity, the literature included under the headings Yasna, Yashts and Vendidad may date from the fifth to the third century B. C., though its present form is

[1] The exact meaning is doubtful but seems to show that he was a wanderer and the fact that he became known first as a Median Magupat (leader of the Magi, Mobed) does not militate against, but rather supports, the view that he was not a Median by birth.

in the edition of the third century A. D. In the centuries preceding the Christian era there was a rapid decadence of faith and there was no early redaction of the holy books. Alexander destroyed one of the "golden" copies at Samarkand and Persepolis and the other was lost. Hence, it is said, we possess only fragments of the original scriptures. But the old texts were collected in the first century A. D., and the first Sassanian king, Ardashir (226–240 A. D.), had them re-edited under Tansar, a priestly scholar who was anxious to purify the scriptures, so that he would not have introduced foreign ideas into them. The dialect of the Gathas is very like that of the Vedas, so that these hymns could not have been forged, and they contain the gist of Zoroastrian belief. Additions were made to the text under Shapur I (240–271 A. D.), perhaps as late as Shapur II (310–379), and the Pahlavi texts did not attain their present form till the sixth century A. D.; but we are not dependent on these later texts for our understanding of the early religion. With such additions as all scriptures have, we may confidently believe that the main outlines of Zoroaster's religion as we know it have been preserved since the time of the Achaemenides (559–230 B. C.).[1]

Zoroaster himself says that what he did was to purify the old faith. That is, he did not create a religion but improved it. He constructed his religion upon one that already recognized a Wise Spirit and a Holy Order (of the universe), as well as the cult of sun, moon, certain stars, earth, fire, water,

[1] Darmesteter's theory, brilliantly expounded, that the body of the literature dates from the period of the Sassanides (226–651 A. D.), is now thoroughly discredited. He believed that the Logos theios of Philo Judaeus is reflected in the Good Mind, and in the ideal Fravashi he saw Plato's idea. But the Good Mind is far older than Philo and the Avesta knows nothing of ideas of abstract qualities or inorganic substances. All was in confusion in Persia from the death of Alexander to the end of the Parthian period of the Arsacides (250 B. C. to 226 A. D.), but the cult of archangels was known much earlier. By 400 B. C. their names appear in the Cappadocian calendar. Artaxerxes was a Zoroastrian (465–425 B. C.) and the Amesha Spentas are at least pre-Alexandrian (Theopompus or Hermippus of Smyrna is authority for Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*).

and the Manes. Even in his new form of religion was still preserved the reverence for the sacred moon-plant, which he personally abhorred; he inherited also a stock of Vedic legends regarding the Dragon-slayer, the conflict between the powers helpful to man and those injurious to man. But into these elementary religious notions Zoroaster introduced a new idea. In religious belief prior to Zoroaster, each individual spiritual power was good or bad only as it helped or injured man. Zoroaster established a criterion other than usefulness, to determine whether a power was good or bad, by making an ethical distinction between the spirits. The "Eternal Order," under whose sway stood even the gods, was not enough; the Order, he insisted, was not only eternal but it was moral; and the great Spirit was not only eternal and wise but was also moral. Zoroaster himself practically recognizes this one spirit as God, ignoring other gods. But as these could not be ignored forever, since they were firmly established among the people, all the world was soon divided into friends and foes of this Order and Spirit, as good or evil. All the old gods who could represent moral elevation were thus grouped as servitors of the ethical ideal incorporated in the form of the great Wise Spirit; those incapable of being ranged thus were set off as enemies of the Holy Order and Wise Spirit. In other words, many of the Vedic divinities in this way became demons and devils, while some remained on the side of good. Over the universe then rose the figure of the Wise Spirit himself, Ahura Mazda (Ormuzd), who was in pre-Zoroastrian days the one pre-eminently ethical figure of the old pantheon.[1] Yet the Indic figure, though ethical, was not consistently moral. He ensnared as well as helped man; he was sometimes demoniac as well as divine; he was also a close associate of immoral powers. Moreover, the Indic pantheon as a whole had no ethical

[1] With the word *mazda*, "*greatly wise*," compare what is said of the Asura called Varuna (Heaven Spirit) in the Rig Veda: "*Greatly wise* was the nature of him who established heaven and earth," etc., where *dhîrâ mahinâ* (*janûnshi*) translates, as it were, Mazda. Mazdah Ahura is the old form or Mazda(h) alone.

standing, and even its highest representative was not freed from his nature-form; he was still the material Heaven-god. But the Wise Spirit of Zoroastrianism is no form of nature, neither sky, nor moon, nor sun, but spirit only and withal the spirit of truth, purity, and justice. The great advance therefore made by Zoroaster may be expressed in two words by saying that he made religion ethical and spiritual. God is a spirit, not a nature-god; and God is good.[1]

Although the old gods persisted and were still divine, as far as they could be retained, yet before the august form of Ormuzd they shrank of themselves and served merely to throw his greatness into stronger relief. And like him were the attributes of Ormuzd, personified as spiritual powers of God. Yet, as thus personified, they appear as real persons and are regarded as archangels of God. Opposed to these stood the evil powers of the universe, and in course of time they too were grouped as a host headed by one supreme Evil Spirit, around whom stood, battling for evil, spirits really older than he, all the immoral forces of the world as they were now conceived, many of them the degraded Devas of the ancient order. Many, however, were but the personified ills that flesh is heir to; for primitive thought first thinks of ill as itself evil: hunger, drought, disease are not sent by demons but are themselves demons. Famine is a demon driven away by grain, because on grain being eaten Famine dies of inanition. The army of the Evil One thus consisted partly of independent demons and partly of personified qualities of himself, in exact counterpart to the army of the Lord. At first this horde is rather indeterminate; the demon of rapine, Fury, leads them, under the Worst Mind (Evil Mind), whose second self or representative is the Lie-demon. This is clearly a mental antithesis to the Good Spirit, the natural dualism of every primitive man, who recognizes primarily a good synonymous with the pleasant and an evil synonymous with the unpleasant, but elevated to

[1] Only in late texts is Ormuzd represented as wearing a tiara and ring and carrying a sceptre; in some, as sun-god, he even has wings.

the plane of the moral. Zoroaster's flock was a much abused and outraged congregation and his wrath is divided between hatred of his opponents as unbelievers and fear of them as oppressors. One of our eminent Avestan scholars has said that the most striking feature of Zoroaster's faith, as taught in the Gathas, is dualism; but it is more than this. Dualism of a sort is as primitive as savagery; the striking feature in Zoroaster's faith is the application of an ethical dualism with logical insistence to every aspect of existence and the thorough co-ordination of physical and spiritual elements into a homogeneous ethical conception of life. Again, from the religious point of view, there is in Zoroastrianism no attempt to conciliate or propitiate evil spirits, with whom the orthodox believer has no dealings; he fights against them without remission.

The Evil One is of course personified, as all his 99,999 diseases are devils; but it is a question how far the personification went at first. In India, Fury, Fear, and Disease are "children" of Shiva, and so Fury is a child of the Evil Mind, while Good Mind and Piety are, respectively, son and daughter of the Wise Spirit; Righteousness is even his "son by generation." But all this is poetic or prophetic imagery in great part. Even the renowned description of Ormuzd and Ahriman in the Gathas is not necessarily more than this: "Two primal things [principles, neuter], a better thing and a worse thing, in thought, word, and deed — come together as twins, yet separate and independent, to make life and death (not-life), to determine how the world at last shall be, for the wicked the worst life, for the holy the best mental state."[1] Of these, evil chose the worst;

[1] This is Zoroaster's own definition of "Heaven," *vahishtem mano*, the best mind. The personified "better thing" appears at once as Spenishta Mainyu, the most holy mind. The two spirits are described (Yasna 45) as agreeing in naught, "neither (says the Good to the Evil One) do our minds, our teachings, nor our concepts, nor our beliefs, nor our words, nor our deeds, nor yet our consciences nor souls agree in aught." There is no reason to suppose (with some scholars) that in the above description the Holiest Mind is not one with the Wise Spirit.

but the most holy mind, clothed with heaven, chose righteousness. The (neutral) Daevas could not determine which side to choose; but at last the Worst Mind was chosen by them and they rushed forth with Fury, as demon, to corrupt human lives. Piety, guardian of earth, approached; with her came Power, Good Mind and Right Order, and Piety gave a body to the souls of men not yet incorporate. When at last vengeance shall come upon these wretched sinners, then, says Zoroaster to his Lord, Ormuzd, "then thy kingdom (Power) shall come through (thy) Good Mind (working in men), since the Good Mind (probable subject) issues commands to those who shall deliver the Lie-demon into the two hands of Righteousness (Right Order), and may we be of those who effect this, the great renewal, and make the world go on (to perfection); yea, may we be as the Wise Spirits (plural of Ahura Mazda!), even as Righteousness (the wise spirit) and the other wise spirits. Then shall the blow of destruction fall on the Lie-demon, but in the happy abode of Good Thought and of Ahura Mazda the righteous saints shall gather."

Here, in this exiguous "system," the conception of the evil mind and good mind is that of personified principles. The good mind is in man as well as in Ormuzd; all his attributes, not yet grouped as personified archangels, are, like himself, Ahura Mazdas. God is thus addressed by Zoroaster as a plural or as singular (the plural, Ahura Mazdas, appears again in Gatha, 31, 4). The Evil Mind is also inherent in all its creations, as it enters into the perverted demons, who at first were neither good nor bad but simply spirits. Zoroaster raises no question as to the comparative power of the Good and Evil Minds; he assumes throughout that the former will finally overcome, with the help of the good mind in man, all the hosts of evil. In other words, Zoroaster is a monotheist of the strictest type. He does not analyse, he is no metaphysician, no theologian; he is a prophet; he teaches dogmatically and denounces solely the "seed of evil" (the Daevas). He feels himself God's

chosen scourge to be a terror to infidels. "When (he says to Ormuzd) thy angel Faith came to me and said, Who art thou? then, I, Zoroaster, said to her, (I am) he that torments the sinners and avenges the righteous and I would devote myself (so long as I may praise thee and sing my song) to thee and to the preparation for thy kingdom and the laudation of the holy Fire. . . . They said that I bring only woe; but that will I do which thou has said to be best." Again he asks, praising God: "Who is the father of the Right Order? Who gave to sun and stars their path,— who save thee? Who holds the earth below and the clouds above, that they fall not? Who made the water and the plants . . . and who inspires our thoughts? This I ask, do thou tell me aright, O Spirit, who, as a skilful artisan, madest the light and the darkness . . . who madest the dawns and the noon and midnight . . . and tell me how I shall purify the faith of my people. All other (gods) save thee I look upon with hate. How may I banish the Liedemon, thou father of the good mind, thou whose daughter is Piety? . . . Now come the Karpans and Kavis to slay us, they whose own souls and consciences will cry out upon them when they approach the Bridge of Separation; but in the abode of the Lie for ever shall be their habitation. . . . Yet if among the Turanians there arise those who help the settlements of Piety (who guards earth), even with them shall the Lord have his habitation. . . . Unto the Lord we offer a sacrifice of meat and pray for thy Fire, that it may be our help, but to those who hate us may it be a hurt even as with weapons. . . . May I be thine, with thy righteousness and thy good mind, and care for the poor. May I declare thee (as a spirit) apart from the Daevas and (evil) men. If really, O Wise Lord, thou art (one) with righteousness and good mind, then give me a sign that I may approach thee more devoutly. Only Thee do I know; save me through thy righteousness. Teach me the path of righteousness trod by the good mind living in thy saints, that path which consists in the precepts of the saviours of men."

Zoroaster recognizes the existence of evil, expressed strongly in the behaviour of those oppressors whom he denounces. He also recognizes the spiritual power and angelic character of the Good Mind, Right (Righteousness), Faith, and Piety, yet without including them in any group of the Spentas (holy ones). In his devotion to the Spirit he adores, in his assurance that this Spirit will lead him to victory, in his exultation over fallen foes, in his appeal to the sword and grim determination to extirpate unbelievers, he is a Mahommed of the Ayrans, certainly the most heroic religious figure on the Aryan stage. In the extracts given above almost all the theology of the Gathas is contained. It will be noticed that Zoroaster hates all those who assume to be gods besides Ormuzd; yet of course he does not deny the existence of nature-spirits, such as the "evil wind" and virtuous Sun, whom sinners repudiate and of whom he speaks as of a spirit. He knows the Judgment Bridge which rests on Mount Alborj, and reveres both. But he cares not at all for any gods save God as manifested in his Right Order, Piety, Good Mind, and coming kingdom. His first is the prayer, "Thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven." His first the conception of heaven and hell as mental states, "The mind is its own place and in itself can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven." God is within us; our first care is to attain God's good mind, and our second is to relieve all suffering (moral and physical) and shelter the honest poor. Thus he is first also to make public service a part of religion.

Of liberal thought there is striking evidence in the laudation of Turanians who serve God; no chosen people is God's; but each man as an individual must answer to God. On the other hand, the heretic is no object of mercy. The Zoroastrian will shelter the "honest poor," but not the unbeliever; no heretic is honest, he is a son of the Lie. So, too, in later days, if a physician wishes to try a new cure which may be dangerous, he is enjoined to try it on a heretic not on a believer.

The recrudescence of popular religion becomes manifest even in the literature next following the expression of Zoroaster's own belief in the Gathas. The nature-gods, even the Hom, which he would not even name but which he inveighed against, rise again as spirits worthy of worship, and are addressed in terms which show that they are virtually gods. Then Zoroaster himself is revered. The Hostile Spirit, Angra Mainyu, who appears only once so named in the Gathas, becomes the substitute for the more indefinite Lie-Spirit, which Zoroaster abhorred. Finally Zoroaster's Holy Spirit is interpreted as but one aspect of God, as the Evil Mind is another aspect, an idea that never occurred to Zoroaster, to whom the Evil Mind and Wise Spirit were antithetic but only Mazda was immortal.

One of the first changes occurs in the schematic grouping of the archangels. These formed at first no fixed group, their number was indeterminate; they with Ormuzd made a holy body, in which, however, it was uncertain whether Fire was felt to be an "archangel" or not. The Gathas mention them but not as a unit and do not confine the epithet "good" to the Good Mind. But in the first literature after the Gathas they appear as a fixed band with unvarying attributes and places. They have long since been compared not only with the Vedic Adityas, also a group chiefly of abstractions, and with Babylonian "sevens," but also with the Hebraic archangels of Tobit, xii. 15, and Apocalypse, v. 6, "the seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth." The first is Vohumano, the Good Mind of God, who works in man, concerns himself with the flock and the faithful, welcomes the good to heaven, and is half person from the beginning. Later he has a special cult of his own. He is aided by the Moon, in whom are the seeds of the flock. Next comes Asha Vahishta, Best Truth or Righteousness, or Right Order, who cares for Fire. Then comes Khshathra Vairya, Desired Power, the Kingdom of God as his authority which is to rule the world; but as an angel this being has the care of metals, emblematic of power. These sit on

God's right hand; opposite to God sits Sraosha, Faith or Obedience. On the left sit the female forms, Spenta Armaiti, Holy Piety, goddess of earth, and the inseparable pair called Haurvatat and Ameretat, Wholeness or Holiness and Immortality, who together care for water and plants.[1]

These collectively are the "Immortal Holy Ones,"[2] Amesha Spentas, who appear as a group as early as the Haptanghaiti or first prose. Plutarch (50–120 A. D.) knows them as characteristic of the Magian cult and renders their names into Greek as Eunoia, Aletheia, Eunomia, Sophia, Ploutos, and (for Ameretat) "worker of good happiness" (in Strabo as Anatotos, i.e. *amardatos*). The prevalence of Persian Arta-names (e.g. Artaxerxes) betrays familiarity with the Asha, *arta*, idea of righteousness. In the later texts, these angels are anthropomorphized enough to ride horseback and have attendants, who are the old nature-gods. These Amshaspands, as they are called later, are also assigned to different days and months and each has a peculiar flower and colour. Thus Vohumano has white as his colour, white jasmine as his flower, one day of each month is his (compare our saints' days), and he has one double month under his especial charge. The later scheme then assigns one selected demon as the special opponent of each archangel.

The elements of later Zoroastrianism, partially recognized by the founder, are further the "holy ones" in general, namely the Yazatas, worshipful ones (hagioi or hagnoi from the same root), the modern Izads, a name which at times includes Ormuzd but generally designates a special division of holy ones below the archangels, of whom Ormuzd may be regarded as the "greatest holy one." The Yazatas also embrace the archangels and were naturally enough called

[1] Sraosha may have been added later to keep intact the number which was diminished by one when Ormuzd himself was withdrawn from the group, which originally merely represented the Ahuramazdas as a body consisting of God and his attributes. Asha, Vohumano, and Mazda are often grouped as a triad.

[2] Spenta is etymologically "holy" but traditionally "bountiful."

gods by the Greeks. Thus Plutarch speaks of twenty-four gods besides the archangels. The Yasna recognizes "three and thirty lords" of the ritual (compare the three-and-thirty gods of the Rig Veda). These Yazatas are the Theoi Basileioi who have charge of different parts of the earth. At first there is no fixed line between these semi-divine beings. Fire appears as an archangel in Yasna 1, 2, and in the Yasht dedicated to Faith this angel "sits with the Amesha Spentas." But usually the old nature-gods serve as helpers of the greater spirits. Thus Fire is the helper of Asha (Right) or Truth, who is opposed by Indra, as Vohumano is opposed by Aka-mano. The third archangel, Khshathra, Eunomia, the Power of God, is helped by Mithra, being opposed by Saurva (perhaps Vedic Sharva, Rudra). Spenta Armaiti, practical Piety, whose charge is earth, is the Sophia of the Greek and as such is opposed by Taromaiti or Pairimaiti (Pride, Wrong Thought), as also by Naonhaithya (the Vedic Nasatya). The pair known as Haurvatat and Ameretat (Wholeness and Immortality) care for water and plants, embodying the idea of the water and tree of life, the later personified in the white Hom (Gaokerena), the Vedic Soma-plant.[1]

The nature-gods thus included in the mythological scheme are first of all Fire and the Sun, then Water and the Hom (Moon-plant), which appear as most worthy of worship in the Yasna, and then a number of other gods, some of which are good and some originally evil. At the same early period, possibly recognized by Zoroaster himself as Yazatas, the Manes or spirits of beings become prominent. These are the Fravashis ("confession," souls of the dead), who help men in battle, protect them through life, and accompany spirits to the next world. They are treated in the texts as if they were individual guardian angels of each living person. In the creation they appear as the souls before they are embodied, but their original identity with the souls of

[1] Compare Darmesteter, *Haurvatat et Ameretat*, Paris, 1875. In the earlier texts these two are scarcely personified.

the departed is certain, though the Zoroastrian presentation veils this conception. At death the Fravashi archetype unites with the soul.

The number of angels is practically unlimited. One of the Yashts, which are dedicated to the chief Yazatas, speaks of ten thousand of them. Fire is the most important, as it becomes the sign of the later faith and of the Fire-Worshippers. Fire, the son of Ormuzd, as Piety is his daughter, is the life-heat and the "glory" of kings. With him is associated the (Vedic) Nairyosanha (Narashansa), the angel bringing God's word to man, though in the Veda he is the genius identified with Fire bringing man's praise to the gods. Fire-altars, not necessarily in temples, were erected all over ancient Iran. The cult may have been strengthened by the natural awe of naphtha-wells, but could not have started with such a source. Water, too, and the heavenly stream, Ardvi Sura Anahita, were objects of far-reaching worship as the source of all life (Anahita was a Semitic figure, the goddesses of productivity). Reverence was paid also to the eye of Ormuzd, the sun, to the moon, and to the star Tishtrya (Sirius), as remover of drought (Apaosha, official opponent of this star). The genius of right as justice, Rashnu, who with golden scales weighs the deeds of the dead, is associated with Faith (Sraosha) and Mithra, as three judges of the dead (compare Minos, Aeacus, and Rhadamanthus, or Christ, Gabriel, and Michael), and to them are devoted the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth Yashts, while the fourteenth is dedicated to the personification of the Demon-slayer (Verethraghna), who in the Sassanian period, beginning in the third century A. D., as genius of victory, attains his highest importance. Less important but still venerable and actually worshipped are mountains, winds (some winds are evil, however), heaven, earth, the native abstractions, Daena (Din), "Religion," Manthra Spenta, the "Holy Word" of Ormuzd regarded as an angel; Endless Light, Aniran; and the Hom, to whom are dedicated not only the twentieth Yasht but also Yasna 9, 10, and 11.

The ministers of the Yazatas come still later, such as Peace, Glory, Blessing (Afriti), and there are other divine beings not grouped with the Yazatas, the most remarkable of whom is the three-legged ass, Khara, which stands in the earth-surrounding sea, Vourukasha, and helps govern the world; also a sacred ox, three birds of magical power, etc., all astrological or mythological creatures retained in the net of the popular religious sense and utilized by the faith, much as pagan belief was utilized by Christianity. This whole class of spiritual beings is of the highest significance. It implies that already, in the earliest stage after the prophet, mythology was again become one of the chief elements of the religion.

Opposed to all the host of the Wise Spirit stands the host of the Evil Spirit, who is at first the Lie-demon and then becomes the Hostile or Harmful Spirit, Angra Mainyu, Ahriman. In the first conception there are two abstractions, the Best and Worst Thought, presented as spirits utterly opposed and creating good and evil in the world under all forms. Both are primeval. To Zoroaster this evil spirit is always the Lie-demon, the evil thought as opposed to the good thought or the wise spirit, Spenta Mainyu, who is sometimes thought of as an attribute of Ormuzd and sometimes is Ormuzd himself. But Ahriman is never the equal of Ormuzd. He is handicapped by possessing only "backward knowledge"; he cannot foresee and hence cannot initiate attacks on God. All he can do is to set up an opposed power as often as Ormuzd invents a new means of attack. Hence Ahriman is always too late, which shows that the dualism is not one of equal powers but that one is foredoomed to defeat. In Zoroaster's own Gathas it is clear that he expects the ultimate victory of the Wise Spirit, to which he himself with every true believer would contribute.

Next to Ahriman the most striking figure on the side of evil is Asmodeus, as he is called in the Book of Tobit, that is Aeshma Daeva, named in the Yasna as a demon of wrath. His name, from *ish,* "throw" or "strike," reminds one of

Diabolos, but he is not so much "the accuser" as the furious smiter, the especial foe of the Faith, the impersonation of rapine and invasion, and the chief scourge of the faithful. In Jewish lore he loved Sara and destroyed her seven husbands.[1] The Nasu, or corpse-demon, is also a popular evil spirit. As already remarked, some ancient gods appear here on the side of evil opposed to the archangels. Indra and Nasatya (gods in the Mitanni inscription of 1400 B. C.) represent to the Zoroastrian "Killing" and "Disobedience" (Naonhaithya, not a twin as in India). Agashi, the Evil Eye, may belong to this *daeva*-group, of whom none is so sinful as Aeshma, who is so inveterate a quarreller that, if he cannot make trouble among his foes, he does not hesitate to set at odds the members of his own community; as Narada, the god-like seer of India, makes men quarrel if he can and, when he cannot do this, rouses the gods to quarrel.

Abstractions such as envy, pride, old age, etc., in brief whatever injures man physically or morally, whether diseases or hurricane, drought, lust, or sloth, are demons born of Ahriman's will and fighting for him. There are others who are also not *daevas* but aiders of *daevas,* the Yatus, known to the Veda as sorcerers; the Druj, equally old; and the Pairikas, a more modern creation, who are associated with bandits and wolves. Pairikas are fair maidens supernaturally endowed with evil, who work in the earth, the plants, and the waters, bewitching the stars, so that they give no rain. In the Yashts they appear as "worm-stars," combatted by Sirius, and they may have been originally shooting-stars or meteors. One of them is Drought itself. Later (Persian) mythology converted them into fair maidens, sirens (English Peri). Among the beings opposed to Ormuzd a conspicuous place is taken by the dragon, Azhi Dahaka, whose home is in Bapel (Babylon), a Druj half human, half beast, with three heads, who overcomes Yima and rules a thousand years, possibly, as Darmesteter sup-

[1] When Tobit's son finally married Sara, Asmodeus was driven away by the fume of a dead fish (compare *Paradise Lost,* iv. 168).

posed, a reminiscence of Semitic control. This dragon creates drought and disease. Planets, scorpions, snakes, and frogs, and the mythical Ganderewa Upapa or evil spirit in the water (Vedic Gandharva, also in water) are lesser creations of Ahriman. Unbelievers, Kavis, Karpans, belong to the general class of opponents of Ormuzd. Heretics are always prominent, as if the religion of Zoroaster had never been without its foes, as its practical teaching was in reality never fully sustained. Thus in regard to the *dakhma,* tower for exposing the dead, despite the strict injunctions against burning and burying, the older (or usual) custom prevailed in part and the erection of the *dakhma* was not universal. The custom of exposing the dead was Median; Zoroaster himself says nothing about it. It was probably a local practice, such as is still found in India, America, etc.

The base of Zoroastrian morality is neither that of India nor of the Semites. Every man is responsible for his own deeds; every act of his is recorded; he alone is the architect of his own future fate. The shibboleth of this belief is embodied in the standing formula, "good thought, good word, good deed"; "I practise good, and renounce evil." But this goodness does not rest with a negative avoidance of evil. The practice of good includes justice, mercy, generosity, and kindness in general. Practically it is shown especially in business relations, for it emphasizes avoidance not only of lying but of debts. What Herodotus (I, 133) says of the Persians is true of all Zoroastrians: "They are not allowed even to mention the things they are not allowed to do. The greatest disgrace for them is to tell a lie; and next to that to be in debt, and this for many other reasons, but especially because they think that one who is in debt must necessarily tell lies." Physical culture was extolled as good and moderation in eating and in drinking intoxicants. Sexual relations were in general on a footing appropriate to high thinking and wicked women are cursed, sexual sin, seduction, etc., condemned. But it must be granted that, as asceticism was tabooed, so there was no attempt to induce the

Zoroastrian to rise to a higher plane in relation to women. Concubinage was allowed; polygamy was common; incest was the rule. And it must be admitted also that it is not religion alone which makes the Zoroastrian sober and moderate. The race is sober and restrained, not given to excesses. How far the religion is from teaching ascetic practices may be seen from the statement that wealth and a large family are signs of religious virtue (the poor man is not so good as the rich man); the remark that "who sows corn sows religion"; the injunction as a religious rule to practise agriculture and slay vermin and raise dogs and cattle. All this points to a practical morality, the aim of which is to improve economic conditions as well as to further religion. Compare Vendidad 4, 47–49: "He who has children is far better than he who is childless; he who has riches is far better than he who has none; and he who fills himself with meat is filled with the good spirit more than he who does not eat meat, for the latter is no better than a dead man, and the former is better than he by the worth of an ox, by the worth of a man," a statement in striking contrast with the asceticism cultivated by the Manichaeans.

This very practical religion teaches that to atone for sins one may be purified by doing good, as well as by being anointed with holy things or by being beaten. Thus, if one has sinned, let him build a useful bridge or dig a canal and so equalize the wrong with a good act, or go farther and let the good outweigh the evil. It is necessary to know this in order to comprehend the doctrine of that even state after death which is neither heaven nor hell. In all cases, however, one must repent of the sin and confess it.[1] Trivial sins are many in number, such as going barefoot, combing one's hair over the fire, etc., but this is due to the feeling of

[1] It has been said that "The difference between Judaism and Zoroastrianism is that though both have retribution after death, Judaism insists on repentance." The implication is erroneous. Zoroaster insists on repentance.

great veneration for the earth and fire as divinities, and what is trivial to us is of course not a norm in such cases. The gravest sin in our eyes, on the other hand, is to the Zoroastrian a law of conduct. This is legalized incest. The marriage of the closest relations is not looked upon as a sin but a duty, to keep pure the strain of blood. Yet this again is not a religious but a racial matter, and it is needless to say that modern Parsis do not practise the custom (common to Persia and Egypt).

The confession and prayer of repentance of the Zoroastrian religion show how fundamental are two points, faith in Zoroaster and belief in the resurrection. The worship of Mazda, the Wise Spirit, is bound up with the faith in the prophet, and is now inconceivable without it. Thus the confession says: "I am a worshipper of Ahura Mazda, a member of the order of Zoroaster. This I confess, as a praiser and confessor of the religion, and I praise aloud the thought well thought, the word well said, the deed well done. I praise the faith of Mazda, the holy belief which is the best and most beautiful belief, the most beautiful of all religions which exist and are yet to be, the faith of Ahura Mazda, the faith of Zoroaster. Unto Ahura Mazda do I ascribe all good and such shall be the worship of the Mazdayasnians forever."

The *Patet Erani* is a compendium of Zoroastrian belief: "I doubt not the good faith, the faith in Mazda. I believe in the good faith. I believe in the coming resurrection, in the later body, in the passage of the Bridge of Judgment, in a future recompense of good deeds, and in the punishment hereafter of evil deeds; in the perpetual state of paradise for the good and in the annihilation of hell, of the Evil One, and of all the evil demons. I believe that Ormuzd will at last be victorious and that Ahriman will perish, together with all the off-shoots of darkness. All that I ought to have thought and have not thought, all that I ought to have said and have not said, all that I ought to have done and have not done, all that I ought to have commanded others to do

and have not commanded, and all that I ought not to have thought and yet have thought, all that I ought not to have said and yet have said, all that I ought not to have done and yet have done, all that I ought not to have commanded and yet have commanded — for every thought, word, and deed, whether of the body or of the spirit, whether of earth or of heaven, I pray for forgiveness and repent of every sin with this *Patet* (repentance prayer)."

In the Chapter of Admonitions, the Zoroastrian is enjoined to let his light shine "in the name and love of the Lord." How practical, not mystical, these admonitions are, appears from the command: "Shine ever with the true light; increase in wealth and in goodness; learn purity; be worthy of praise; think good thoughts; speak good words; do good deeds; be true to the Wise Spirit, obedient to the law, modest, kind, not cruel, not wrathful, not shameful, not covetous, not malicious, not envious, not haughty, not despiteful, not lustful. Do not steal. Do not rob others of their wives. Do good. Have no agreement with a wicked man. Combat evil with righteousness; speak decently in assemblies of men and modestly before kings; displease not thy mother; be just; be pure; and may all the archangels send thee good thought, speech, and deed, wisdom, sweetness, prosperity, and fruitfulness." The form is late, the thought is old; the essence of Zoroaster's religion is in these words.

In accordance with the view of most races, the Aryans all had the conviction that man existed after death. But the Iranians added to this simple conception various modifications, not entirely their own, since others also had the same, but, as far as we can tell, self-invented and due wholly to Iranian thought.

What we call soul is sub-divided into many different elements. It is recognized that after death the body passes away, is burned or swept off by a flood, but nothing destroys the man's soul. His spirit, Ahu, his thinking conscience, Daena, his intelligence, Baoda, his soul, Urvan, and his genius, Fravashi, abide. These are not all the elements of

the soul, since there are others like these or synonymous with them, such as *tavishi,* power; but the point of special importance is that all these parts of the soul are personal, individual, separate from each other. They are in short personified faculties, and it is not important whether they include wisdom in one form or in two, as innate and acquired, or take in or leave out thought, wish, word, and other factors. In brief, the constituents are sometimes as many as eleven; but of these the factors first mentioned are the commonest and those without which no one can be imagined by a Persian. The Fravashi, which is "like a well-winged bird," is the genius or the idea-soul that existed originally in the mind of God, and it corresponds to the personality of the Egyptian Ka, except that it is not material; but on the other hand it is like the ancestral, also winged, spirit of the Hindu. There is no borrowing here from Egypt, for in the Egyptian belief it is the Ba soul which has wings and in Persia the idea of the Bā is represented rather by the Urvan, that is the soul that wills. In Egypt it is the Ab or heart which meets a man after death and accuses him of wrong, but in the Zoroastrian faith the Conscience, Daena, does this. The man dies, but his will and conscience and guardian genius continue to exist. His conscience meets him on the third day after death, in the form of a fair maid or a foul hag, and as his conscience accuses or acquits him, so he fares forth into the world of spirits, accompanied by pleasant or unpleasant surroundings, till the soul's deeds are weighed in the balance, and it is sent to heaven or hell or purgatory. Such in brief is the outline of what the soul has to expect. The gods who act as judges of the soul may be a later improvement on the balance-idea, and it is possible that still earlier the Bridge of Separation itself acted as a sort of balance or at least acted automatically. It would then be a parallel to the log over which the American Indian has to cross to get to the Happy Hunting Grounds. If an Indian has been brave (virtuous, according to Redskin morality), the log lets him

over, but otherwise he cannot pass over it but slips into the foul swamp beneath, never to emerge. So possibly the Cinvat Bridge turned down the sinner and let the good go by, irrespective of a judge, being itself the automatic balance, while the later belief represented its narrowing to a razor's edge as a result of the judgment. When the bridge is first mentioned, there is nothing said of a judgment at the bridge, perhaps the rainbow or Milky Way; it was but a passage to heaven. The soul that was allowed to pass it entered felicity and waited in heaven for the final judgment with the coming of the saviour. The balance of later belief is a pair of scales held in the hands. But the original judgment was the one at the world's end; no sentence was pronounced at first by Mithra and the other judges, nor were the soul's deeds weighed, but Ormuzd alone judged it at the last day.

The soul wills. On the choice of this willing soul, the Urvan, depends the fate of the man. Animals also have a measure of free-will. The author of the thirty-first Yasna tries to determine why some animals are good and some are evil. Ormuzd has not only determined the right path for the cow, but also granted it some freedom of will in following that path. Man, weak and wavering between good and ill, is watched by the gods and finally brought to account. Ormuzd is here the "father of the Good Mind, the founder of Asha" (righteousness); he "opened the way for the cow, whether to leave the husbandman or not," yet "chose for her the husbandman"; but for man Ormuzd "in the beginning formed his being and conscience and intelligence . . . and gave him works and words, whereby he might freely express his belief."

The soul's journey after death is described in Yasht 22 and 24. Met by its own conscience the soul is heard and judged by Mithra, Sraosha, and Rashnu, and then, if pure, passes the bridge over hell and through the worlds of good thought, word, and deed (stars, moon, and sun), and gets at last to the sphere of eternal light, where dwells Ormuzd

in peace. Just opposite, as far below, the sinners who fall from the bridge dwell in nethermost hell, where, though crowded thickly together, each lost soul thinks he is alone. Darkness, cold, and stenches characterize this "home of the Lie." But those who have done neither better nor worse go to the spot called "equilibrium," Hamestakan, possibly known, as a sort of mild purgatory, as early as the Gathas. The suffering here is slight, being only the change from cold to heat, inclement cold and burdensome heat following one after the other. It is between the earth and the stars. Still later, this purgatory has two compartments, one for those who are a little better than bad, and one for those a little worse than good, but this is too refined for the original idea, which simply provides for those who are not good enough to go to heaven or bad enough for hell. The whole theory, however, of Hamestakan may be derived from Christian sources, as the description of it is given in texts recognizing Jews and Christians.[1]

But hell is not eternal. When, born of the seed of Zoroaster, miraculously preserved, the saviour, Saoshyant, Astvat-ereta, appears, at the end of time limited and the beginning of time unlimited, he first raises the dead bones that have been awaiting his coming and then each good soul is reclothed with his old garment of flesh. Therefore this is called the "freshening" time, *frashokarate* (Yasna 62, 3), explained in the Vendidad (18, 51) as the day when the word incarnate in man shall be given up by the angel of the Earth at the day of the resurrection, and the Fravashis shall cease to revolve in their sphere (Yasht 13, 58). Saoshyant is not the first prophet. The last Age, of 3,000 years, is that of Zoroaster and the two predecessors of Saoshyant, Hushedar or Aushetar (Oshedar) and Hushedar-mah or Aushetarmah (Oshadarmah). Each is born

[1] In Yasna 33, 1, it is said: "Deeds most just will he do toward the wicked, as toward the righteous, and toward him whose deeds of deceit and righteous deeds combine (in equal measure)." Yet the last part may be differently interpreted, so that this early reference to purgatory would fail.

of a pure maiden by immaculate conception[1] after she has bathed in the sacred lake. For the Messianic idea, the most important passage is the Bundahish 30, a work composed long after the Christian era but supposed to revert to a lost Avestan text. With the coming of this saviour comes the end of the Kingdom of the Evil One, who is burned in molten metal, which will overpour the whole world. But to the good this will seem like warm milk, while it will destroy the evil. Hell is thus purified and the world is then renewed and made immortal. Friend will know friend again and families recognize each other and rejoice for ever in happiness. The purification will not be instantaneous but will last for fifty-seven years and there will be fifteen men and fifteen maids who will help in the great task. In some texts, the saviour is Zoroaster himself reborn.

An earlier view of the future life may be represented in the story of the Earthly Paradise. Hindu and Iranian know Yama or Yima as the first man (Jemshid of Persian legend), who is here fitted into the scheme of things as one urged at first to take upon himself the task later assumed by Zoroaster, but he is not spiritual enough, or is cajoled by evil spirits, and feeds the faithful with beef, perhaps to make mortals immortal. He is then commissioned to build an enclosure, *vara,* where men may grow up secure from the Evil One, who is already awake and eager to tempt men to his side. The first conception is that of a past paradise on earth; it may be that it also implied a future paradise, which afterwards becomes incongruous with orthodox eschatology. Yima received from Ormuzd the ring and dagger of authority and ruled for three hundred winters; he prayed earth to "increase a third" and again to increase a third, during nine hundred years. Then there was a meeting of the gods called by Ormuzd in Airyana Vaeja and a

[1] The "glory" which fills the expected mother of the coming saviour also fills the archangels who restore the world. This "glory" plays a great rôle in Mithraism (see below).

meeting of mortals called by Yima. Then Ormuzd told Yima that fatal winters and snow were coming; he should build an enclosure and in it place the seeds of living things; there sweet water will flow and birds sing, and food never fail. And Yima brought there the seeds of the best, men, cattle, and trees, two of each kind; and there was no impotent person there, nor poverty, nor meanness; he brought in all a thousand and three hundred and six hundred seeds, to the various squares and streets of the enclosure; and stamped upon the earth and kneaded it with his hands and sealed the enclosure and set a window in it (so much is obviously of the past). And there a year is as a day and there are lights created and uncreated. And once in forty years are born a male and female to every couple; and there men live the happiest life; and there is neither cold nor heat nor death (this indicates a present paradise).

Later views made this paradise impossible; it was necessary to get the blessed out, so they were given only a life of one hundred and fifty years. The commentary, where the text says that winters will come, has *markush,* rain, which is an attempt to identify the legend with the Biblical deluge story. Malkosh (Hebrew rain) thus introduced becomes a demon of storm and rain. This element and the belief in a future deluge are found only in later texts. In India, Yama's home is first a paradise in the sky and then a home on earth where the wicked are punished; but even in this later conception the palace of Yama himself is a delightful place. Usener regards Yima as a future renewer of earth. Whether this legend and other Persian views of a future life affected Christian ideas is matter of dispute. Although the later view of the divisions of time is not known even to the Vendidad, yet there was an early belief in a spiritual creation, of which the late view is an outgrowth. According to it, limited time is divided into four periods of three thousand years each, during the first of which Ormuzd strikes down Ahriman with the holy word. In the second period Ormuzd makes the world, as-

sisted by the good spirits, and in the third, Ahriman, as a serpent with his paramour Lust, afflicts creation with evil, but at last he is driven back and heaven is walled in, while the prototypes of men and animals die comforted in the hope of the coming of Zoroaster.[1] Yima is now born and at last Zoroaster appears. The last period begins with Zoroaster.

This fourth period continues till the judgment day at the end of the twelve thousand years. This part of the theory of cycles is known before the Sassanian period (c. third century A. D.). Later belief also imagines a cosmic egg and a three-fold heaven; it also makes Ormuzd "create the world out of nothing" during six periods of a year each, probably in imitation of Genesis. The seven zones as subdivisions of the earth thus created are of an older period (compare the seven continents of the Hindus). The question of time occupied philosophical thought in the later period and caused two heresies to arise, one that of the Zervanites and one that of the Gayomarts. The former maintained that Ormuzd and Ahriman were antithetic forms of Time or Fate as divine (God); the latter, that Ahriman was born in a moment of weakness of Ormuzd. These philosophical speculations, however, have nothing to do with the religion of Zoroaster; they are late attempts to explain the relation of temporal to absolute time. The Zervanite position is interesting because of parallel explanations in other philosophies and the Gayomart position because of its uniqueness.

As we have seen, the second period of the religion, represented in the Yasna not attributable to Zoroaster, shows already a recrudescence of nature worship, though the

[1] These prototypes are called Gayomart and Goshurvan, against whom the Evil One sets Death, the "bone-disperser." Out of these arise the future men and cattle, men in particular appearing first in plant-form, whose two branches are brother and sister, parents of twins from whom come seven pairs, as ancestors of present human beings. Human monsters come from another sprout of Gayomart's seed.

adoration paid to natural objects, sun, stars, moon-plant, etc., is carefully subordinated to that of the Lord. Yet it is still a fresh vivid religion, without that substitution of creed and cult for feeling and faith which marks the later aspects of Zoroastrianism. But in the period now to be discussed, represented by the latest scriptures, formalism replaces fervour. Such is apt to be the case in every religion, and the higher the religion the more prone is it to suffer a lowering of ideals. This is because its original greatness is due to the intensity of the primitive faith; the more intense this is, the harder is it to maintain. Decadence is inevitable; it is only in the manner of decadence that distinctions occur. The first glow may pale out in indifference and the religion merge with a faith at first alien to it; or the later religion may exaggerate certain factors which make for deterioration, such as the mystical or sensuous element; or it may preserve its features and lose its soul. In Zoroastrianism there arose an exaggeration of formalism based on fear of the impure, the evil with which man is ever in contact. The dread of this overpowered the spirit of the old belief. The evil in the world is not now so much the Lie as it is the unclean. The ideal of Truth as righteousness becomes an ideal of purity. In the establishment of a scheme of life for the avoidance of impurity there is little room for religion, but a great opportunity for religionism. Zoroaster was content to laud cows and dogs as animals useful to the work of civilization, right order; but the later Zoroastrian began to worry about other animals. Where, for example, was he to place animals not mentioned by Zoroaster? Scorpions and snakes, he appears to think, are clearly the work of the Evil One; but how about the peacock, the hawk, and the domestic cock? Can we be really religious unless we settle the status of these creatures? The cock must be got into the scheme of things or religion will go astray. This meticulous scrupulosity begins to occupy the believer's mind; one point becomes as important as another; physical and moral values are con-

fused; bodily purity is exalted as much as spiritual purity, till the spirit of Zoroaster evaporates in the dry-rot of ritualism. His fervid faith fades into formulas for the preservation of corporal soundness. Of course the cock, which hails the light of morn and is awakened by Faith, in order that it in turn may awaken men to renew the fight against evil, may be discussed and its status determined with no great demoralization of the faith; but the discussion is symptomatic. Still more so are the minute rules regarding purity. In the first form of the religion, purity was not very important. Ormuzd is not chiefly the pure but the Wise and Holy (Bountiful) Spirit; the shibboleth *ashem vohu vahishtem* means first "Truth (or Right) is the best good"; later "Purity is the best good," right being truth or righteousness and this last becoming purity. In the Persian form this is perfectly clear. The Lie, the old original evil demon, is here the foe of order and the king lives according to right: "Thus says Darius the king, Those countries which became rebellious, the Lie made them rebellious, so that they deceived the people, but Ormuzd delivered them into my hand. Thus says Darius the king, Thou who shalt be king hereafter, be ever on thy guard against the Lie. What I have done I have done by the grace of Ormuzd . . . Ormuzd and the other gods that exist brought me aid because I was not hostile, nor a liar, nor a wrong-doer, neither I nor my family, but according to the right (righteousness) have I ruled." The dualism of the Gathas and of the Persian kings is that of truth versus untruth (*dushivara,* deceit, or *drauga,* lie). The right order, of the state as well as of heaven and the soul, depends on truth. Zoroaster was an economist, the minister of a king, and had in mind the orderliness of the state; hence he lauds cattle and agriculture, as against nomadic life. To speak the truth, plough the land, and tend cattle are his highest virtues. The Vendidad on the other hand, while it lauds all these, teaches that it is as sinful to remain contaminated by touching something impure as it is vir-

tuous to speak the truth. All this may be due to the Magi; it is, in any event, a priestly interpretation.

The later Zoroastrian of the Vendidad lived apparently in constant fear of becoming impure; he lived also under a scheme of life which regulated his whole existence. Pious and perturbed, he was ever asking what he was to do in case he came in contact with the smell of a corpse ten feet away; and when he was answered, asked again what he should do if he stood a hundred feet away. How many blows, he asks, will remove the sin of a man who breaks another's bones, for the first time, and again for the second time? How many years must a man remain in hell if he breaks his contract concerning a sheep, how many in case he breaks a contract concerning an ox? Is the man himself or are his relatives, and if so how many, implicated in this breaking of a contract?[1] And, with a new idea, to how many generations are the sins of the father visited upon his children? In how many places does holy Earth, if contaminated, feel herself aggrieved and in which places does she feel most aggrieved? When one has touched a corpse, must one wash oneself fifteen or thirty times? The Vendidad's letter is its spirit; it is expressed in one phrase: "Next to life, purity is man's greatest good"; but the purity here meant is that of purification effected by punishment enjoined by the Ratu or priest for violation of rules. The passion of Zoroaster is now converted into a schedule of offences and expiations.

This fall from religion to law and ritual is embodied in two prayers. The earlier is the prayer of Zoroaster: "The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness." The later Zoroastrian substitutes for this prayer, the Honover, the prayer: "Teach me the rules (of purification) for this world and the next." The natural concomitant of this tendency is the stress laid on vain repetitions. Thus in the Ormuzd Yasht it is said that if one pronounces the differ-

[1] Here at least is one sensible question; typical of the mixture of ritual and law.

ent names and titles of Ormuzd, one will be protected on all sides from every form of evil.[1]

At this point it will be necessary to speak of the tradition which connects Zoroaster with the organized priesthood of the Magi, who, according to Herodotus (i. 101), were a war-like tribe of Medes, the names of whose early kings may be corruptions of Zoroastrian conceptions (Phraortes as Fravashi). We may well suppose that the degradation of the religion into the petty scheme of penances in the Vendidad reverts to a priesthood, not to the founder. The Magi appear to have adopted Zoroastrianism and of course Zoroaster is said to have been one of them. Possibly they have affected the cult in some particulars and as priests of the religion they may have been most instrumental in lowering its tone. But all this is matter of speculation and recent theories of the influence of the Magi in Zoroastrianism based on the foreign character of these priests are not convincing.[2] The Magi were presumably Medes who assimilated the more or less alien (Bactrian) Zoroastrian faith and became its representatives and priests; yet alien not so much in race as in spirit. As a matter of fact, the Zoroastrians of a later day were as a body alienated in spirit

[1] These titles are not strictly repetitions: Bestower of health, holy, glorious, protector, creator, king-ruling-by-his-own-will, he-who-does-not-deceive, he-who-is-not-deceived, weal, master of weal, beneficent, energetic, great, wise, light, source of light, wisdom, intellect, brilliant, majestic, best, most beautiful. Compare the Mohammedan titles of God.

[2] Professor Moulton in his *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, argues that the Magi were non-Aryan Shamans, originally a slave population (servant class?), against whom Zoroaster at first warred. Being neither Aryan nor Semitic, they altered or rejected the teaching which they did not understand. Exposure of the dead also is due to this source in Professor Moulton's opinion, though this is a Vedic (Aryan) custom. The Persians buried their dead, a practice denounced in the Vendidad; but in the time of the Achaemenides the later Zoroastrian view may not have been prevalent, or perhaps was not yet arisen. Other Magian practices too may have been reassertions of old customs. Another suggestion made by Professor Moulton is that a Gaotema mentioned in the Yashts is Gautama Buddha, but no proof of such an extraordinary view is given.

from the founder, just as many later Buddhists and Christians were no true disciples of their masters, not because they differed racially but because they differed mentally and spiritually. In sum, the Magi, so far as we know, are an inherent part of the later religious body, who represented it to the ancient world, probably not without reason. How old a constituent of that body they are, we know not. They do not appear in the Gathas and, though their absence there is not conclusive, in all probability Zoroaster had no such priests. In the Yashts they are once mentioned, but not in a passage above suspicion, and it may be that they were not active till the fourth century B. C., about the time the Vendidad was written.

Another legend of the Vendidad, from which comes the story of Yima, is that of the temptation of Zoroaster. This resembles the temptation-scenes in the life of Christ and Buddha, with which, indeed, as explained below, it may be historically connected.

The Evil One, Ahriman, first tries to kill the prophet and then to make him give up his plan of destroying the demons and Nasu. "Do not destroy my creatures, O holy Zoroaster. Renounce the good law of the worshippers of Mazda and thou shalt gain the lordship of the whole world." But Zoroaster replies: "Never will I renounce the good law, though my body, my life, and my soul should be disbanded." Then said again to him the Evil One: "By whose word wilt thou strike and repel the demons; by whose weapon will the good creatures repel my creatures?" And Zoroaster answered: "The word of God shall be the weapon; the word taught me by the Wise Spirit. By his word will I strike, by his word will I repel the vile *daevas*. Spenta Mainyu, the good spirit, gave it me; the archangels gave it me; and by that word will I destroy the evil ones." And the prophet then uttered the prayer ever since repeated by the saints of his religion: "The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness. The gifts of the Good Mind are for him who works in this world for the Wise Spirit and wields, according to the will of Ahura, the power given to him to

help the poor" (the Honover prayer). And the evil *daevas* fled, casting the evil eye, the wicked *daevas* that do evil, saying: "Let us gather together at the gate of hell (the head of Arezura), for he, the holy Zoroaster, is born. How can we slay him? For he is the stroke that fells the fiends."

The general scheme of church organization is simple in Zoroastrianism. The adoration of Fire holds the first place. But Fire is not a mere natural power: "I sacrifice to thee, Fire, son of Ormuzd, and to all fires and all waters and to all plants, for they are all made by God." The cult eventually became a worship of Fire as representative of all that is holy and pure. The ordinary sacrifice was a libation of milk and *hom* and a meat-offering. The priest was not an hereditary officer; he went from house to house to offer sacrifice and also executed legal punishments. The Ratu or Raspi was the guardian of the young, an assistant to the chief priest, Zaotar. The priests had no political power before the Sassanian period, when a hierarchy was established. Altogether it was a simple and devout congregation, hampered less by priestly ambition than by pious scrupulosity. The painful mysteries of Mithraism seem, however, to have begun early, since in the Mihr Yasht thirty stripes purge from sin; but fines might take the place of strokes. Death, menstruation, and childbirth were the greatest sources of impurity. At death the "devil-averting" dog must stand beside the dying. Purification, washing of oneself and vessels, fasting, and penance were means of ridding oneself of evil. Sacrifice was made to stars and to Mithra. To Ursa maior, for example, because this star-group kept off Pairikas; to Sirius, because it kept off drought, and "is most beneficent when worshipped with sacrifice and propitiated." Ormuzd is represented as saying of Sirius: "I have created that star as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer, as worthy of propitiation as myself" (Tir Yasht). The language used of Mithra is of the same sort and prepares us for the later rise of Mithraism.

As compared with other religions, Zoroastrianism is more ritualistic than Confucianism; more spiritual than Babylonian religion; more practical and less speculative than Hinduism. It is a sect, not a national religion, drawing its adherents from all who are religiously minded. Its rise was in great part due to conversion by conquest and it throve only under political support.

The historical connexion between the Persian and Christian faiths is evident in one point, the heptarchy of angels, and may be suspected in others. Raphael, the healer, presents prayers and heals earth when it is defiled, as Vohumano receives the suppliants and hears prayers. Gabriel, the man of God, mentioned in Daniel viii. 16; ix. 21 and Luke i. 19, 26, and Michael, the "great prince" and guard of Israel, Daniel x. 13 and xii. 1, together with Uriel and Azazel all belong to the post-exilic period and do not seem to have been native Hebrew creations. The seventh chapter of Ezra shows that the king of Persia was interested in the service of the Hebrews and it is not a far cry to Zoroastrianism when we see that the Hebrews were protected by a Zoroastrian monarch. The whole theory of guardian angels, Matthew viii. 10, Acts xii. 15, may be referred to the same source. Yet on the other hand, with the exception of Asmodeus, there is no linguistic parallel between the Hebrew and Persian spirits. Nevertheless, the character of such angels as Gabriel and Michael seems more of Persian than of Babylonian stamp. And when we come to the eschatological side, the influence of Persia seems predominant. We may say that the seven evil spirits of Matthew xii. 45 are as well referred to Babylon as to Persia, and Revelations as a whole may reflect either source, but when we turn to specific details, such as the lake of fire and the thousand years of the reign of the evil Azhi Dahaka, we are irresistibly compelled to draw the parallels between the Christian and Persian rather than Babylonian faith. Even though we grant that Babylonian effect upon Zoroastrianism was greater and earlier than used to be be-

lieved, yet it is not important from the Christian point of view whether the influence came directly or indirectly from Babylon, but whether we are to assume any influence at all. In Matthew v. 25 and 28, the resurrection of the dead is an event soon to come. The general doctrine was not confined to Persia, but was known to Greece and Egypt, yet, as far as Hebrew belief goes, it is not known in the earlier times; while it is an essential belief of Zoroastrianism even in the earlier times. The hope of immortality expressed in the Psalms, xvi. 17; xlix. 63, is a trait not necessarily drawn from Persia, but it is significant that there is no such hope expressed till the Persian and Greek period. Under the Sassanians, on the other hand, the influence of the Jewish religion began to make itself felt in Zoroastrianism (compare Darmesteter, *une prière judeo-persane,* Paris, 1891) and it is possible that this happened earlier; just as it is possible that Persian belief affected Babylon as well as that Babylonian belief affected Persia.[1] As early as the seventh century before Christ and perhaps earlier the names of Persian gods were borrowed by Assyrians.

The notion of a life after death is one found in many religions and though it is possible that the idea of a resurrection may have been borrowed, it is not a necessary solution. At any rate the idea of the Jews was developed quite independently, as it differs from that of the Zoroastrians. Nor does there seem to be any relation between the Bible and the Avesta in the doctrine of retribution and the conception of hell, which in the Jews' belief was a lake of fire near Jerusalem, while in Zoroastrianism it was a place cold and malodorous under the whole earth. The closest resemblances to Christian belief are to be found in the *Arda Viraf,* a late work in the vein of the *Divina Comedia* and perhaps influencing Dante's description. In the earliest

[1] On the relations between Babylon and Iran, compare *ZDMG.* 50, 43 (1896). In *Am. Jour. of Theology,* xxi. 58f. (1917), Professor Carnoy seeks to prove that Varuna and Ormuzd derive from a Babylonian prototype, but his argument is based on what seems to the writer inconclusive parallelism (see above, p. 346).

Jewish belief there is no general resurrection, only of the just or of some of the dead, whereas the Zoroastrians held to a universal resurrection. Again, the Zoroastrian belief implied a cosmic renewal of the world, which was not the Jewish idea. The Messiah belief again is not part of earliest Zoroastrianism, certainly not of the Gathic belief, in which hell is only the "abode of the worst mind" and Vohumano himself or itself is heaven (Gathas 30, 4, and 32, 15).

In the earliest texts the word saviour is applied to the pious man who helps renovate the world; to the prince who saves in the same way; and to others who, like the Ameshaspentas, serve the good cause. It is only in post-Gathic literature that the word designates a special saviour. But by the time of the thirteenth and nineteenth Yasht the Messianic idea is well known, as in the Haptanghaiti the fire of purification and final judgment are recognized. Yet no one knows the date of these works, even approximately. They have the character of later works, as compared with the Gathas, and that is all we can say. So we have to rest with this statement, that the significant elements of the later eschatology are unknown in the Gathas, in which there is no Messiah, no assembly of the dead at the last day, and no reward and punishment in heaven and hell, only a cosmic renewal of the world and the general notion of a resurrection. Whether there was a bodily resurrection recognized before the time of Pahlavi theology is doubtful. Soederblom thinks that in the Gathas there is nothing to prove or disprove the idea. Nevertheless, we cannot ignore the fact that Greek authorities of the fourth century B. C. (in all probability, Theopompus *ap.* Plutarch) recognize the Magian belief in the cycles, in resurrection, and in purification, when "Hades" is overthrown and the more and more spiritualized world shall become happy in universal felicity. This corresponds to the later Avestan idea and seems to point to the fact that even the later Avestan views are older than our era, though a great deal of the detailed lore of the resurrection derives from texts such as the Bundahish,

which in its present form is as late as the Mohammedan conquest of Persia (651 A. D.), and the Bahman Yasht, which is as late as the sixth or seventh century. From these sources comes the completed Messianic doctrine, with its account of the overthrow of Azhi Dahaka by Hushedar (Hushedar's millennium begins with the decline of the Sassanides) and the second millennium of Hushedarmah, which is now in progress, culminating in the coming of the saviour. This element in the new theology made vital changes. These were the gradual lessening of the importance of the work of the pious worshipper and even of Ahura Mazda himself in comparison with the work of the saviour. For it is not God but the Saoshyant who raises the dead by giving them the elixir of life, the flesh of the sacred ox and the Hom juice. He toils for fifty-seven years to raise them and they all rise, good and bad, to be purified and to seem forty years of age if they died old, or fifteen if young; but, according to another version, vegetarians are resurrected young and the eaters of flesh as of middle life. Owing to this idea of universal purification the old conception of a judgment by burning metal, though retained, became superfluous. Ahriman is the only sinner destroyed; even the Azhi Dahaka, who eats up Satan, is purified at last (Bahman Yasht, 3, 57). The doctrine of the Gathas, that piety increases righteousness, is also no longer necessary.

Darmesteter's theory, already criticized, refers Zoroastrianism to Greek and Christian influences. The exaggeration is here almost as great as that of Mills, who thinks that the Avesta is the source of all Jewish belief in regard to Satan, the angels, and the last judgment. Philo is said to have been the transmitter. The general and particular are not sundered at all in Mills' review; many parallels are utterly inept, such as the stress laid on seven, as if this number had not been Jewish. Soederblom's work is much more critical. He shows, what is so constantly forgotten,

that the divergencies are quite as important as the agreements and holds that, while there may be a general historical connection between Jews and Iranians, there is no such close dependence as is maintained by Mills. The figure of Satan and those of the archangels as princes of earth and air are very probably of Iranian origin; while the temptation may have been added to Zoroastrianism from Christian sources, or, as a Christian story, drawn from Zoroastrianism or, a third possibility, each may have arisen independently. There is still a fourth possibility, that both western religions were indebted to Buddhism. Unsatisfactory as is this non-solution, it is at present all that an unbiassed historian can accept. The Jewish-Christian Judgment is not that of Zoroastrianism and the general idea of a life hereafter need not be derived at all, or it may have had any one of many sources. The universal resurrection, the Bridge, the three judges, form no part of the Jewish idea, while the Christian "last trump" is not Zoroastrian. In a word, "Daniel was Zoroaster" is not historically possible. Edouard Meyer's view, that both Persians and Jews drew the ideas common to both from Babylon, lacks a basis of fact. Where in Babylon is found a Satan or a Wise Spirit opposed to him, or an eschatology like that of the "borrowers"?

Satan is not an early Jewish nor a Babylonian conception, but he is a perfect counterpart of Ahriman, who in turn grows naturally out of Zoroaster's Lie. The seven archangels are inevitable developments of Gathan thought; Asmodeus is Aeshma daeva. Most of the differences in belief are explicable as due to independent development in detail. New Testament thought is a residuum of foreign and native ideas so long combined as to be at this period purely Jewish; in the Apocalypse there might be a reflection of Babylonian star-cult, as in the virgin-birth and saviour-deity there might be a reflection of Zoroastrian mythology. But might is not must and in view of the great

uncertainty in regard to the date of later Avestan texts, it is probable that we shall never know the exact relation between Christian beliefs and Zoroastrian.

An eclectic mystical combination of Zoroastrianism, Babylonian belief, and Gnostic Christianity arose in the third century A. D. under the name of Manicheism; it was a much needed reform. Mani's chief argument against Zoroastrianism was that it had become too formal. Not sacrifice but prayer and instruction were needed in religious life. He would accordingly free the "light devoured by matter." He appeared in 242 A. D. and was executed after many years' work in the East.[1] Three hundred years later, in the sixth century, another sect, that of Mazdak, a disciple of Mani, taught a socialistic community of goods, which included even the common possession of wives; but otherwise it was ascetic, the leader preaching the giving up of meat and pleasure. The Mesopotamian Mandaeans (*manda* is gnosis) also showed Persian Gnostic elements, such as worshipping the attributes of God. Their scriptures, though late, contain much older material. The modern Guebers or Ghebers are the "heretics" (Kafirs), as they appeared to Mohammedans, that is a general term for Zoroastrian fire-worshippers. Under persecution, a remnant of Zoroastrian believers settled in India and are still known as Parsis (Persians). They retain the faith, the best practices, and the high moral tone of their ancestors.

But of all the out-growths from Zoroastrianism, that which emanated from the cult of Mithra was the most important. It was not, however, a direct product of Zoroastrianism. It was rather an exaggeration of a cult which, though maintained within the fold, was never really Zoroastrian. Mithra, not even mentioned in the Gathas, appears almost equivalent to Ormuzd as early as the tenth

[1] Fragments of Manichaean works have recently been recovered. The system was based on dualism and was in full force in western Europe in the fourth century. Augustine was at first a Manichaean. Mani regarded himself as a reincarnation of Christ and as God incarnate.

Yasht. Mithra's cult is really that of the old Persian god of light, popularly maintained and mystically interpreted. Mithra as the kindly light of heaven, represented, as the reviving sun, the beneficent creative power, and as the "spirit of the middle sphere" he became also a mediatorial god. The conception differs somewhat even in its earliest form from that of the sun-god, who in the Vedas appears carried by seven steeds, while Mithra is the light that brings the day in a chariot drawn by four horses. Mithra is the light celestial, of day or of night. At night he sees with his hundred eyes and hears with his hundred ears, so that he becomes the god of truth and compacts. But the sun as light of heaven is also Mithra, who gives increase in progeny and cattle. As giver, too, he dispenses peace, wisdom, and victory in battle, and in this capacity his companion is Verethraghna, genius of victory. Above all in giving victory he saves and then as saviour he saves the soul from demons dragging it toward hell. In the Persian religion he is combined (as Sun) with Anahita and Ahura Mazda. When his cult spreads to the western world he becomes Helios and Anahita becomes Artemis Tauropolis. The Tauroktonos Mithra slays the bull from whose blood when sacrified spring wheat and the vine, originally the Hom. He is represented as born of the Rock, *i. e.*, the sky; his birth is seen only by shepherds, who worship him. At once he becomes the ally of the sun and slays the bull from whom come all useful animals and plants, before the birth of man. His devotee receives the blood of the bull, in a symbolic rite taken from the Anahita cult, yet not to revive physical life but to renew his soul. Mithraism inherited from Zoroastrianism the general idea of the soul's journey, but complicated it with a later theory of ascents through seven spheres, each united with a planet. Only the initiated could pass from one stage to another, as they alone had the magic formula that served as password. Mithraism also taught that when the evil of Ahriman has destroyed the world, the dead will be raised again and, drink-

ing of the blood of the divine bull, will receive immortal life, while fire will devour the wicked, Ahriman and all.

Mithra, as mediator, emanated from God and, as demiurge, fashioned the world over which he watched. He was identified with the Logos and his "glory" influenced the deification of emperors. He gave the hope of a happy resurrection, for he was the purifier and saviour of souls. Beginning in Roman times to spread to the West, Mithraism reached its highest development in the third century of our era. Julian the Apostate favoured it as late as 331–363. It lasted till the fifth century. The cult took a deep hold upon paganism. It became a solar pantheism in which Mithra represented all gods. His worshippers were for a long time rivals of the Christians. As Cumont says: "The rites they practised offered numerous analogies. . . . They purified themselves by baptism; received by a species of confirmation the power to combat the spirits of evil; and expected from a Lord's Supper salvation of body and soul." In the Mithraic love-feast the Last Supper commemorates the end of the god's labours for man (Mithra saved man from drought, flood, and fire). Like the Christians, the worshippers of Mithra were all "brothers"; they celebrated Dec. 25 as the "birth-day of the Sun," held Sunday as a sacred day, and celebrated a sort of communion. Their code was strictly ethical. They "regarded asceticism as meritorious and counted among their principal virtues abstinence, continence, renunciation, and self-control." Opposed to Zoroastrian belief, they had celibates and a Summus Pontifex (Tertullian). Their own order did not favour female devotees, but they provided an outlet for feminine devotion by allying themselves with the worshippers of the Magna Mater (Cumont). They had about the same conception of the destiny of man as had the Christians, admitting the existence of a Heaven above, the home of saints, and a hell of demons under-ground. "They both placed a flood near the beginning of history; they both assigned as the source of their traditions a primitive revelation;

they both believed in the immortality of the soul, in a last judgment, and in a resurrection of the dead, with a final conflagration of the universe." In the end the higher ideal of Christianity won the day, but only after a momentous strife. Mithraism had its ablest opponent in itself. Its asceticism was cruel; it was pre-eminently a military cult; its shibboleth was not gentleness but courage; it did not honour women; it was weighted with a cumbersome theology and liturgy, which failed to attract the western world. Above all, in contrast with Christianity, it was unable to appeal to history and was inferior in spirituality.[1]

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[1] Zoroastrian influence through the medium of Mithraism is still felt in the Freemason-heritage from the Rosicrucians of the Middle Ages, who preserved relics of the Mithra-cult. Compare Cumont, *Textes et Monuments* and *Mysteries of Mithra,* cited below. The above is an abstract of the chief points in this authoritative work.

CHAPTER TWENTY

THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL

WHAT is known in regard to the "Children of Israel" (i.e., Jacob) before the time of David (*circa* 1000 B. C.) is pious tradition rather than history. The religion of this period was at first presumably that of nomads, until the tribes that invaded Palestine entered a new economic environment, which had already affected the religion of their Semitic predecessors and now influenced Israel. The centralizing tendencies of court life, beginning with the establishment of the kingdom founded by Saul and David, modified the form of religion still further. Political disaster then brought material humility but spiritual elevation. After life had become adjusted to its new conditions, religion became crystallized in the Law, wherein, however, survived much of the past.

Incidental to the internal development of this religion was the effect produced by foreign culture, that of the Eastern Semites, the Persians, the Greeks. From the first came perhaps some legendary material and a new appreciation of legal form. From Persia, certain mythological and eschatological beliefs. From Greece, new cultural and philosophical ideas. Egyptian influence, except possibly in legendary material, is not patent, though such influence had already existed in Palestine prior to the Israelite invasion.

The Nomadic Stage: This is reflected in tradition, inferable from survivals, and is in accordance with analogy. Like the Bedouins, the Israelites probably worshipped various daimonia, formless powers of evil or good, sometimes located but generally vague as to nature and habitat. Sacrificial cult of some sort reverts to this period, for prophetic

denunciation of sacrifice is not enough to prove its absence in the remote past. Probably the tribal god was worshipped with a communion-service of blood; possibly several tribes had for centuries one god. By analogy we may suppose that the priest of the god was a magician, perhaps carrying a magician's rod in serpent-shape; but this would not imply (as E. Meyer has supposed) that the god was a serpent.[1]

The god of the Israelites, both of the southern and northern tribes, was Yahweh, a spirit possibly belonging to many Semitic groups, more especially to the Midianites. He was the god of this people, and came from Horeb, the country of the Midianites. Possibly the later cult was affected by that of the moon-god Sin of Haran and Sinai; but this depends in part on whether the Sabbath was a later moon-festival. It may have been an old Semitic inheritance, a day of pacification.[2]

Moses appears to have reunited the tribes after their sojourn in Egypt (or Goshen). He may have reintroduced them at that time to the god they had once known. The exaltation of a tribal god from a spirit is in line with Semitic tendencies (compare Chemosh of the Moabites, Melek of the Amorites, and more remotely Ashur and Bel). Such a god assumes all needed functions for the protection of his worshippers.[3]

A pronounced ethical trait is observable in Yahweh worship from the beginning, nor is this alien to the general Semitic character. As we have seen, it appears at an early date among the eastern Semites; it may have inhered in other Semitic gods, later debased by agricultural environ-

[1] For the curative power of the serpent, compare Num. xxi. 6f. and the symbol of Aesculapius.

[2] See above, p. 362. Professor Barton, *Studies in the History of Religions,* New York, 1912, p. 203, thinks that Yahweh's primary office was that of love and fertility. But it is more probable that he was at first a general tribal god, who then acquired from successive environments sundry attributes, becoming war-god, storm-god, and fertility-god in turn, like Indra in India.

[3] On a possible connexion with Haran and supposed Aramaean influence on the Israelites, see Barton, *op. cit.,* p. 200.

ment. For, as long as a tribe is a fighting nomadic entity, its god reflects the simpler morality of its habitat; but a change to agriculture introduces dependence on weather rather than on war. The consequent cult of seasons, sun, and moon, leads to the sympathetic magic of productivity, and this in turn introduces new rites affecting morals and religion. Thus the old Babylonian god was a clan-Power rather than a natural phenomenon and the old Assyrian god was, like Yahweh, a tribal war-god, while the early Phoenician and Syrian deities were also tribal (later city) gods as Powers or presiding spirits of tribes. The difference between Yahweh and Beelzebub is that the former, no longer phenomenal, retains his tribal existence as a Power akin to the tribe, while the latter is merely the sun as king of flies or a power of nature under one aspect. The latter is as unmoral as nature; the former as moral as the best of the tribe.

The people probably worshipped other gods besides Yahweh; the Calf of Samaria and Golden Calf [1] were effigies of agricultural powers rivalling Yahweh at a later stage; the serpent was kept till late in the eighth century B. C., long after the people were civilized, just as the household gods called Teraphim had been preserved as such till David's day (Gen. xxxi. 30; 1 Sam. xix. 13). Their spiritual leaders endeavoured vainly to make the Hebrews worship Yahweh alone; but even they had no conception of monotheism, only of monolatry.[2]

Various nomadic traits have been assigned to the prehistoric Israelites on the ground that Arabs today show such traits; but many of these may as well belong to the second

[1] The two calves of Jeroboam, 1 Kg. xii. 32, appear to be the effigies of the waning and waxing moon, perhaps of Babylonian or general Semitic origin.

[2] The serpent in later times was preserved as adjunct of Yahweh rather than as a separate god, till a finer religious sense prohibited even this manifestation. Its destruction c. 720 B. C. by Hezekiah is recorded in 2 Kg. xviii. 4 ("he called it Nehushtan"). A brazen serpent of this sort has been found at Gezer.

stage, of agriculture. Belief in ghosts, as in other spirits, was probably early.[1] These are willing occasionally to help men with oracular advice. But on the whole ghosts seek blood and wander by night. The Passover, rites of mourning, ashes, and hiding, may show a desire to escape the notice of unfriendly powers. There is no proof of primitive Semitic totemism. Tatooing in honour of a god was practised in special cases (Ex. xiii. 9; Is. xliv. 5). Taboo is shown in the distinction between clean and unclean animals. The *herem,* or vow of destruction, tabooed everything; hence the sin of preserving anything in Jericho (Joshua vii). Some think that the notion of unclean animals was brought from Egypt with the rite of circumcision. This rite was probably part of a tribal initiation-ceremony, afterwards performed at an earlier time of life; but it was not a Semitic heritage, as it is unknown to the eastern Semites and to the Philistines.[2]

The worship of stones, trees, wells, and serpents may have been agricultural or nomadic.[3] So too of such traits as fasting (Neh. ix. 1); absence of the *lex talionis* (Gen. iv. 23); the practice of the Rechabites (Jer. xxxv.); the use of bitter water as an oracle; the scape-goat, etc. These are primitive, but whether nomadic or not is uncertain.[4] The ark may well have been a survival of nomadic life. It served as an oracle and was taboo to the touch (1 Sam. iv–vii.). It is said to have contained (meteoric?) stones. The ark of Shiloh may have beeen the home of the Lord of Shechem, Baal-Berith, afterwards identified with Yahweh.

[1] Food for the dead is recognized in Deut. xxvi. 14 (not implying worship).

[2] Compare Ex. iv. 24f.; Josh. v. 2f.

[3] Such traits especially are referred to "the nomadic stage" without sufficient cause. On the sanctity of the stone and tree, terebinth, hyssop, cedar, etc., and survivals of wand-oracles (Gen. xxx. 37; xxxv. 2f.; Joshua xxiv. 26; Judg. ix. 6; Ps. li. 7), see the old but still excellent work of Carl Boetticher, *Der Baumcultus der Hellenen,* p. 518 (1856).

[4] Marti, *Religion of the Old Testament,* New York, 1907, ch. xi, is too ready to dub as nomadic traits possibly later.

Such an ark houses a second presence of a god whose home may be afar, a necessary precaution for those fighting away from home, and one taken, for example, by the Mexicans.

All in all, we know little of the nomadic religion of Israel, though most of the religious traits mentioned belong to this or to the succeeding stage, after Moses had brought the Hebrews to Kadesh, south of Palestine. It seems historically reasonable to believe that Moses, like Mohammed, united various tribes and made real an ideal not wholly unknown before, in that he gave Israel its jealous protecting national divinity. Improbable is the theory that David as ruler imposed Yahweh on Israel *after* he had consolidated the Israelites by conquest.[1]

The question as to the historicity of Moses (not of his authorship) raises the same question in regard to the Patriarchs and other legendary figures of the nomadic past. Their religious value remains the same whether they ever existed or not, since to the later Israelites they were historical characters and to us they embody, in any event, important historical matter involving religious data, not to speak of their value from ethical and literary points of view. The purely speculative "interpretation" of the Patriarchs as tribal heroes,[2] local gods, or even as natural phenomena (this last, however, never deserved consideration), ignores traditional values and, apart from that, remains guess-work. We may imagine Abraham to have been a parallel to the heroes of culture-myths found in other religions or a local god; yet the Patriarch, who is said to have come to Palestine *via* Haran, may have existed, though it is historically likely that he was an idealized hero. But we must at least avoid statements too positive and incapable of verification. Thus it is only partly true when Loisy declares that the Patriarchs never existed, that Moses, Deborah, Gideon, and

[1] Compare Loisy, *The Religion of Israel*, New York, 1910, p. 31.
[2] For example, Cain as (Cainite) Kenite, the tribe of wanderers. Compare Gen. iv. 14–16 (the land of Nod).

Samuel are largely legendary, that Adam, Noah, and the traditions of Paradise, the Deluge, and Babel are myths; and that it was the Prophets who inspired the law and not the law that inspired the Prophets. In this interpretation the Mosaic revelation is a theological romance.

Myth, legend, and history are relative terms. The songs of Lamech and of Deborah are perhaps the oldest fragments in the Bible and the existence of these people, like that of Gideon and Samuel, may be accepted as a fact. Moses appears to be as historical as Buddha, who, too, has been "interpreted" out of existence; his personality, however glorified, was real; it made history because based on history. However legendary, such characters ought never to be thrown together with the purely imaginary figures of world-beginnings, which are probably a common heritage of the Semites. The Deluge-story, as already shown (see p. 350f.) is found in Babylonian tradition and the figure of Adam also may have a counterpart in that of Adapa (p. 352). Compare also the Babylonian tale of which Professor Barton has recently (1917) given an account. Stories of primeval monsters are probably heritage rather than loan. Finally, that the Prophets inspired the law, depends on the definition of law. When we speak of Jewish law, we must first explain whether we mean the legal code or law in general. There is no doubt whatever that the Prophets knew a holy law, probably even many of the minute directions afterwards codified in the Priestly Code. A code is based on law not law on a code. An Israelite code of some sort existed by the ninth century B. C. We may safely assume that even in their nomadic state the Israelites had laws; and from what we know of primitive people these laws were probably in part due to oracular enunciation of divine commands. On the other hand, they did not as nomads have the code known as the Priestly Code (of the Pentateuch), for this arose under agricultural, not nomadic, conditions. Very likely the earliest law was that implied by Ex. xxxiv, before it was affected by agricultural customs:

to have but one god and no images, to observe the Sabbath and Passover, not to use leaven, perhaps to sacrifice, or redeem, the first-born (this was a Canaanite custom). The leaven was taboo because it implied corruption.

The Israelites made sundry tribes belonging to different groups. The group of "Rachel-tribes" is supposed to have entered Palestine from the east about 1200 B. C., after a sojourn in Egypt. Three other groups of tribes invaded the country, of whom the most important were the "Leah-tribes" who (including Judah), may have preceded the Rachel-tribes by a century or two.[1]

The Israelites who invaded Canaan mingled with the earlier population and gradually overcame them, though in the process they became assimilated to the Canaanites. Under David the Judaean tribes appear to have become united into a body politic, the kingdom of David, which eventually conquered the earlier kingdom of Israel in the north (Samaria). The second stage of religion begins with the entry of the Israelite into the fertile land of Palestine, whose inhabitants had a more advanced civilization[2] than that of Israel and a religion based on agricultural life.[3]

[1] The received view is that Samaria and Judaea were occupied by tribes driven out of the desert, supposedly by such a famine as previously, at intervals of half a millennium, had led to the emigration of other Semites, later known as Babylonians, Phoenicians, Canaanites, etc. This is not history but speculation. The aboriginal Semites may have been Africans, who spread into Syria and Arabia; but the immediate ancestors of Babylonians and Hebrews may as well derive from the northern hills as from the southern desert. The exodus of the Leah and Rachel tribes are ascribed to the time of the XVIII and XIX Egyptian dynasties, respectively.

[2] Solomon had to send to Tyre for Hiram the worker in metal. The Hebrews had no smith in Samuel's day (1 Sam. xiii. 19; 1 Kg. vii). Compare Judg. i. 19; iv. 13, on the use of iron by the Canaanites in the thirteenth century.

[3] The earlier inhabitants of Palestine were Amorites, who had displaced a non-Semitic race, c. 2500 B. C., and remained in possession till Hebraic times, though contending with the (Cretan) Philistines and Canaanites, who entered the land about 1800 B. C. Palestine belonged to Egypt in the fifteenth and thirteenth centuries B. C. The Aramaeans (about 1300 B. C.) are spoken of as Palestinians.

This religion of Canaan was practically one with the religion of the Phoenicians, that is to say, a religion already exposed to the influence of Babylon and Egypt in addition to the native Semitic cult, which, like the neighbouring Semitic cults, differed from that of the Israelites in several particulars. The chief divinity was Astarte, as mother of life; scarcely less popular were Bel and Hadad; Egyptian and Babylonian gods were worshipped. The Mother of Life as giver of produce was most honoured. Chief of victims were the first-born and these included children, whose bones have been found at many shrines and foundations. Groves and hills were favourite holy places. Asheras,[1] tree-stumps, and Massebas, stone pillars, anointed with oil, typified female and male divinity; originally they were themselves divinities, but later they were placed about the shrine of local gods. The land has passed from polydemonism and worship of stocks and stones to polytheism, but retained the old, more or less understood, with the new. Blood sacrifice was here an offering not a communion-service. Earth and hewn rock altars (later forbidden, Ex. xx. 25f.) were raised to many gods, but chiefly to the mother goddess of fertility. The open rites in her honour were naturally based on her functions, so that here, as elsewhere, the more developed moral sense of man was higher than the religious practice.[2] Conscious excess, not naïve nature-worship, marked the practice of the cult. The goddess called the "great one" was the chief Phoenician deity by 1400 B. C. and this was probably the case in Canaan, as in Syria "the goddess" was chief. With her was that Adados, who appears as Adonis in Greece and Attis in

Between 1225 and 1215 B. C. Merneptah, the Pharaoh, exults that "Israel is desolated."

[1] Compare the Asher tribe, named from its god, like the tribe Gad, named from the god Gad.

[2] Religious conservatism retained rites ordinarily offensive to decency, as in Greece and Rome. There is a difference between naïve practice and religious sophisticated practice. The former is not indecent (immoral) at all; the latter is decent only as it is religious.

Asia Minor, usually regarded as personifying spring's brief glory slain by the boar (at Byblos), representing summer heat. Sometimes this god is identified with Rimmon (Zech. xii. 11). At Ascalon close to Canaan the goddess appeared with a fish-body (Derketo), still as the deity of productivity generally called Astarte, Astoreth, or Atargatis, originally a form of Ishtar, whose love for Tammuz is referred to by Ezekiel (viii. 14). Antioch and Lebanon, as well as Byblos and Cyprus, were seats of the orgiastic cult of these fertility demons raised to divinities, whose priests and priestesses mutilated themselves in honour of the goddess and whose festivals were adopted by the Israelites till the ethical vigour of their nation suppressed this religious abuse. The symbols of the male power were many, bull, ram, boar, eagle, as those of the female power were diversified as cow, dove, fish, etc. The relation between man and this divine power was sometimes that of filial devotion. Pious kings and priests call themselves sons, brothers, and beloved of Baal; but usually ordinary men are "dogs" (slaves) of the Lord. This shows at least a sense of human dependence on the divinity. But it must not be supposed that all the western Semites were voluptuaries. There were strong gods (Molechs) who had to do with laws as well as fertility. The Moon-cult is here austere. The gods of Tyre and Sidon were stern, exacting human sacrifice. Yahweh was of this sort, a god of vengeance and fury (Is. lxiii. 3–6). The Lord of Phoenicia is a solar fire-god, Sharraph (compare Seraph), with six wings (cf. Is. vi. 2).

Besides these chief figures were worshipped also "Chaldean" gods, sun, moon, stars, and gods of wind, of dance, of mercy, and of fortune (Gad), known to Phoenician and Canaanite alike. Towns such as Tyre, Sidon, and Tarsus had each its city-god, as before the time of cities each tribe had its tribal god. So in Judaea every city had its god. Sometimes there is a reversion to the primitive demonism which ignores sex. Thus in Cyprus an androgynous god was worshipped. But usually the demon had become either

a god or a goddess. Very rarely such a god is known, as at Byblos, simply as El, that is a Mighty One, who had no shrine, no priest, and no service.[1]

Israel could not live in such an environment without modifying its own religion. In Samaria, Baal-worship was formally countenanced by Ahab, son of Omri, as a political measure. The god Chemosh was recognized under Solomon in Judaea. Compare Judg. viii. 33: "As soon as Gideon was dead they went after Baalim and made Baal Berith their god"; 1 Kg. xvi. 31f.: "Ahab reared an altar for Baal in Samaria and made a grove"; 1 Kg. xi. 7: "Solomon built a high place for Chemosh of Moab on the hill before Jerusalem and for Molech"; and ib. 5: "Solomon went after Astoreth of Sidon and after Milcom (Molech) of the Ammonites."[2] Hezekiah suppressed the country-shrines in favour of the Temple (2 Kg. xviii.); but Hezekiah's son Manasseh (seventh century) worshipped a host of gods of sky and earth.

Thus for centuries the worship of Baalim held side by side with that of Yahweh and was as popular with Israelite as with Canaanite. Moreover, as the peoples merged into one body, so the religions merged. Yahweh became god not only of the Israelites but of the Canaanites, whose older gods he ousted from their shrines, as at Bethel and Shechem. Conversely, Canaanite cultus became directed toward Yahweh, who thus became an agricultural deity, and so entered into competition with the native gods. In the north there was a formal tournament of gods, to see which was the better. The priests of Baal danced and cut themselves after their manner but in vain, while the fire of Yahweh fell,

[1] Though the various goddesses (and gods) of Ishtar character (Astaste, etc.) are not the same divinity, they represent under various forms and names the same idea to the various tribes, that of the life-principle, a sex-cult retained till Mohammedan days and surviving in the *Mihrab* and horse-shoe arch.

[2] Chemosh is regarded as a real god (of the Moabites) in Judg. xi. 24. His worship was later abolished by Josiah, who also put down the cult of sun, moon, planets, and other hosts of heaven (2 Kg. xxiii; compare Jer. viii. 2).

after Elijah had repaired his broken altar. Then the spectators of the tournament decided that Yahweh was God (1 Kg. xviii.). Another contest took place betweeen the divine ark and Dagon of the Philistines, a fish-god counterpart of Derketo (above; cf. Judg. xvi. 23; 1 Sam. 5). The cart carrying the ark "came into the field of Joshua the Bel-Shamite," an indication that the worship of the sun, Shamash, was popular.[1] This polytheism was not easily stamped out. It was really the popular religion of Israel until after the Exile. One cannot read the accounts of "Israel's adultery" throughout the Old Testament without being impressed with the fact that Yahweh's strict worshippers were only a small group in a great host of idolatrous Israelites, who even admitted foreign gods into Yahweh's very tabernacle and were always ready to worship Baal. So say even the Jews: "Excepting David, Hezekiah, and Josiah, all the kings of Judah forsook the Law of the Most High" (Ecclesiasticus xlix. 4).

The establishment of a kingdom, first of Israel and then of Judah,[2] gave to religion the centralization of the court. Any head of a family or the head of the tribe might originally make a sacrifice. But now priests[3] under the king became official sacrificers at a city temple (instead of a "high place"), which tended to become the only place of sacrifice. God himself was treated as a king (as a king was

[1] Similar place-names in Palestine reveal the worship of Phoenician gods. The horses of Shamash are not recognized till 2 Kg. xxiii. 11, due to Assyrian influence.

[2] After Saul had been made first king of Israel (1 Sam. viii–x. 24 and 2 Sam. v), David, in the next generation (c. 1000 B. C.), became king of Judah and Israel, his capital being old Jebus, a Canaanite town, regarded in the Bible as old Salem (Gen. xiv. 18). Here, at Jerusalem, Solomon, imitating his neighbours, built the temple David piously feared to erect (1 Chron. xxii, xxviii. 3). Solomon died 937 B. C. Under his son Rehoboam ten tribes revolted from Judah. Then the city was taken by Shishak, king of Egypt, plundered by the Philistines (c. 845 B. C.), and like Israel (842 B. C.) invaded and overthrown by the Assyrians (Sargon and Sennacherib, 722 and 701 B. C.).

[3] With the Babylonian *bârûti* (diviners) compare the Hebrew *barîm,* priests as seers, later inspectors of meat.

almost divine, 2 Sam. xiv. 17). Yahweh had his palatial home, became exclusive, was served by a certain class or family (of Zadok). Yahweh, who had been especially the war-god of the tribe,[1] now had his agricultural festivals, services, and tribute. The early Book of the Covenant (Ex. xix–xxiii.) shows already wholly agricultural conditions. The old new-moon feast and those of first fruits, vintage, harvest (Feast of Weeks), were simply transferred from the Canaanite Bamoth to the altar of Baal Yahweh; former victims of the Baalim became those of Yahweh. The festival as a "dance" still retained its force as "dancing before the Lord" (Judg. xxi. 19f.; 2 Sam. vi. 16). The new-moon feast may have been more feast than religious ceremony (1 Sam. xx. 5), but the feast of unleavened bread and that of Pentecost (the fiftieth day after the Passover) were harvest festivals.

Thrice a year, at the festivals of First Fruits, of Weeks (Harvest), and of the Tabernacle (Vintage), all male Israelites came before the Lord with their tribute of fruits as gifts. The sacrifice was now one of tribute, as to a king. The cultus became the chief religious factor and differentiated this stage of religion most forcibly from the earlier stage. The Canaanite Asheras and Massebas and even the foreign Hierodouloi (also -ai) contaminated the Yahweh cult. Yet Yahweh himself, as lord of all the land, became more revered than any local Baal. The sub-divided Yahweh, indicated by a Yahweh-nissi at Kadesh or a Lord God of Sabaoth at Shiloh, never really divided the conception. Yahweh still remained one God and withal, despite Canaanite influence, one moral God, whose worshippers must not only sacrifice to him but follow his moral law. A loftier conception of God was introduced by the gradual sup-

[1] God of armies, a "man of war" (1 Sam. xvii. 45; Ex. xv. 3); cf. Lord God of Sabaoth, that is of the armed hosts. Hence the Prophets say (Amos v. 25; Jer. vii. 22) that Yahweh did not care for (agricultural) sacrifices. As war-lord, Yahweh was commemorated in the old *Book of the Wars of the Lord*. Compare the war-cry, Judg. vii. 18, "the sword of the Lord."

pression of the local shrines and though Yahweh was still god of storm, of rain, of dance, etc., he was so not as a phenomenal or departmental god but as the only God, manifesting himself in all phenomena. It is true that the old tales, judged by modern standards, do not represent either the worshipper or his God as morally perfect. Pharaoh is shocked by Abraham's immorality (Gen. xii. 10f.). Yahweh himself is deceitful, not to say capricious and cruel. There is a lying spirit of God (1 Kg. xxii. 21f.); God deceives cruelly when he persuades men to sacrifice their first-born (Ezek. xx. 25f.).[1] Yet Jeremiah doubts if God ever commanded the horrors perpetrated in his name. Jeremiah was right. Such service does not correspond to the ideal of Yahweh as a God of mercy. Despite practices adopted from the Canaanites and old tales, the God of Israel tended ever to become morally supreme over the nature-gods of Canaan. In this he reflects the state-conception of morality as obedience. Yahweh thus delights less in sacrifice than in obedience (1 Sam. xv. 22). This note becomes the theme of the Prophets, the moral successors of the Patriarchs, who also lived on speaking terms with God. But before their religion is discussed, the literature known to them must be examined.

The early Prophets do not appeal to the Pentateuch; they probably did not know it. But it is probable that they knew as authoritative moral lessons the early tales of Genesis. The Pentateuch (later referred to Moses) is generally believed to be a compilation, the product of various writers

[1] The Tophet-sacrifice was made to Yahweh Molech. Moabite, Phoenician, and Israelite all offer to their gods sacrifice of children (the foundation-sacrifice, 1 Kg. xvi. 34; cf. 2 Kg. iii. 27). Compare 2 Kg. xxi–xxiii; Josh. xv. 8; Jer. vii. 31; xix. 2f. The "Tophet in the valley of the son of Hinnom," south of Jerusalem was where the Canaanites and then the Jews burned their sons and daughters, though they burned their sons also on the high-places. Manasseh still permitted this, but Josiah abolished the practice late in the seventh century. Compare Ex. xxii. 29. Hinnom as Ge Hinnom became Gehenna, the mouth of hell, typical of fiery punishment hereafter.

during several centuries, who, however, made use of much older legal and legendary material. The early writers of the ninth and eighth centuries known as the Yahwist and Elohist appear to represent traditions of the tribes of Judah and of Israel, respectively. At a much later date (fifth century) priestly writers are supposed to have combined these earlier writings with their own contributions to what is now the Pentateuch, after the Deuteronomic code had been established. The Pentateuch as a whole would thus be a work composed after the Exile. The difference between the early Yahwist and Elohist is partly geographical and tribal, partly a difference of style and method. The Judean Yahwist assumes that Yahweh was the name of God from the beginning, while the Israelite Elohist assumes that the name Yahweh was first revealed to Moses. The northern tribes probably adopted the name Yahweh at the time of the covenant which was consummated at the sacrifice mentioned in Ex. xxiv. 1–11. There is from this point of view no historical contradiction between Elohist and Yahwist. Each speaks for his own people in accordance with his native tradition.[1]

The distribution of parts, according to the current view, roughly outlined, implies that only fragments of the Elohist's writings are utilized by the later compilers till Gen. xx. (the story of Sarah); then, belonging to the Elohist, would come the stories of Ishmael, of Abraham's covenant, of the sacrifice of Isaac and his blessing, of Jacob's dream and his service and children (the twelve Patriarchs), of the meeting with Esau, and in part the story of Joseph. The (also Elohistic) priestly writers three hundred years later (c. 450 B. C.) wrote the lofty first chapter of Genesis and much of the genealogical and legal matter of the Pentateuch, one story of the Deluge (the rain-bow covenant, Gen. vi. 9f.;

[1] Compare Ex. iii. 1–14; vi. 3; Gen. xxxv. 10f.; but also the Yahwist's statement, Gen. iv. 26. The Patriarchs (it is said in Joshua) worshipped "other gods" and did not know the name Yahweh.

ix. 11), the covenant by circumcision, etc. The Yahwist's account (thus divided) is much more naïve and picturesque than that of the Elohist. To him would belong the stories of the temptation and fall (Gen. ii. 5f.), of Cain, of the "sons of God," of Isaac and Rebeka, the alternate Deluge-story (Gen. vi. 7; vii. 1f.),[1] the story of Babel, of the rape of Sarah, of the destruction of Sodom, of Esau's loss of birth-right, and parts of the story of Jacob and Joseph. In this (Yahwist) material there is implicit an antecedent polytheism (Gen. xi. 7), showing that the author used still older matter.[2] He himself is inclined to a more anthropomorphic conception of God than are the later priestly writers. Even the earlier Prophets are, as regards monotheism, less advanced than the later Prophets, Ezekiel and the Second Isaiah.[3] Yahweh is the Creator only in these later writers. As late as the Priestly Code, the Creator is Yahweh rather than Yahweh the Creator.[4]

[1] Of the two Deluge stories that of the Yahwist is older; it is more like the Babylonian story. The priestly writers make the flood last a year; the Yahwist, only two months. For parallels to the story, see Usener, *Die Sintflutsagen*, Bonn, 1899. The Hindu and (late) Greek stories may have been influenced by the Semitic, though there are deluge-stories in many parts of the world. The Biblical account may have been based on old material known in Palestine before Judah entered it. This is more probable than that it was taken direct from Babylon in the eighth century or first written after the exile.

[2] This trait as a belief in a plurality of deities, or forms of deity, was preserved in Jewish Kabbalism. The Hebrews spoke of God's "angel," of his Face, or Word, as an hypostasis of God, but other Semites made such hypostases into separate gods. So in Palmyra Mal-'ak-Bel, "angel of Bel," is a god.

[3] That is (the Babylonian) Is. xl–lvi (*circa* 550 B. C.). Some assume a later Third Isaiah, Is. lvi–lxvi (*circa* 450 B. C.) of Jerusalem, while the Priestly Code was forming in Babylon. Parts of Is. xlii, xlix, l, lii are of doubtful origin.

[4] It should be noticed, however, that the results of the Higher criticism, which, as above, divides the Old Testament stories into various sections, are not universally, though generally, accepted. Professor Edouard Naville contends that the earliest Biblical texts were written in Babylonian cuneiform and the later books in Aramaic. Characteristic words and phrases separating the sections would thus be due not to the author (Moses, who wrote the Pentateuch), but to the later translators. This would, for example, re-

The Elohistic Commandments of Ex. xx. reflect the sterner ethical traits of the northern kingdom as compared with the ritualistic agricultural environment of Ex. xxxiv. In the later decalogue no ritualism remains; Yahweh demands only ethical purity. This may be accepted as the first fruits of northern prophetic reaction against the debased southern cult. It recognizes as the supreme spiritual power a moral God. At the same time it is not yet monotheistic [1] and the moral law is external. Thou shalt not swear falsely (take God's name in vain), nor commit overt sins, murder, theft, adultery, casting the evil eye (covet; compare Ecclesiasticus xxxi. [xxxiv.] 13: "God hateth the evil eye; evil is the envious eye"). But even in the later form there is no commandment of pure thought, gentleness, lovingkindness. This inner morality comes later to expression.

Religion of the Prophets: In the magnificent prose epic which has come down to us under the name of Samuel we are told that the prophet was originally called a seer. The two functions are united in Samuel himself, who gives an oracle and expounds the superiority of obedience over sacrifice. By enunciating the will of God, which was discovered by lots or dreams or prophets, the oracle became a law-giver. As sickness was a dispensation of spiritual powers, the prophet also had to do with medicine. To a certain extent he had jurisdiction over litigation. But above all else he was a seer, who without intervention of mechanical means, lots, ordeals, etc., proclaimed the future as he proclaimed God's will.[2] This he did as inspired; he spoke in

store the unity of the Joseph story, and in general overthrow the divisions made by the Higher Criticism. The hypothesis has its weak side philologically, but merits attention.

[1] Jeremiah, about 600 B. C., first declared that other gods were non-existent figments of the imagination. The first commandment implies the existence of gods in whom the Hebrews should not put their trust (monolatry not monotheism).

[2] Samuel was not a *nabi* (prophet) but a soothsayer. Previously prophets were soothsayers (1 Sam. ix. 9). The soothsayer merely revealed material matters and spoke by dreams or lots, at any rate by "rule of thumb," not by inspiration.

ecstasy. Prophetic bands with music and dance like mystics roamed the land in a somewhat orgiastic manner.[1] Eventually prophetic fanaticism led to such symbolic performances as those of Isaiah and Jeremiah, one of whom went naked and the other wore a yoke, to show the fate of Jerusalem and the necessity of submitting to foreign rule, respectively. The prophets were always rather excitable visionaries who sometimes had to be restrained by the police. They were of political importance from the beginning. They countenanced the secession after Solomon's death. In Israel, Elijah quarrelled with King Ahab because the king, as ally of Tyre and to defend himself against Damascus, had married a Phoenician princess and permitted the erection of an altar to Baal Melkart, though Yahweh was retained as the national god. Jehu was set upon the throne through a military plot supported by Elisha and aided by the Rechabite Jonadab ("Jehu destroyed Baal out of Israel," 2 Kg. x.).[2]

Isaiah's assertion that Jerusalem could not be destroyed (xxxi.) had a lasting effect on Jewish politics. Prophetic activity had much to do with breaking up the local shrines, as "sin of Dan," "sin of Samaria," etc. In the end this concentrated the worship of Yahweh at Jerusalem and consolidated the union of church and state, which led to the conception of a national instead of a tribal god. This in turn was the first step toward the conception of a world-god, who for his own ends could even permit Israel to be conquered in order that righteousness might prevail at the loss of Israel's prestige.

Politically the Prophets prevented the growth of Israel.

[1] Loisy goes too far when he says that "Saul also among the prophets" was due to the noise made by Saul (*op. cit.*, ch. iii). The text says that he joined the corybantic troop and prophesied with them (1 Sam. x. 10f.).

[2] Elijah goes clad in skins and affects the desert as his home; he reverts to the nomadic Yahweh, avoids Jerusalem, and seeks Yahweh at Horeb (1 Kg. xix), a strong contrast to the courtier and politician Elisha. Elijah's worth lies in his insistence on ethics *versus* ritual.

In an age when an alliance was necessarily religious as well as political, they hampered every attempt to enlarge the kingdom. Elijah objects as much to the Judaean agricultural Yahweh as to Melkart. No confederation was possible with the neighbours who might have united with Israel to defy Assyria so long as the implacable Prophets would have no dealings even with their own kin, still less with foreigners, who were idolatrous. They accepted political defeat as a due punishment. They did not make the magnificent resolution to sacrifice the state to God, nor did they see that their own counsel had been instrumental in making a martyr of Israel. But it is probable that if they had foreseen they would not have swerved from their path. To them righteousness was the supreme issue. The moral and spiritual gain was immense. What remained from their former condition was still the inspiration, the call to speak in God's name, and their speech was always the same from that of Elijah and the shepherd Amos to Malachi: "Renounce the sin of the Baalim; Yahweh demands righteousness more than sacrifice; for your sin you suffer." To this the later prophet added the hope that the suffering would suffice, that Israel would again be great and blessed. The keynote of the earliest Prophets is voiced in Elijah's protest against the cult; morality not ritual is Yahweh's demand.

To the forerunners of the Prophets is due the conception of a national God. To the Prophets the world owes the first conception of a purely ethical monotheism. For, feeling their way, they passed from lower to higher imaginings, until they raised Yahweh to the position of God. It was indeed a new and startling thought that, as a moral Lord, Yahweh might forsake his own people and become the God of all nations, in the interest of the world's ethical advance. Amos the moralist in the middle of the eighth century proclaims that Yahweh is not necessarily bound to Israel (ix. 7). This Prophet was the first to strike the note of monotheism, though the idea was not formulated till much later. Nor was it thought at first that Yahweh's activity embraced

all nations (an idea first expressed in Jeremiah and the Second Isaiah). The monotheistic ideal did not arise as the result of a "narrow exclusiveness," but was implicit in the inspired call and grew stronger with each succeeding prophet.

The religion of the Prophets is national-ethical; it practically substitutes morality for cult: "I despise your feasts, I do not want your sacrificial gifts. I will not hear your songs and harps" (Amos v. 21f.). "I desire mercy not sacrifice" (Hosea vi. 6); "I have no delight in sacrifice . . . I cannot endure the feasts of the new and full moon" (Is. i. 10f). Yet Isaiah recognized the necessity of formal worship, only he would have a purified cult. Incidentally, the Prophets' religion, particularly Isaiah's utterances, had the effect of converting the previous idea of God as national warrior-king or a Baal-Yahweh into that of the mysterious Holy One whose tabernacle (temple) was now the centre of holiness in a city of God (Jerusalem, the holy, hence indestructible; cf. Is. xxxi. 5; 2 Kg. xix.).

The Prophets broadened religion in two ways. Especially Jeremiah made of Yahweh more than a national god and at the same time made religion an individual matter; setting the individual against the state. Yahweh supports the righteous man. The individual, of whatever nation, if righteous, is saved by Yahweh, whose mercy is extended to all nations. The political outlook doubtless suggested this attitude. The material world-power of Assyria is reflected in the spiritual world; Yahweh rules Assyria as well as Canaan.[1] God uses other nations at first as a means of punishing Israel, but then with enlarged vision it is seen that Yahweh is god of these nations as of Canaan. Amos (c. 750) foresees a national disaster; he is a despairing prophet of woe. Fifteen years later Hosea, the "prophet of love," dares to hope that after this severe affliction at the hand of the Assyrian God will show mercy to a purified Israel. This is the first vague premonition of a coming

[1] Compare Jer. xvii. 10 and Deutero-Is. xlii. 1–6; xlix. 6; lii. 10.

kingdom of God. Isaiah, the prophet of hopeful belief, who saw Israel overthrown and dispersed by Sargon of Assyria and Sennacherib, believes that a "remnant will return," ruled by a blameless king governing all people. To him Israelites are not *quâ* Israelites the people of God. Jeremiah definitely separated patriotism and religion. He and Ezekiel (died *circa* 572 B. C.), the one in Judaea the other in Babylon, taught the futility not of hope but of political expectations. Israel must remain, yet not as a state, but as a congregation of the Lord.

A distinction has been made above between the soothsayer and the prophet, but it must be pointed out also that the prophetic vision varies in different periods. The mysticism of the "howling Dervish" type of dancing, babbling, noisy soothsayer is first replaced by the inspiration of Amos and other "writing prophets," who feel the call or the hand of Yahweh or see a vision,[1] and speak in his name, often in his very words. The first class is shamanistic; its representatives are supernatural, *quâ* ecstatic, beings, magicians. The second class is a band of sober but inspired writers, pretending to no powers save the word they speak for God. The later Prophets, beginning with Daniel, make a third class. They have dreams and in trances see the future after a period of fasting. This still later became a mere literary form).[2] They also speak under angelic dictation and at times hide behind the names of older Prophets.

Jeremiah, the greatest of the Prophets if measured by breadth and depth, bridges the gap between prophetic and legal religion. His prophetic utterances began only a few years before the discovery of the Deuteronomic code. This code, based on the Book of the Covenant, contained in Ex. xx–xxiii. was dramatically "found" and established as

[1] Compare the vision of Isaiah (vi), but not in consequence of a trance, rather as Paul saw his vision. Ezekiel is even forced to speak against his will, as if hypnotized. Hosea has no vision at all.

[2] Modern interpreters of prophetic phenomena either stress the ecstatic side of prophetic phenomena, or insist that the great prophets were merely rational and ethical teachers.

the law of God under Josiah (621 B. C. compare the story in 2 Kg. xxii–xxiii.). It was a valiant attempt to modernize antiquated law. Thus it prohibited absolutely the former "high places" and local shrines, permitted by the Book of the Covenant. No shrines save that at Jerusalem were now recognized. Later, Ezekiel made their priests servants of the Temple. Also some older features of the law were humanely modified and the cultus was purified, but by this code it was now legally established. As Isaiah had seen, a religion could not live by righteousness alone; some cult must give it, as the soul, the body necessary for its earthly existence. This ceremonial side was over-emphasized by the later post-exilic law, embodied in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. The Law of Holiness (Lev. xvii–xxvi.), which was formulated about 500 B. C., probably at Babylon, thus became part of the necessary religion. This trend ended by making religion itself a question of legal technique rather than of inner worth.[1]

Jeremiah, who did not belong to the Jerusalem priesthood, says that the law was made in vain. He demands change of heart not of form. In truth the legal ceremonies which annulled the inwardness of religion soon became a weariness (Malachi i. 13), while they certainly deadened the spirit, though later Jews could still feel this spirit and

[1] From the death of Josiah at Megiddo in 608 B. C. to the establishment of the priestly code political circumstances made a potent factor in religious development. Jerusalem lay at the mercy of Egypt till Nebuchadrezzar in 604 B. C. carried off many of the inhabitants of the Holy City, finally burning the Temple (597–586). The Exile lasted till 536, when Cyrus permitted some forty thousand Jews to return, who rebuilt the Temple twenty years later. Under Nehemiah (c. 444) the city walls were restored. It was not till after this Exile that the Pentateuch was compiled (c. 400 B. C.), while the final form of Chronicles and of the prophetic writings may not be older than the third century. The Hagiographa, or other sacred writings besides the Law, Histories, and the Prophets, are post-exilic, in part even of the Greek period (e. g. Zechariah, c. 250 B. C.; Ruth and Daniel, *circa* 164 B. C.). To the second century B. C. belongs a mass of apocalyptic writing, attributed to Enoch, Baruch, Daniel, Solomon, etc. The Song of Solomon and Ecclesiastes were not accepted as part of the canon till the second century A. D.

voice it magnificently, as in the Psalms. Yet in general the Priestly Code led to the legalism of the Talmud. The code was ratified by a formal covenant which was never abrogated. Nobles and priests as well as Nehemiah were signatories. It was a state document which might well have suppressed all further religious development. It is, in fact, often said that future centuries added to religion a philosophic theology and a mass of legal interpretation, but that the upward course of the religion stopped in the fifth century B. C.[1] It is true that from this time onward theology rested on the assumption that Yahweh had gradually revealed both himself (as Elohim, El Shaddai, and Yahweh) and his will, till Moses received the final exposition, and that Israel had been assigned by Yahweh a permanent privileged position. All change in faith or form now became taboo. Prophets became pretentious and were no longer tolerated; they gave place to the Scribes, who from the fifth century became transmitters of the law. For the mass of returned Jews, these scholars preserved a purified religion which without them had probably been submerged among the still active local cults. Yet the Scribes and Rabbis did more than preserve. The Talmud (300 B. C. to 500 A. D.) shows a constant growth in practical religion, a broader outlook, a more modern conception of the relation between religious and social life. It is really in the succeeding centuries after the Exile that Judaism leads to the ideals associated, perhaps too exclusively, with the daughter-religion of Christ, which it must not be forgotten began as a form of Judaism.

The Temple at Jerusalem, where alone sacrifice was offered, was served by a horde of priests (20,000 in later

[1] For the formal covenant, see Neh. x. 29. Ezra, who brought the Priestly code from Babylon c. 458 B. C., is recognized as the founder of Jewish theology, as Nehemiah (thirteen years later) was the founder of the church. Their reform was the logical continuation of the work of Jeremiah and Ezekiel a century and a half earlier. A similar covenant was made when Josiah promulgated the law.

days), hereditary officers, supposed to be descendants of Aaron. These in turn were served by the Levites, those given to Aaron, divided into twenty-four classes, who were merely servants of the priests. The Levites might not officiate at the altar nor enter the inner sanctuary, but acted as slaughterers of victims, door-keepers, and performers of other menial offices. They are supposed to have been originally the Jewish priests of the converted local shrines, who, when the shrines were discontinued, came to Jerusalem, where they were at first authorized to continue their services (Deut. xviii. 6–8). But, being unacceptable to the city priests (2 Kg. xxiii. 9), they became mere servants of the Temple (Ezek. xliv. 11).[1] After Solomon, the Zadokites (1 Kg. ii. 27–35; Ezek. xliv. 15) became the only real priests, whose name may be preserved as Sadducees. Under the High Priest (Zech. iii. 8) were soldiers of the Temple, who guarded all the treasure stored therein. The priests as a class had the income of the Temple, represented by cash, first fruits, a share of sacrifices and bread. Only the burnt offerings were entirely consumed and even of these the priests took the skins. Meal-offerings, sin-offerings, guilt-offerings became fees paid to the priest and his underling the Levite. This resulted in an enormous income, since, besides other services, vast multitudes flocked to Jerusalem to celebrate the three great festivals, Passover, Pentecost, and Feast of the Tabernacles. The priests were in fact the plutocracy as well as the aristocracy of Jerusalem. They formed a sort of caste and had all a Brahman's scorn for common Jews. They had nothing to do but perform services and adorn themselves. Religious instruction was no part of their duty.

The customary offering was the burnt-offering, to express devotion. The Sin- and Guilt-offerings became flesh for the priests to eat, only the fat being consumed. The Peace-offering, for temporal blessings or to express gratitude,

[1] According to Num. iii. 6 and xviii. 6 they were appointed by Moses.

was also a source of income to the priests, as in this case, too, only the fat was burned. Besides these three kinds of sacrifices were the unbloody sacrifices, of little account; they were added to the burnt bloody sacrifices. The daily burnt offering was a public sacrifice of an unblemished lamb, offered at daybreak and in the afternoon. On high festival days and especially on the Day of Atonement there was an elaborate ritual. Psalms iii–xli. were composed after the Exile for the liturgy; also instrumental music made part of the daily service (2 Chron. xxix. 28). Solomon's temple had wooden and metal figures (Cherubim, 1 Kg. vi–vii.) made by Hiram of Tyre; but figures were discontinued from the time of Josiah. The later Temple was a great structure of cedar and marble, faced with gold plate. It had an outer court and a holy place, part of which made the Holy of Holies, an empty room entered by the High Priest once yearly on the Day of Atonement.[1] This Temple was destroyed with the city under Titus, 70 A. D. Other temples existed outside of Palestine, but only that at Jerusalem was recognized by the nation at large. Toward this Temple, the shrine of their God and of their hopes, the faithful Jews abroad turned in prayer, as did at first the Mohammedans.

The new Jewish religion, as it may be called in antithesis to the pre-exilic Hebraic religion, of the early law and Prophets, was centred round the Temple as rebuilt in 516 B. C. By concentrating the cult it suppressed definitively all remnants of clan and family worship, as it substituted a formal and limited priesthood for the quondam local ministers. So long as any rock might serve as an altar, any father of a family might make sacrifice anywhere. Restrictions at first had to do chiefly with the manner of sacrificing. One must not seethe the kid in its mother's milk; one must not let blood flow from the sacrifice to the ground

[1] The Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi.) was a late addition to the cult, though retaining the scape-goat. It was instituted to cleanse people and temple of all defilement. For details of the Temple, compare Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 5, 5.

(as it would go to the ghost rather than to Yahweh), etc. Now, however, all sacrifice was prohibited apart from the Temple, where Yahweh was (Hab. ii. 20). The peasant who dwelt afar had to sell his victim at home and with the proceeds buy another sacrificed at Jerusalem. The movable feast adopted from the Canaanite became Yahweh celebrations on fixed dates at Jerusalem. Harvest celebrated the "Exodus," the Feast of Weeks celebrated the "giving of the law on Sinai."[1] Thus the Jews converted nature-feasts into national praise of Yahweh.

After the Exile, fasting, the rite of circumcision, and the observance of the Sabbath attained a prominence unknown before. In exile they were the badge of faith; thereafter they remained a proof of devotion and a means of salvation. Isaiah (third?) even says that eunuchs and strangers are blessed for keeping the Sabbath (lvi. 1–8). Ezekiel, who may have been the first to substitute a weekly Sabbath for the full-moon day, lays especial stress on this formality.[2]

More important were the changes of belief. From the time when the Jews came into close contact with Babylon and Persia new spiritual powers became prominent. Every nation was now thought to have its guardian angel. Sundry spirits as ministers had originally served God, some of whom were giants or Benê Elohim, "sons of God" (compare the strange old tradition in Gen. vi.). One of these sons (Job i. 6) had the office of accusing men of sins. As such he became an adversary (Zech. iii. 1) and tempted men to sin (1 Chron. xxi. 1), thus appearing as God's

[1] For the dates of the Passover, Mazzôth (beginning of harvest), Pentecost (the Feast of Weeks), and of the Tabernacle, see Deut. xvi; Lev. xxiii; Num. xxviiif. These were already the Great Festivals of the Jews. After the fall of the Temple, the three great festivals, which began as nature-festivals and were retained as pilgrim-feasts, were continued as seasonal celebrations in spring, summer, and autumn, but designated as feasts of Freedom, Law, and Joy, a generalized interpretation.

[2] Ezek. xx. 12; xxiii. 38 and xlvi. 1; compare Jer. xvii. 27. The Priestly Code of course derived the Sabbath and circumcision from creation and Abraham.

enemy, in which rôle he became the post-exilic Satan and was identified with the ancient foes of God, such as Chaos, Rahab and the Dragon (Is. li. 9). In the older belief, God himself creates evil (Is. xlv. 7). The idea of a world-power of evil is Persian. Its logical implication in the Semitic myth of creation finds full and forcible expression in the post-exilic apocalypses of the second century B. C.

Ezekiel especially tells of many spirits, some of whom may be Babylonian gods. God is surrounded with a court of angels and spirits, in part his "sons," in part half-human forms of old nature-powers. Thus the spirits of cloud and lightning appear as winged Cherubim, whose office is to carry the Lord or otherwise to act as guardians.[1] Instead of God or a divine hypostasis of God's angel or face, real angels, intermediaries, now speak for God to men (Daniel and Zechariah). Raphael, Michael, patron of the Jews, and Gabriel, warrior and revealer, are of doubtful origin; Asmodeus is clearly Persian.[2] There are also evil angels who inspire false statements or bring disaster (diseases); but they do so at God's command (I Kg. xxii.; Ps. lxxviii. 49). All these beings reflect the later feeling that God is remote in Heaven. He no longer talks on earth with men but deals with them through ministers, as a great king deals with his people.

After the Exile also the state became a theocracy. All power was in the hands of the priests. The High Priest was virtually a ruler, as the Maccabean ruler (of priestly

[1] The Cherub is thought by some scholars to have been the Hittite griffin. But he seems to be only the anthropomorphized form of storm-cloud and lightning. In Heaven and in the Temple Yahweh is upheld by a Cherub or Cherubim-car (Ps. xviii. 9f.; civ. 3–4). Cf. Gen. iii. 27. The Cherub is later differentiated from the Seraph: "The Cherub knows more; the Seraph loves more."

[2] The seven archangels described in Enoch (xx) are: Raphael as lord of spirits of men, Michael (as above), Gabriel as lord of Paradise, serpents, and Cherubim, Uriel "over the world and Tartarus," Raquel who "takes vengeance on the luminaries" (i. e. planetary spirits), Saraqâel who is "over spirits that sin spiritually," and Remiel, "over those who rise." Azazel (*ib.* x) sinned through teaching men the use of arms and other mysteries of heaven.

family) actually became *quâ* ruler the High Priest. There was, however, no attempt to imitate the royal freedom of Solomon. Monogamy became Jewish law.

Intercourse with the Greeks began in the fourth century B. C. From 320 to 198 B. C. Palestine was under Egyptian rule, thereafter under that of Syria, till Rome became her master (63 B. C.). Meantime Jewish colonies had spread westward as well as eastward and Alexandria had become the centre of the dispersed, who built temples elsewhere, though remaining tributary to the Temple. Hebrew was retained as a holy language, but it was popularly ousted by Aramaic; Greek became a second biblical language. Greek writings like the Wisdom of Solomon enriched Jewish literature; the Torah was translated into Greek in the third century. The Septuagint (seventy scholars translated it?) became the book of the dispersed Jews (c. 250 B. C.), till its adoption by Christians caused Jews to repudiate it.

This Hellenistic Judaism lost none of its native complacency. It claimed all the world's wisdom as originally its own. The Jews said the Greeks had learned all they knew from Moses. A mass of apocryphal literature supported the unblushing propaganda and did much to make the Jews disliked abroad, where their exclusiveness also made them unpopular.[1] In mediaeval Europe the legend of philosophy being derived from Moses still sanctioned the philosophic interpretation of religion after orthodox Christianity closed the Greek schools in 529 A. D.

Greece gave her philosophy to the Jews. Thence came the idea of divine Wisdom and of God as working through Powers and Ideas. This the transcendent God of Israel, who by a word or by brooding created an orderly world out of chaotic matter, never did, though the later angels of Persia helped to make familiar the idea of intermediaries.

[1] In Alexandria they claimed the privilege of living apart in a quarter of their own, that they might not be contaminated by the natives. The natives did not like this and rejoiced to kill them when permitted to do so.

Philo, about the time of the Christian era, is "Judaeus," but more Greek than Jew. Yet his Neo-Platonism had more effect upon Christianity than upon Judaeism, which, withal rather late, as already explained, does attain to the idea of a creative universal God, but rests more contentedly in the thought of Yahweh as patron deity of the Jews, ever intervening directly in their behalf; as he directly (without Logos or dynameis) created heaven and earth. This is a conception suited to the concrete thought, averse from abstractions, characteristic of all Semites, from Moses to Mohammed. The newer conceptions appealed only to those Jews who had been imbued with Hellenistic thought.

The most important of these newer ideas, however, was native. Hosea in the eighth century foresaw a future reconciliation between Yahweh and Israel; Isaiah looked for a reign of justice;[1] Jeremiah imagined a saving remnant under a son of David; Ezekiel pictured religious Jews living round the Temple untroubled by Gentiles; and Deutero-Isaiah even included the Gentiles as partakers of this felicity. Finally Zechariah (ix. 9–10) or perhaps a Deutero-Zechariah, describes the Messianic king. The advent of this Messiah, at first near, in seventy years, is postponed, for seven times seventy years, as he fails to appear. He is not at first divine, but a king, yet endowed with superhuman attributes; then he becomes the "heavenly man" (Ps. of Solomon and Enoch, 125 B. C.) There will be a great struggle with evil, an idea strengthened by apocalyptic writers who drew on Babylonian myths. Then the Messiah will bring earthly prosperity. As such, he was expected till the time of Hadrian, when Bar Cocheba appeared in this rôle and was accepted as Messiah by the Jewish priesthood.

[1] Isaiah's visions date from 735 to 691 B. C. On pre-exilic Messianic hope, see Barton *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxxiii. 68f. Marti, *op. cit.*, p. 214, gives a list of Messianic passages supposed to have been inserted into the prophetic documents (Amos ix. 13–15; Hosea ii. 23; Micah iv. 4; Is. ix. 2–6; etc.). There seems to be no cogent reason, however, for supposing that the Messiah idea is wholly post-exilic. Is. xlv. 1 regards Cyrus as the anointed Messiah, who is to save Israel.

Hope of happiness hereafter for the people was gradually united with the hope of individual happiness after death. Like other Semites, the old Hebrews believed vaguely in a future life, not for the soul or breath of God, which at death returned to its source, but for the animal life which lingers in the grave, Sheol, and is not without intelligence, as is shown when Samuel as a power, *elohim*, rises oracularly from the grave. The Lord bringeth down to Sheol and bringeth up (1 Sam. ii. 6). Yet ghosts were really outside of God's dominion and to attribute an immortal soul to a man would have been thought as impious as absurd. Only those really lived hereafter who by God's special favour were caught up and carried away bodily, like Moses, Elijah, and Enoch. Men in general had no bodily resurrection and no spiritual hope beyond the grave. Peace in the tomb, where the ghost lived as a shade, was all a man expected. "Shall a man deliver his soul from the hand of the grave?" asks a Psalmist (lxxxix. 48). "In death," says another, "there is no remembrance of God" (Ps. vi. 5; cf. Is. xiv. 9f.; Ezek. xxxii. 22f.).

But the Zoroastrian idea, that those soldiers of God who sleep in the dust shall awake to share in the happiness of the purified world, was one to appeal to the Jew who had learned to look for the coming of a Messiah. In the second century B. C. (Daniel xii. 1–3) this thought is expressed in a modified form, "some shall awake." Yet the idea of a resurrection was never thoroughly Jewish. The soul itself as a psyche may have been taken from Greece. The Jewish priesthood, represented by the Sadducees, rejected the resurrection, as did the Samaritans, and it is absent from the genuinely Jewish thought found in Tobit, Baruch (disciple of Jeremiah), and the Maccabees. It was a belief adopted by the Pharisees, possibly, as already explained from Zoroastrianism. For neither universal resurrection nor a final judgment belonged to early Israelitish belief. Ezekiel's eschatology (xxxvii. 11f.) was built upon the new idea of resurrection; even later was the belief that man had an

immortal soul.[1] The Sadducean belief of the second century B. C., as voiced by Ben Sira, is that the dead "has no hope" (xxxviii. 21).

The later religion under Persian and Greek influence brought forth its optimists and pessimists, Job, c. 400 B. C., and Ecclesiastes, c. 200 B. C.; also a philosophy of life neither strongly optimistic nor pessimistic, the Wisdom of Solomon and of Ben Sira, Ecclesiasticus, c. 180.[2] Increasing individuality, as well as freedom from the law (as in Job), marked the progress of this phase of religion, which is voiced in many of the late Psalms.[3] With the advent of a State whose head pretended to be also High Priest (second century B. C.), the church itself became militant and began to suffer from the strife of contending parties, whose differences were partly political and partly religious.

The first division of the church, however, occurred earlier, perhaps in the fifth century. Ezra and Nehemiah had recommended that true Israelites should repudiate their foreign wives. This did not please the Samaritans, who seceded from the Temple and took as their sanctuary Shechem (Mount Gerizim). These protestants accepted neither the canonicity of the Prophets nor the Hagiographa and, as just stated, they rejected the novel doctrine of the resur-

[1] Compare Is. xxvi. 19; xiv. 9f.; Job xix. 25f. Sheol in Job iii. 17 is a place where the weary may rest. Ps. lxxiii. 24 speaks of man being received into heaven in glory and *ib.* xlix. 15. xvi. 10f., xvii. 15 express belief in a bodily resurrection. Daniel (*loc. cit.*) speaks of eternal shame as the lot of sinners; (Trito-)Isaiah describes the fate of the damned, whose worm dieth not and whose fire is not quenched (lxvi. 23f.). Later Judaism accepted the idea of a purgatory but in general it spiritualized the life hereafter, though retaining belief in the Judgment.

[2] Here first appears a discussion of the problem of free will. Ben Sira xv emphatically rejects the idea of determinism. Texts of the OT support both views, for the early Hebrews had not yet raised the question.

[3] The Psalter for liturgical use consists of iii–xli, to which were later added the books xlii–lxxiii and lxxxiv–lxxxix, the latter supposed to express patriotic enthusiasm incidental to Persian tyranny in the fourth century B. C.

rection. Their temple, destroyed in 120 B. C., may have been erected by that rival of Nehemiah, Sanballat, whose son-in-law had been ejected from the Temple (Neh. xiii. 28). Samaria had long before been depopulated by Assyria and probably in the fifth century the Samaritans were not pure Israelites. They represented a ritualistic monotheism and regarded as canonical only the hexateuch; but their "Joshua" is not that of the Bible.

The inner strife at Jerusalem was based on tendencies long operative but not productive of classes officially recognized till they became incorporate in the persons of the Sadducees and Pharisees, whom with the Essenes Josephus calls the "three philosophical sects" of the Jews. The Sadducees were the priestly aristocratic party, composed, however, of diplomats and soldiers as well as of priests. They represented political ambition and foreign ways but not ideas. The Pharisees were a comparatively small body of "separatist" Puritans, successors of those called Assideans or Holy Ones, who were indifferent to the success of State politics but intent on the operation of religious requirements. Like all purists they looked with scorn on the common people as unclean (John vii. 49). They were, as regards ideas, liberal, though respected more as religious guides than as national leaders. They were a party not a class, while the Sadducees were a class rather than a party. The first actual rupture between Sadducees and Pharisees occurred toward the end of the reign of John Hyrcanus in the second century B. C., when the Pharisees as strict legalists opposed the Asmoneans because the Maccabees assumed (illegally) the high priesthood. To understand the dispute it will be necessary to recall the history of the Jews immediately preceding.

In 168 B. C. Antiochus Epiphanes of Syria had insulted and outraged the Jews, even going so far as to dedicate the Temple at Jerusalem to Zeus. Judas Maccabee, the son of the Asmonean Matathias, carried out a successful revolt and after three years the Temple was purified and services

were renewed (first Feast of the Temple, 165 B. C.). The Pious Ones of that day, though devoted to their deliverer, were satisfied with religious freedom. But Judas and his friends (represented by the aristocracy or Sadducees) continued the struggle,[1] getting Roman help. Judas was succeeded by his brother Jonathan (161–142 B. C.) and the latter by Simon (142–135), whose son John Hyrcanus (135–105) was an object of suspicion to the Pharisees, pietists more than patriots, because he paid attention to the good of the State rather than to the good of religion. The Sadducees, on the other hand, supported John and after much trouble including murders and civil war the Pharisees lost their power and the Romans annexed Judaea (63 B. C.).[2] Herod the Great, who was more a Greek politician than king of the Jews, supported the Sadducees and was opposed by the purists. Yet the religious conscience of the people was prevailingly Pharisaical and in the end the Sadducees and Maccabees lost ground while the spirit of the Pharisees steadily gained. They were less conservative than the Sadducees, who denied the non-legal doctrine of the resurrection and the popular belief in angels and evil spirits, while the Pharisees had adopted all these novelties (Acts xxiii.). Josephus, a doubtful authority, says that the Sadducees denied the influence of Fate, to which the Pharisees allotted some activity.

[1] The Sadducees hoped to restore David's kingdom by force of arms; the Pharisees looked for the advent of a heavenly Messiah and did not favour the introduction of foreign power into Judaea. The Maccabees revolted as Jews against Syrian power but when they had established their own kingdom they tried to maintain it by foreign aid. Hence the Pharisees at first sided with the Maccabees and then renounced them. Jewish expectations during the Maccabean revolt are voiced by Daniel and Ps. xc–cl, representing the beginning and end of the revolt.

[2] On this date, 63–64 B. C., Jerusalem was captured by Pompey, who dared to enter the Holy of Holies. The Maccabean monarchy ended with the accession of Herod, 40 B. C. Herod rebuilt the Temple (20 B. C.), but he slew those who cut down the gold eagles with which he had defiled it. He also built a temple to Apollo and in other ways showed that he had no sympathy with Jewish ideas.

The Essenes, the third sect mentioned by Josephus, formed a communistic religious order, chiefly celibate, devoted to rules of peace and purity. They lived in monastic settlements and are referred to as early as 150 B. C. They resembled the nomadic Rechabites, except in being agriculturists, but their principles were those of an exaggerated Pharisaism tinged with Greek philosophy (they believed in "a pure spirit, immortal, but imprisoned in the body"). They had, however, their own scriptures and different classes of initiates. They scorned the Temple, but honoured Moses, and observed the Sabbath very strictly. They fled the world, and did not proselytize. They were probably mystics but of what sort we cannot tell. Oaths, except their initiation-oath, they abhorred and taught the blessing of poverty.[1]

The controlling power in the later Jewish government was in the hands of a senate, Gerousia, afterwards called the Sanhedrin, a council headed by the High Priest. After the destruction of Jerusalem, the Sanhedrin met at Jabneh or Jabneel (Jamnia). It is first mentioned in the time of Antiochus the Great (223–187 B. C.). This board had control over all the local councils; it gave legal decisions and made administrative regulations. It also had spiritual powers and had jurisdiction in cases of blasphemy and other transgressions. In its guard was the oral law, which, according to tradition, was instituted by Moses and passed on by Joshua. It is this oral law, transmitted by Scribes and Pharisees, which was represented at the time of the Christian era by the schools of Hillel and Shammai, later

[1] See Josephus, *Wars,* ii. ch. 8; also W. D. Morrison, *The Jews under Roman Rule,* London, 1890, p. 346. The Essenes show no trace of Persian or Buddhist origin nor, apparently, did they influence Christian religion. Other Jewish sects are chiefly of late growth, such as the mediaeval Karaites (eighth century A. D.) who opposed tradition, reverted to Essene and Sadducean principles, and adopted from the Mohammedans the allegorical method of interpretation; and the Dorsitheans, who were a sect of earlier origin connected with the Samaritans and active in the second century A. D. Another sect called the Falashas were also a late Abyssinian growth.

by Gamaliel, and was finally committed to the Talmud.[1]

The institution which more than anything else held the Jews together during the Exile and after the destruction of the city and Temple was the Synagogue. It was a house for prayer and edification erected anywhere, usually near water for ablution, and was preserved and exalted by the Scribes. Like the Temple, it was lighted by a perpetual lamp, but its other furnishing was merely a reading-desk and a chest of law-scrolls. Its head was the archisynagogos or Ruler of the Synagogue, usually a Scribe. Open daily or at least thrice a week, it served as a meeting-house of prayer, where the Scriptures were read and a sort of creed ("Hear, O Israel," etc., the Shema, Deut. vi. 4f.) was recited, followed by a lesson from the Pentateuch, which was thus read through every three years. Seven men conducted the service. Hebrew was translated into Aramaic, to be "understanded of the people." The Prophets, as less sacred than the Law,[2] were read next and this lection was followed by a lay sermon, at which point the audience might discuss or dispute any point. A benediction pronounced by a priest closed the meeting, which was evidently the model of the later Christian church service.

This service kept the Jews in touch with the vital truths of their religion and gave them when dispersed a sense of religious fellowship. They learned in the Synagogue the binding rules and traditional sayings (Halaka and Agada) which, built up into a mass of edifying erudition, unveiled all mysteries, explained tradition, and became the volume of legendary lore called the Midrash, as opposed to the legal lore preserved in the Doctrine or Talmud. The Talmud is divided into the Hebrew Mishnah and Aramaic Gemara, that is, repetition (instruction) and exposition, re-

[1] The two schools of Hillel and Shammai represented liberal and conservative elements, respectively. In general the former accepted and the latter opposed Hellenism.

[2] The Jews generally regarded the Law as more sacred than other Scriptures. But by the time of the Christian era Old Testament writings are cited (by Christ and Paul) as if equally authoritative.

spectively. The former began with the Scribes and was continued by the Tenaim or doctors in the second century B. C. Their writings were codified about two hundred A. D., while the codification of the Gemara of the Amoraim or Speakers was not made, for the Jerusalem Talmud, till the fourth century and not till the fifth or sixth century for the Babylonian Talmud — a huge work in sixty-three tracts, treating of agriculture, festivals, women, civil and criminal laws ("damages"), sacrifices, and purifications. The Geonim or Rabbinical teachers of Babylon and Egypt continued to fix tradition till the tenth century A. D. Thereafter tradition passed into the hands of European Talmudic commentators, such as Solomon Bar Isaac of France and Abraham Ibn Ezra of Spain, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, respectively. In the eleventh century, Isaac of Fez (Alfasi) wrote a guide to Talmudic law and in 1180 Maimonides[1] published the Jewish code called the Strong Hand. Finally, in the sixteenth century, Joseph Caro compiled and arranged the whole law under which orthodox Jews still live.

In regard to the authority of Talmudic tradition, it was accepted by all except the Karaites, who held as authoritative only the words of the Bible. Unauthorized beliefs were held nevertheless by the later Jews. Thus in the ninth century a number of Jews believed in metempsychosis. Mysticism came strongly to the fore as a reaction against the legalistic attitude of Maimonides and is a marked feature of mediaeval Judaism. Its roots may be found in early Jewish sects or still earlier in the men who walked with God and spoke in his name. Yet on the whole mysticism of the rapt ecstatic sort was not Jewish, as it was not Semitic. It tended both in Hebrew and Mohammedan forms to become a mere juggling with letters or magic.

Religion as Law has been the prevailing Jewish concep-

[1] This Moses Maimonides was called the "second Moses." A "third Moses" was Mendelssohn, who in the eighteenth century was instrumental in emancipating the Jews.

tion of religion since the day of Bar Cocheba in the second century A. D. Yet the Law is but the formal expression of what was conceived as answering to divine requirements. The basis of the law has always been the belief in the national God and the practice of devotion, sobriety, charity, and domestic purity. Mysticism has rarely degenerated into sensuality and such emotional licentiousness as arose among the Chassidists of the eighteenth century was opposed by the Talmudists. Mediaeval Judaism had its poets and philosophers, such as the poet Ibn Ezra of the eleventh and twelfth century and the philosophers Saadia of Sura and Gabirol of Spain; but the latter cannot be said to have originated new philosophies. Gabirol was the most original mediaeval Jewish philosopher, but his Fons Vitae is based on Neo-Platonic ideas.[1] Till the tenth century Babylonia remained the seat of Jewish culture. In Europe, Mohammedan thought, as well as Greek, formed the basis of Jewish philosophy. These philosophers, however, are important as their works affected Christian philosophy. Thus Thomas Aquinas is affected by Maimonides, who reverts to Ibn Daud, who in turn is chiefly concerned with harmonizing Aristotle and Moses. Later mediaeval Judaism renounced philosophy and reverted to Kabbalah mysticism.[2]

Judaism has never been dogmatic; its chief dogma is to have no dogma; no creed-test excommunicates. Hillel said: "Do not to another what thou thyself hatest; this is the chief law." Dogma as a test of membership in the church was attempted by the Karaites and by Maimonides, but the

[1] He was a mystic and regarded God's will as mediating between God and the world as a sort of Logos; hence he was even called a "Christian Jew."

[2] Kabbalah, "tradition," is in general a theosophic mysticism, in part Neo-Platonic, perhaps referred to as early as Ben Sira in the second century B. C., and known to Gnostic writers. It became popular in Europe after the tenth century. It teaches metempsychosis and makes God, as "dwelling-place of the universe," create by wisdom and become manifest through wisdom, insight, power, etc. See, for example, B. Pick, *The Cabala,* Chicago, 1913, and the *Jewish Encyclopedia* s. v.

test was never confirmed by authority. Generally, however, as proof of orthodoxy, is accepted belief in God, revelation, and Judgment. Modern attempts to formulate dogma add belief in God's immanence, in man's immortality and responsibility. Atonement is made by fasting, prayer (praise and petition), charity, and purification. Modern Jews celebrate the first day of the seventh month (New Year's Day) as the beginning of a penitential period ending with the Day of Atonement. The Purim has become a day of charity or a childish celebration, innocently replacing the original parallel of a Saturnalia.[1] Another celebration originally of the Maccabees and called a feast of lights, Hannukkah or Chanuka, is now interpreted as a feast of enlightenment.

Zionism is a form of Messianic hope with the Messiah left out; it is a late effort to return to Palestine and appeals to the conservatives. Liberal Jews interpret Judaism as a means of enlightening the world. They follow the hint of the later prophets that the people of Israel is the Messianic Son of God. They have modernized the religious service and rejected as unessential many ceremonial laws.

In reviewing Jewish religion one cannot fail to be struck with the contrast between it and other Semitic as well as non-Semitic religions. Judaism refined not only old laws and legends of the Semites but it refined itself. Patriarchal improprieties, for example, were retold ethically by the priests, who preferred expurgated and hence instructive narrative to shameless accuracy. Monotheism was not enough; it must be united with morality. Thus a dominantly ethical strain appears throughout the religion, both in its legal and prophetic expression. On the whole the religion is civic rather than individualistic. It is clannish and in this regard resembles that of the early Greeks. Kin-

[1] At the Purim the usually abstemious Jews might intoxicate themselves and play at masquerades. It celebrated the destruction of Haman and the deliverance of the Jews through Esther (Ishtar?) and Mordecai (Marduk?), that is, a late travesty of the Babylonian myth, according to Nöldeke. See above, p. 362.

ship with the deity and clan-morality characterize both.[1]

Judaism is a bridge leading directly to Christianity. If the last aspiration of the Jew was "Thy kingdom come" in Palestine, it was also able to embrace all nations in its purview. Moreover its God was not only a judge but a God of loving-kindness, not only a king but a Father in Heaven: "Call me Father; I am merciful" (Jer. iii. 19; ix. 24; xxxi. 9). Hence this religion also is one of love as well as of fear ("Love the Lord — fear the Lord," Ps. xxxi. 23; xxxiv. 9; cf. xci. 14). Finally, Judaism is not one-sided; it is a religion of fear but also of joy, not only of joy in the Lord but of cheerfulness. "Do not worry; joy in the heart is life to a man," says Ecclesiasticus. Puritanic in the meticulous observance of religious rules, the Pharisaic side was offset by Sadducean hatred of gloom.

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[1] In Greece marriage was a religious sacrament and the laws concerning homicide have a religious basis. In Greece also divine vengeance and mercy are united, and the divine nature is held up as a model for man.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

THE RELIGION OF MOHAMMED AND MOHAMMEDANISM

As in the case of all "founders' religions," we have to distinguish in Mohammedanism between the personal faith of the founder and the beliefs of the later body of the faithful. Mohammed was the logical and historical successor of the old prophets of Israel. He believed that he was carrying on their work; that God had appointed him as an apostle to the Arabs, as the Hebrew prophets had been chosen to reveal God to their people. And in truth, since Mohammed's God was the God of the Hebrews, it is difficult to see why one should hesitate to recognize in Allah the same Deity as in Yahweh, attend a mosque as a church of God, or accept Mohammed as the prophet through whom at least his people were led to God.

The Koran of Mohammed, "the Praised," is, in the belief of himself and his followers, the word of God transmitted to the Prophet by Gabriel. It was revealed at a time when the Arabs needed correction and when the Jews and Christians of Arabia were imbued with the same superstitions as were the Arabs. Previous to the birth of Mohammed, 750 A. D., the religion of the Arabs had been a mixture of primitive nature-worship and corrupt Babylonian star-cult. The chief objects of devotion were Jinns (spirits of the mountains and desert), and tribal deities. Some tribes worshipped the female deity, Allat; the acacia tree was a form of the love-goddess; Zafa and Marwa were mountains holy in themselves and having holy images; holy also was the Black Stone in the wall of the Kaabah, which afterwards became the chief shrine of Mohammedanism. But Allah, "the god," was already recognized by more than one of the tribes as "God most high," but beside him

were set gods in human and animal form, and the worship of sacred stones and trees was general. Mohammed retained in his own religion the belief in Jinns, in predestination and fatalism. Mecca, "the synagogue," built about 450 A. D. around the Kaabah, and long before held sacred, remained to the Prophet also a holy city.

The race from which Mohammed sprang was characterized by strength, both in vice and virtue. It was brave, hospitable, clannish, haughty, poetical; it was given to robbery, murder, and lust; it was cruel and superstitious; its governing power lay in the hands of the boldest; wealth and bravery made a man chief both in politics and in religion. In Mohammed's own case, according to tradition, the religious chieftainship of Mecca, which had been in his family, had been lost through poverty. At the age of twenty-five he married a rich widow fifteen years his senior. Visions inspired him to believe himself (at the age of forty) a prophet, sent to Arabs as of old Abraham or Jesus had been sent — to each folk its own prophet. Mohammed's first converts were a few of his own family and familiars, women, slaves, his cousin Ali, a merchant, Abu Bakr, and a soldier, Omar. Opposition to him was based mainly on the feeling that he was an infatuated or deceitful "sorcerer," to which his way of life and oracular utterances lent probability,[1] but also on hatred of his teaching, not indeed of monotheism but of the practical results of opposing polytheism. Mecca was a town of plutocrats ruling an equally materialistic populace. No one cared whether Mohammed taught monotheism; abstract theology has never annoyed Orientals. But the city got wealth from its cult of gods and even Mohammed was at first inclined to temporize and admit the possible power of the local divinities. He soon recanted this "suggestion (whisper) of Satan," however, and his

[1] Religious ardour leading to ecstasy was inspired by preliminary seclusion, in which the sorcerer, wrapped in a blanket, induced the feverish excitement which preceded the oracular outburst. It is probable that Mohammed practiced this mode of inducing spiritual possession.

renewed activity led to persecution on the part of the Koreish family of Mecca to which his own family belonged. Some of his earliest inspirations were little more than imprecations against his family and townsmen. He and his then took refuge with Abyssinian Christians, whose refusal to give up the refugees favourably inclined him at first to Christians till he found that he could not convert them. His attitude toward Jews and Christians in later life was consistently one of disparagement and antagonism, because they did not believe in monotheism, but (as he thought) Christians made of Jesus and Mary two gods besides God, and the Jews "made Ezra the son of God." Yet as most of the Jewish tradition was in line with Mohammed's teaching, he accepted it in the distorted form known to him (Ishmael, for example, assumes Isaac's place), but he rejected God's "resting'" on the seventh day, and any implication of association with God of other powers as co-gods, sons, or daughters (angels).[1]

Mohammed, like Zoroaster, accomplished little for ten years and finally prevailed not by argument but by force. Deserting Mecca and his own people, who generally rejected him, he had recourse to half Jewish tribes who, expecting a Messiah and disliking Mecca, accepted the Prophet. Mohammed with Abu Bakr fled to Yathreb, "two against many," as the latter despairingly said; but "three" said Mohammed, "for God is with us." This Flight, Hijra or

[1] God's day is a thousand or fifty thousand years (xxxii. 4; lxx. 4). [Present references are to Suras of the Koran.] God "sent apostles and followed them up with Jesus and gave him the gospel and placed kindness and compassion in the heart of his followers" (lvii. 25 f.); but Jesus "never said that he and his mother were two gods" (v. 113). "If God has a son I will be first to worship him; but join none with God" and "say not Three. God is only one" (iv. 169; lxxii. 20). Later, Mohammed says of both Jew and Christian as preachers of "Shirk" (association of others with God), "God fight them, how they lie!" (ix. 30). For *parácletos*, John xvi. 7, Mohammed believed that Jesus said (*periklutós* or its equivalent) Ahmed, which in turn means Mohammed (praised, celebrated): "Jesus said, I give you glad tidings of an apostle who shall come after me, whose name shall be Ahmed" (lxi. 6).

Hegira, fixes the date of the Mohammedan era as June 16, 622. The week-day on which Mohammed entered Yathreb became the Mohammedan holy day, Friday; the town itself, largely Jewish, becoming known thereafter as the Prophet's Town, Medina. There he built a mosque, regulated the simple rites of his religion, and appointed the first crier of prayer, muezzin. The Jews, however, soon parted from Mohammed and as already explained he regarded them thenceforth as enemies, turning now to Mecca not to Jerusalem in prayer, and instituting the fast of Ramadhan to take the place of Jewish fasts. He began to preach a "holy war," put a Jewess to death, exiled a Jewish tribe (they perhaps deserved their fate), robbed a Mecca caravan, subdued several Bedouin tribes, and by constant fighting caused himself to be recognized as an independent prince, till in 630 he was able to return to Mecca as its master; whence he instituted raids and united his followers in the hope of booty in this life and beatitude in the next. He died June 8, 632.

Mohammed was the first and greatest of sundry Arabian prophets. He succeeded in his efforts to establish a new religion partly because of his genuine enthusiasm and strong personality, and partly because of his political sagacity. His aims were directly opposed to the material interests of his people, and his religion from the beginning broke up the tribal unity which was the key-note of the Arabian state. As the Dionysiac and Orphic cults in Greece undermined the religious and political conditions, so Mohammedanism substituted a religious unity for a political group. From the economic side it substituted prosperity through conquest and rapine for the commercial prosperity which had made Mecca a well-known mart. Mohammed, however, preached nothing new to his countrymen, who had long been acquainted with the doctrine of the Judgment Day and the idea of divine unity. Yet to reassert an old truth is to originate again. Mohammed's originality lay in his insistence on the truth of a judgment to come and its implication

of the necessity of an ethical improvement on the part of those who were to meet it and to be judged by a Creator who held men responsible for their belief in a moral God and for conduct consonant with that belief. He did not deny that there were spirits (worshipped by the Arabs), but he forbade their association with God. He did not do away with the fetish-stone, but sanctified it; he did not stop the pilgrimage, but made it an adjunct to the worship of the One God. Ethically he taught justice and truth, reprehended pride and envy, and exalted filial devotion and charity.[1] Orphans, mothers, and wives were subjects of his special consideration; he denounced the current practice of female infanticide, improved divorce laws, restricted polygamy to the possession of four wives, and then only if the husband could treat them equitably, and forbade trading in slaves. He also tried to abolish the blood-feud and opposed the use of intoxicants and gambling. A pure heart and good works as concomitants of faith in One God and the Judgment Day became the ethical ideal.

Not less firmly did Mohammed believe that he was God's apostle and that his oracular utterances as at first revealed to him were words of God, a graded and continuous illumination of divine truths. These utterances, revealed piecemeal during twenty-three years as the Koran (reading or recitation) are in rhymed prose containing 114 chapters or Suras, in which the "inspiration," judged by style and matter, varies considerably. But to the believer all is equally inspired: "God taught the pen" (xcvi. 5). Gabriel appeared twice to him, once on the occasion when he made a miraculous night-journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and once on the first revelation of the Koran (liii. 5). His opponents said that he was "possessed by a Jinn"; but he indignantly denies this, as he charges, on the contrary, that these opponents worship angels and Jinns in-

[1] The gentleness of Mohammed's teaching is not perhaps without a physical basis. He is described as a man inclined to melancholy and unable to endure the slightest pain.

stead of God (xxxiv. 40–45). Of Mohammed's early honesty there can be no doubt. He pretends to nothing save his inspiration. "I am but a mortal like yourselves; I am inspired that your God is only One God" (xviii. 110). His opponents cry for a sign and say that unless he brings it his revelation is but a jumble of dreams or a forgery; but Mohammed says that he has no sign other than the truth: "We hurl the truth against falsehood and truth crashes into it and falsehood vanishes" (xxxi. 5f.). And God says, "I will show you My signs, but do not hurry Me" (xxi. 38). Mohammed compares himself to the prophets of old and his environment with theirs. Thus he says that Noah and the rest proclaimed "No God but God" and the great men of that day said, "This fellow is only a mortal like yourselves, who wishes to have dominion over you; if God had pleased he would have sent angels (not Noah, to warn you); he is only a man possessed," exactly the language used of Mohammed (xxiii. 25). So of old, says Mohammed, they called The Day (of resurrection) a lie, saying: "There is only our life in this world; we live and die and shall not be raised" (ib. 39). Again and again Mohammed simply and earnestly insists that the Koran is "a revelation brought down by Gabriel (the Faithful Spirit) in plain Arabic" and foretold in the scriptures of which it is a continuation (xxvi. 193f.). But the Arabs said that the Pentateuch and the Koran were both works of sorcery which backed up each other and declared "We disbelieve in all" (xxviii. 48); to which the Prophet replied: "Then bring a better revelation and I will follow it." Elsewhere he cries: "God has sent down the best of legends . . . it is a grand story, yet ye turn from it" (xxxviii. 59; xxxix. 24).

Mohammedanism, however, would never have become important had it not been for military success. Many repudiated the faith as soon as Mohammed died and, as before his death so now, orthodoxy was upheld only with the sword. Islam means resignation, but only with God's will; it does

not imply patience with infidels who oppose the faith. Aggressive unbelievers must be made resigned; submissive unbelievers were at first unmolested, afterwards they too were reduced, not to belief but to submission. To reduce opponents to tax-payers rather than to converts was the aim of the body politic, which became the church militant immediately after the Prophet's death.

The soldier of the church as the soldier of God was not permitted to commit suicide or to become an ascetic, as that would be to desert his post. He must be resigned to fate as apportioned by God. But this fatalism of Islam was not yielding to fate as chance, only to the predetermining will of God.

Thus Mohammedanism differed from the exclusiveness of the Jewish religion; it received all into its fold. But it differed also from the Christian in substituting submission for mission. At a later stage it drew from Christianity the practice of celibacy and asceticism, foreign to its earlier spirit, and also taught that a soldier might be a soldier allegorically, a merchant for example, fighting against evil impulses. But the early church was essentially militant in a literal sense. At first toleration was the rule. "There is no compulsion in religion" is said to have been said by Mohammed and he gave freedom of service to the Christians of Najran (in Yemen): "No image or cross shall be destroyed; they shall not be oppressed." But success brought intolerance. The Prophet of Mecca became the Prince of Medina, no longer a "plain warner" but God's Apostle, in whom as in God the faithful must believe and to whom heretics must pay the price of conquest. Power acquired through faith "in God and His Apostle" of course impressed him as added proof of his divine mission. His religious feeling was still genuine but his religion more and more included himself and he appears in later life to have utilized his revelations to the good of the Prophet as well as to the glory of God. In general, however, Mohammed is sincere.

Thus he confesses, by implication, that he was wrong owing to a suggestion of Satan (xxii. 50 f.), in propitiating the Koreish by admitting the sanctity of their gods; and on one occasion when he had snubbed a poor man, who had interrupted him to get instruction, he admitted his fault and records in the Koran the rebuke he deservedly received (lxxx.). Only an honest and good man would have done this. Mohammed professed himself to be a late but true prophet of God, as much inspired as was Abraham (whose religion was also his) to teach pure religion and undefiled to those who worshipped idols and ignored or denied a life to come. But his revelation is better than Abraham's, who condoned idolatry (ix. 115). Nor, in Mohammed's teaching, does God require the Jewish sacrifice: "I have created man and Jinn only to worship Me; I do not desire provision from them, nor do I wish them to feed Me. Verily God is the provider" (li. 56). A liberal simplicity marks Mohammed's creed: "Those who say our Lord is God and then keep straight, there is no fear for them" (xlvi. 10f.). As in Zoroastrianism, the believer is a helper of God. "God will help him who helps Him" (xxii. 41); "So be ye helpers of God, even as Jesus' apostles said: 'We are God's helpers'" (lxi. 14; cf. iii. 45). These phrases imply that the believer "helps" by battling with the misbeliever, as is clearly said in the late Mecca or Medina Sura (xlvi.): "When ye meet those who misbelieve, strike off their heads or hold them (for ransom); those slain in God's cause shall not go wrong; if ye help God He will help you." In the earlier period the note is not so militant as ethical and religious: "Blessed are they, for they shall inherit Paradise, who believe, who are humble, who do not talk vainly, who are charitable, who are blameless as respects women, and who observe their pledges and covenants and guard their prayers" (xxiii. 1f.).[1] "Believe in Him and He will pardon and save" (xlvi. 30).

[1] Blameless means chaste except for lawful intercourse with wives and slaves (owned by the believer).

Rare is the higher injunction to do good for evil: "Repel evil with what is better" (xxiii. 97). An approach to Indic phrase and thought may be observed in the likeness of life to a mere pastime as compared with the real life hereafter: "The life of this world is but sport and play; the abode of the next world is (real) life" (xxix. 64). Indic too is the repeated phrase, "No burdened soul shall bear another's burden; who errs, errs only against his own soul" (xvii. 16; liii. 39). Compare too (lii. 22): "Every man is pledged for what he earns," that is, every one is pledged for his conduct and redeems himself if he does well. This individualistic view, however, is modified by the doctrine of divine mercy and grace. "God gives His grace to whomsoever He will; God is Lord of mighty grace" (lxii. 4). This mercy may be extended at the intercession of the Prophet (see below). In general, however, Mohammed taught a religion of fear, not of love, and, until modified by the Sufi element introduced later, it was a religion lacking in two regards, that of the conception of the Fatherhood of God, the milder aspect, and that of the immanence of God, the universal aspect. There are phrases which countenance both aspects and they have been taken by later Mohammedans to authorize both. Thus the mercy of God (as above) is dwelt upon by Mohammed, who also speaks of God as within man and nearer than his jugular vein; but these are not the views usually presented, and though the Koran is full of contradictions the trend of teaching and the teaching accepted by early Mohammedans show that Allah is rather the older Jewish Yahweh, a transcendent God, fearful rather than kind.

The fundamental teachings of Mohammed as expressed in his own words bear the same relation to the theology of Moslem scholars as Christ's words bear to Christian theology. Mohammed himself was no scholar; nor was he in any way a metaphysician. He has no speculation and very little logic in the Koran; what little there is seems to be remarkably naïve. "How can one believe in more than one

God? If there were more than one, each would take his own creation and some would have exalted themselves over others" (xxiii. 93). "How can one fail to believe in the raising of the dead? Did not God create you once? How then should he not create you a second time? Twice-born and twice-slain is every one" (xl.). "We (Allah) have made waters from the cloud for you to drink, when We might have made it unfit to drink (pungent), and We have made the tree from which ye make fire; can ye make the tree? Why then do ye not praise Me?" (lvi. 67–70). "God sends lightning for fear and hope (of rain); He sends his thunder — which celebrates His praise — and therewith smites whom He will; and yet they dispute about God!" (xiii. 10f.).[1] "Do they (who are misbelievers) not regard whatever thing God has created? Its shadow falls to right or left, shrinking up in adoration of God . . . then will ye not fear Him?" (*ibid.* and xvi. 50f.). This is obviously the language not of a metaphysician but of a prophet; so also is that in which appeal is made to the past. "Will ye not fear God? Remember that He once changed men to apes because they fished on the Sabbath" (ii. 60f.).[2]

Of subordinate importance are those teachings which implicitly or explicitly express belief in a mass of legends

[1] Practically the same argument as is found in the Rig Veda, in American, and even in African religions: God is demonstrated by his activity; effect proves cause. It is quite reasonable to suppose that the first idea of a Heavenly Spirit (in distinction from vague potencies, disease-devils, etc.) arose from this source, recognition of an active power above as Jupiter Feretrius, the smiter, etc. Due to later contemplation is the logic which argues God, from the orderly processes of the heavens, as Right (Order).

[2] Tradition says that this happened in David's time; hence the respect for the Sabbath. Another (*ibid.*) example is given by the legend that a mountain was held over the people to frighten them. Possibly a cloud is meant (compare cloud as mountain in the Veda), as it is said elsewhere that God sends down mountains, that is, clouds, from the sky to give rain (xxiv. 42). Here, too, is the suggestion that men should praise God since even the birds praise Him. In xxix. 64, it is said bitterly that men in ships call upon God to save them, but, when He has saved, "they worship others with Him."

gathered from Jewish and Arabic tradition. Mohammed accepted such of these as suited him and used them for illustrative instruction. To us they are either parts of Jewish literature or amplifications thereof more curious than valuable. As in the case of the substitution of Ishmael for Isaac, they show that Mohammed relied on a loose popular version of tradition liable to historical error. A few examples will suffice to indicate the use made of these legends, with which are mingled bits of history from recent times, such as the destruction of the Fellows of the Elephant at the hands of the Lord, who overthrew them with stones hurled by birds (cv.). Thus instruction is derived from the tale of the seven sleepers, who passed three hundred and nine years in a cave with their dog; from that of El 'Hidhr and the water of life; from that of the two-horned Alexander; and from that of Gog and Magog (xviii.). Moses burned his tongue; Aaron was his vizir (xx.); the queen of Sheba worshipped the sun; the hoopoe was absent among the birds assembled for Solomon and was threatened with his anger (xxvii. 20f.). When Peter converted Antioch the shout of Gabriel destroyed a host (xxxvi. 28). Gabriel bade Job strike the earth with his foot and there sprang up a healing fountain, bathing wherein Job was cured and his wife became young and beautiful (xxxviii., also legend of Solomon's ring, *ibid.*). Noah said to his people, "Ye shall surely not leave your gods, neither Wadd, nor Suwajh nor Yajhuth nor Ya'uq, nor Nasr, who have led many astray"[1] (lxxi. 20f.).

On the other hand, one cannot dismiss as unimportant those teachings which, instead of looking back upon earth (pseudo-historical), look up to the world unseen and on to the fate of man, for they give the intellectual environment in which alone could spring up to fruitfulness the teachings of Mohammed based on belief in the resurrection,

[1] These were Arabian gods of Mohammed's day in the form of idols, representing the sky-god as a man, a woman (earth-goddess?), a lion, a horse, and an eagle, respectively.

in a judgment to come, and in One God. Had these been left vague outlines, they would not have had effect. It was necessary to describe God and His works, to paint vividly the day to be expected, to relate in detail the sorrows and joys hereafter. We may reduce the frequent repetitions on these themes to one collective statement.

God is One without a second. His face is the East and the West. "Adore not sun and moon but God" (xli. 37). He created the seven heavens and the earth and all between and the seven hells (hell with seven doors) and Adam from clay and Iblis (Satan) from smokeless flame. And because Iblis would not bow to Adam, seeing in him only clay, he was driven from heaven, and he and his devils still are pelted by angels (with shooting stars), whenever the devils listen at the under side of heaven seeking to learn what is to be, that they may mislead mankind (lxxii. 9, etc.).[1] There are many spiritual powers but they are not associates of God (not real gods). Some are those who are gods to the unbelievers; some are God's servants as angels, who are not "daughters of God" (as unbelievers say); some are flame-born Jinns, to whom it is a sin to pray. Avoid the abomination of idols (xxii. 32).[2] Think not that God is afar merely; if three whisper together God is there as the fourth (lviii. 8).[3] He is nearer to man than his jugular vein, though so great that He created heaven and earth in six days without weariness (i. 15f.). He is at his business every day (lv.). He is God; save him there is no God; he knows the unseen and the visible; he is the Merciful, the Compassionate, the King, the Holy, the Peace-giver, the Faithful, the Protector, the Mighty, the Repairer, the Great. Celebrated be his praise above the praise of all

[1] Mohammed himself preached to the Jinns when men had rejected him (lxxii. 1).

[2] There is little indication that Mohammed objected to statues and paintings, as is generally assumed. Idols and false gods are synonymous terms with him and he objects not to the portrait but to the worship.

[3] Compare in the Atharva Veda: "If two men talk together in secret, god Varuna is there as the third."

(others) joined with him. He is God, Creator, Maker, Fashioner; His are the excellent names. Whatsoever things are in heaven and in earth celebrate his praises, for God is the Mighty, the Wise (lix., a Medina Sura). *God, there is no God but he, the living, the self-existent. Slumber takes him not, nor sleep. His is what is in the heavens and what is in the earth. Who intercedes with him save by his permission? He knows what is before them and what behind them, and they comprehend naught of his knowledge except he pleases. His throne extends over the heavens and earth, nor does it weary him to guard them, for he is high and grand* (the "verse of the throne," frequently inscribed in mosques, also a Medina passage, ii. 256).[1]

There is little specifically Moslem in the story of creation except the insistence on the fact that God did not rest on the seventh day (i. 37) and the synchronous creation of Iblis [2] from flame and Adam from clay. The earth is made for man. Clouds let down water for him; God made the sea and the camel of the sea (ship) for him; night and day were made for him to sleep and work; trees subserve his needs; animals are for his use. It is an anthropocentric material creation. But man himself God created "only to adore God" (li. 56). God burst apart the originally united mass of heavens and earth and flattened out earth for

[1] Only twenty-four of the hundred and fourteen Suras (sections) of the Koran are from the later Medina period; the others are referred by Arabic scholars to various periods of Mohammed's sojourn in Mecca, from the first to the fifth year, the fifth and sixth years, and from the seventh year to the Hegira; but the evidence is more or less doubtful in most cases. In contrast to the magnificent "verse of the throne," above, the earliest period is in general represented by greater humility and more personal feeling; the later by a more mechanical style with a growing sense of power and more princely tone on the part of the prophet.

[2] Iblis or Satan is not the accuser but the "Whisperer" of evil suggestions (cxiv). As God created him; so the believer prays: "I seek refuge from the Whisperer" as also "I seek refuge in the Lord of light from the evil of what He has created, and from the evil of the night and witches" (who blow on knots, cxiii).

man's needs, pegging it down with mountains, which are sometimes regarded as weights to keep the earth from flying off. Otherwise there is no peculiar view in regard to earth itself and we may pass on to the consideration of heaven and hell.[1]

At death "a driver and a witness come with the soul," which the angel of death gently releases in the case of the believer but violently tears out in that of the unbeliever (l. 20; lxxix. 1f.). Each then receives his account-book, which is preserved in the "high-places" or in the "prison" of hell (lxxxiii. 5–20) and is presented to him to read, in the right hand if he is pious, in the left bound behind his back, if sinful (lxxxiv.). This book will be brought forth by God on the resurrection-day. Two attendant spirits have inscribed it with every act committed in life, though every man's fate (literally bird, augury) has been hung around a man's neck from the beginning (xvii. 15).[2] The book and the balance (ci.) seem to imply a difference of methods; in the latter case the sinner is weighed and found wanting, a simpler means. When judged, the pious is led to heaven, a garden of bliss, where he will lie for ever, dressed in green silk, satin, or brocade, on green cushioned couches, facing others similarly blessed, all wearing silver and gold bracelets, and enjoying "fruit and forgiveness." The forgiven and blest will eat bananas and other fruits without indigestion and drink without subsequent headache milk and honey and wine, which is carried about in silver goblets by youths and is tempered with streams from the rivers and fountains of Paradise, so that camphor and ginger and *tasnim* add to its taste. For further enjoyment there will be chaste, well-grown, large-eyed maids of the same age as the believer.

[1] That mountains hold earth steady, is also a Vedic idea. In the Koran it is said that God cast mountains upon earth lest it should move (xvi. 15; xxi. 32; xxxi. 9). They are like stakes to the couch of earth (lxxviii. 6). On the last day they will move about (lii. 10). God outstretched earth and threw upon it firm mountains (l. 7).

[2] Written "on his forehead," in the late view (taken from India).

It is a place where there will be "no folly and no lie."[1]

The sinner in hell alternates between flame and boiling water, has a dress of flame, and drinks boiling water and pus. Even the bitter tree of hell called El Zaqqun, whose head is as it were a sheaf of devils, is regarded as providing a "boiling" food which the sinner has to eat or drink.[2] No torments save heat, maces, and the implied beating, are described, unless the fact that sinners are bound together be regarded as torment. Hell is not guarded by devils but by nineteen angels (lxxiv. 30). The sinner is described as "neither dead nor alive" in hell fire but ardently and vainly longing to end his eternal torment. Conspicuous for its absence in the Koran is the sensual element. Paradise is sensuous but not sensual. Its tone is not that of passion but of "Peace, peace"; its joys are those appreciated by desert-riding toilers, cool comfort and ease, the pure water and green shade to which the thought of the Bedouin naturally turns. The maids of his Paradise are modest maids "restraining their looks" (xxxvii. 45–50), and the water is without "insidious spirit" (*ibid*) or, if wine is enjoyed, it does not intoxicate.

The particularity of description is greater in respect of heaven than of hell. Besides green cushions, the believer will have green robes of silk or brocade (xviii. 30; here Paradise is Firdâus, 105f.). Apparently all must pass through hell: "Not one of you who will not go down to

[1] Compare Suras xxxvii. 40f.; xlvii. 16f.; lv and lvi; lxxvi. 5f.; lxxvii. 40; lxxviii. 35; lxxxiii. 26.

[2] For the torments of hell, compare xiv. 19, 50; xx. 75f.; xxii. 20; lxxxiv; for the infernal tree, which grows where even the stones are red-hot, xvii. 62; xxxvii. 60f.; xliv. 45. According to xliii. 75, unbelievers in hell are chained to devils and "there is no end of hell for them though they cry on Malik" (keeper of hell). In lxix. 31, the sinner with his book in his left hand is first fettered, then broiled, then forced into a chain of seventy cubits as punishment because "he believed not in God nor fed the poor." The length and purpose of this chain is unique in the Koran, as is the statement in the same chapter that on the last day the heaven shall be cleft asunder and God appear on a throne borne by eight (angels).

it. Then We will save those who fear Us, but We will leave evil-doers therein on their knees" (xix. 70). But some take this to refer to the passage of El Aarâf, the bridge between heaven and hell.[1] The intercession of intercessors profits not in hell such men as have not prayed, nor given to the poor, but have plunged into discussions and called the Judgment-day a lie (*ibid.* 34). Minor sins, called abominations of Satan, are wine, games of chance, and divining (v. 93).[2] As believers enjoy bliss for aye, so sinners suffer for ever: "On those who die misbelieving is the curse of God, and of the angels, and of mankind together; to dwell therein for aye (cf. xxxix. 55);[3] the torment shall not be lightened for them, nor shall they be respited (or looked upon"; ii. 156f.). In the Chapter of the Believers (xxiii. 101) it is implied that some (Arabs) believed in metempsychosis: "When death comes to any one he says, 'My Lord, Send ye (plural of respect) me back (to life) that haply I may do right in what I have left; but no! Behind him is a bar (till the resurrection)."[4]

Of the seven "solid" heavens (lxvii. 3; lxxi. 141; lxxviii. 10f.) and seven hells we learn little in the Koran itself, only that the former were created in stories in two days and God adorned the lowest with stars like lamps and furnished it with guardian angels (xli.). Later tradition gives the names of the seven, partly made from epithets applied in the Koran to heaven in general, such as "(We have made them) an

[1] Probably the whole conception had filtered to Mohammed through a late Jewish and Christian medium. That every one must go to hell was also Jewish belief (but not Zoroastrian). In Hinduism the idea that a good act could balance a bad act (and so save the sinner from punishment) was not entertained. Every bad act was punished in hell even if committed involuntarily.

[2] In ii. 216, Mohammed says that there is profit and loss in wine and the game of chance here alluded to; but the disadvantage is greater than the advantage. Divining is done by arrows. The list mentions "statues" also, supposed to be chess, which some Mohammedans therefore renounce.

[3] In lxxviii. 24 hell is a place in which "to tarry for ages."

[4] Saadia (ninth century) says that some Jews believed in metempsychosis.

abode of peace" (or "garden of pleasure"), partly from the names Eden and Firdâus. Still less individuality is to be found in the seven hells, Gehenna, flaming fire, scorching fire, etc., ending with the abyss. It is clear that the resurrection is the great stumbling-block to the unbelievers. Over and over again Mohammed rallies them with the cry, "If God could create you originally, cannot he create you again? As you came out of death or not-being into existence by stages, as the embryo evolves, can you not come out of death after life?" But what the soul is doing between death and Judgment is not explained. The unbeliever mocks (xxxvii. 15): "Shall I when reduced to dry bones become alive again?" Mohammed retorts, with the only trace of humour he shows, "Wait till The (Judgment) Day arrives and you will find out!" At least one passage (lxvii. 25–29) seems to show that the Day was not far distant: "When comes the Judgment only God knows; but ye shall soon know who is mistaken" (Mohammed or the unbeliever). The usual Mohammedan belief is that the good rest at peace till the Judgment Day, but the wicked are tormented even in their graves.

The religion of Mohammed is not one of form but of faith and good works. He commends pilgrimage to the Old House (xxii. 30) and the attitude of devotion, bidding the believer turn to Mecca (originally to Jerusalem) and hear the voice that calls to prayer, and come to the mosque, leaving traffic, on the Day of Congregation (lxii. 9, Friday).[1] He also substitutes (viii. 35) four sacred months for Jewish fasts, making especially a fast the month of Ramadhan when the Prophet received the revelation of the Koran. Yet if one is ill the fast may be postponed till an-

[1] Mohammed says that the early part of the night is "more upright for speech" and recommends spending half the night in prayer (lxxiii. 6). In v. 9 he tells his followers to wash their faces and their hands before they pray and wipe the head and feet, but if more convenient they may use sand for water. Prayer is here substituted for the "whistling and clapping hands" (viii. 35) which characterized the worship of idols.

other time or one may redeem oneself by feeding the poor (ii. 180f.). Pork and food offered to idols are forbidden, but Mohammed makes his religion on the formal side an easy one. "God desires for you what is easy not what is difficult" (*ibid.*). So too the believer need not puzzle over the dark sayings of revealed religion, but "read what is easy of the Koran" (lxxiii. 20). As to sacrifice he says, "Sacrifice camels to eat in the name of the Lord, saying Bismillah; their meat and blood will never reach to God but your piety will reach to him" (xxi. 30f.).

Much more important than form is the religion of good deeds. "Paradise is prepared for those who expend in alms, for those who repress their rage and pardon men; God loves the kind" (iii. 125f.). This is said in connexion with the injunction to beg forgiveness of God for wrong and not repeat the wrong, for God forgives the repentant. "Righteousness is not that one turns his face to East or to West, but that one believes in God and the last day and the angels and the Book and the prophets and gives one's wealth for love of God to kindred and orphans and the poor and the son of the road (wayfarer) and beggars and captives, that one is steadfast in prayer and gives alms, and abides by one's covenant and is patient in poverty and distress and in times of violence; these are they who are faithful believers" (ii. 173f.). "Wealth and children are an adornment of the life of this world, but enduring good works are better with thy Lord, both as a recompense and as a hope" (xviii. 44). "Free the captive, feed the orphan and poor, believe, encourage others in patience and mercy" (xc. 15f.). "What one loans to God one will find again with God" (lxxiii. 20f.). At first this "loan" was an alms, afterwards it became virtually a tribute or tax for holy wars, etc., but it remained "as an insurance for the soul" (ii. 265f.). Kindness to women and children is an especial trait of Mohammedanism. Against the infanticide of his day Mohammed is inexorable: "When the girl that was buried alive shall ask for what sin she was slain, the sinful soul shall

know what it has done!" (lxxx. 9).[1] He enjoins that "believing women" shall not be given back to their unbelieving husbands from whom they have fled (lx. 10); also that the *purdah* or curtain shall be used except when a woman converses with fathers, brothers, sons, and nephews (possibly not before the Medina period, xxxiii. 55).

It is perhaps only fair that a prophet should be judged by his acts as well as by his words. Mohammed's attitude toward his old first wife was always admirable. His anger because Ayesha [2] was the object of scandal is natural, but it was perhaps too personal a matter for "inspiration" on the subject, though the Prophet's "curse on all those who impute evil to chaste women" is justified. In the later Sura on this matter (Medina, xxiv.), Mohammed prescribes the dress and adornment suited to good women; they shall not display ankle-ornaments; they shall pull a kerchief over the bosom; they shall not display their ornaments except to the husband, father, etc. There is nothing about covering the face. On the other hand, Mohammed's marriage with the wife of his adopted son Zaid and his connexion with a Coptic girl called Mary (xxxiii. 36; lxvi.), can scarcely be called admirable. "Inspired" verses to palliate the Prophet's self-indulgence seem to the outsider a profanation. Mohammed was now a prince and thought himself entitled to special consideration as God's apostle; yet it is difficult always to believe in his complete sincerity. In other respects it may be granted that success convinced Mohammed more than aught else that his side was that of God and that, religion consisting at a time of war in being helpful to God, he held more and more to the militant attitude, which in-

[1] Mohammed taunts the Arabs with ascribing daughters to God and then being angry when they themselves have daughters (xvi. 59; xliii. 15). The so-called "daughters of God" are (xxxvii and *passim*) angels created by God as servants. They have wings (xxxv. 1f.) in pairs or threes or fours.

[2] Ayesha, after the death of his first wife, was the most influential member of Mohammed's harem. She was the daughter of Abu Bakr.

cluded recourse to trickery and cruelty. God himself meets the wiles of his opponents with cleverer tricks and stratagems, as of old when the Jews were crafty "and God was crafty, for God is the best of crafty ones" (iii. 45f.; cf. vii. 97, "secure from the craft of God"). It is a believer's duty to overcome rather than convert the foes of God. Yet those who have not actually fought against the true faith may be taken as patrons and one must act righteously and justly toward them (lx. 8f.). Considering the mockery and abuse to which Mohammed was exposed,[1] the treachery with which he was encompassed,[2] the only wonder is that he could at any time speak kindly of unbelievers. He discriminates in the later Koran between Jews and Christians, saying that the latter are more lovable than the former, though both pervert Scripture. Mohammed's wrath is most unbridled against those of his own race and family who rejected him and some of the earlier Suras are, as said above, little more than curses against such opponents. With waxing power this gross personal abuse was modified or rather it gave place to an arrogant assumption of power. Yet the Prophet was careful not to encourage flattery. "Think not that ye oblige me by becoming converted; God obliges you by directing you to the truth" (xlix. 15f.). In this chapter he warns against the too facile "we believe" of the desert Arabs. True believers show their belief by their conduct and do not backbite (compare civ., "woe to the slanderous backbiter"). All believers are brothers and should fight for the faith, "with wealth and person, believing in God and His Apostle." Mohammed, despite his igno-

[1] Instead of saying *Es salâm 'halaika* ("peace upon thee") they used to say to Mohammed *Es sâm 'hailaika* ("mischief upon thee"). When he spoke of Judgment, they asked where their fathers' dead bones had risen, etc. (lviii. 9). They also mocked at his "old folks' tales, written and dictated by others" and said that if revealed the Koran should have been revealed all at once (by Michael, not by Gabriel piecemeal). Compare xxv. 34 and ii 90f, "who is an enemy of Gabriel?" They also effected to believe that "the Lord the Merciful" implied two gods (xvii. 110).

[2] His own people planned to murder him before he fled to Yathreb.

rance, is remarkably free from superstition. To "avoid the door" and enter one's house by a hole made in the rear on returning from Mecca, he says is folly, although popular practice. Phases of the moon are not ominous but "merely indicate time" (ii. 185f.). It required courage, too, to refuse to pray to the Jinn of the dark valley when one actually believed the Jinn was there, as did Mohammed. Of his social reforms something has already been said; some rested on a religious basis but others were purely ethical, such as his condemnation, as "fellows of hell-fire," of money-lenders (ii. 276f.).

Whether Mohammed was acquainted with any non-Semitic religion may be doubted, though he alludes to Persian literature, but only as legends invidiously offered the people as more entertaining than the Koran, and mentions Loqmân (Aesop, xxxi.). His general judgment of the "blue-eyed sinners" or Greeks, is not without keenness: "They know the outside of life but heed not the hereafter" (xx. 102; xxx. 6). Probably he could read, though, as in the case of Akbar, this has been questioned. But he appears to have known the Pentateuch only at second hand, much as he knew the local legends, in which, however, he believed as surely as he did in the Scriptures.

Later orthodox theology naturally endeavours to make more precise the teaching of the Koran but does not question its authority. God (the God, Allah) is defined under ninety-nine names as the Merciful, Compassionate, Protector, Creator, Provider, Destroyer, Wise, Loving, Exalted, etc. He is eternal, indivisible, formless, comprehending all but comprehended of nothing. His angels are sexless, pure, created of fire; they neither eat nor drink nor have issue. Chief of them are the archangels, Gabriel, who revealed the Koran; Mikail (Michael), the guardian; Israfil, who sounds the last trump; and Azrail, the angel of death. Malik is the angel presiding over Jehennum (that is, Moloch over Gehenna). Razan presides over heaven and Munkir and Nakir are two angels who torment infidels in their graves.

Every man has two recording angels. Iblis is Saitan, a fallen angel become a devil. Jinns, born of smokeless flame and living especially in mountains and deserts, are usually malevolent but sometimes benevolent. Hell and heaven each contains seven divisions (as explained above). Until the resurrection the good repose at peace but the wicked suffer. Before The Day there will appear a guide, Mahdi, who will fill earth with righteousness; but there will be no prophet after Mohammed, who, next to Jesus, is the Spirit of God (Ruha 'llâh), as before Jesus came the three great prophets, Adam, Noah, Abraham, and sundry minor prophets.

The practical duties of the Mohammedan are, as they have always been, the profession of faith, which originally ran, "There is no god but the God (Allah)," but even in Mohammed's day the present form was adopted: "There is no god but God and Mohammed is His apostle"; further, repetition five times daily of a formula of prayer, while the worshipper bows and faces Mecca, after suitable ablutions, as explained above; fasting, especially during Ramadhan; almsgiving;[1] and pilgrimage, if possible, to Mecca, which includes the saluting and kissing of the Black Stone and sacrifice of animals. This pilgrimage is really a relic of pre-Mohammedan days. It is called the Hajj. The Jews also made a feast (hagg) after going into the wilderness (Exodus x. 9) and it was this harking back to Abraham which made it possible for Mohammed to include in his ritual the pilgrimage to Mecca. He intended his religion for his own world of Arabia, but probably before his death he had already envisaged its wider growth.

On Mohammed's death, as he had no son, his friend Abu Bakr became the first Caliph, "successor," soon succeeded by Omar, who defeated the Persians and destroyed the Byzantine empire in Syria, and then by Othman and Ali,

[1] The formal alms, as explained above, is interpreted as a tax (about two and a half per cent of one's property) for military (or State) needs. It does not exclude charity, and the Mohammedan is as apt to give alms as is another.

both of whom were assassinated. The history of these few years reveals the political ambition of Mohammed, whose own ideas were of course carried out by his intimate companions, and the change from a religious to a political ideal. The first three Caliphs represented the Koreish family of Mecca. The true succession, however, lay, according to the Shiah, or Party of Ali, with the son of Fatima, Mohammed's daughter, who had married Ali, himself cousin of the Prophet. This son was Hosain, whose slaughter at Kerbela (Oct. 9, 680) is still bewailed by the Shiites for ten days. The Omayyad governor of Syria became the candidate of the Othman clique at Damascus and retained power till the middle of the eighth century. Islam had already begun to divide itself into political and religious parties. The Omayyads were a liberal theocratic faction devoted to Mohammedanism as a conquering worldly power quite as much as a religious ideal. The Shiites or Aliites opposed them because they would not admit the divine succession of their candidate. But, opposed to both, there soon arose a party of Aliites who were pietistic and puritanical and dissatisfied with the worldliness of both the Shiites and Omayyads. These were the Separators or Kharejites. They held that works were more than faith and inner purity more than external cleansing and though long since become of no political importance they still retain these fundamental characteristics. To them the Caliphate was an office to be bestowed only on the worthiest man, irrespective of family; they especially opposed the Omayyads and later influenced the Berber tribes against this hated family.

The Aliites claimed that the divine spark had passed to Ali and their representative and that the Koran as God's word was the Way of truth, but no authority rested in Mohammed's companions. Hence they separated from the Sunni, those who later claimed that not only this norm but that of the immediate companions and followers of the Prophet made the Way or Sunna to be followed by the faithful. The Shiahs or Shiites are in general to be found

in Persia and Africa; in India they make only a tenth of the sixty millions Mohammedans, of whom the mass are Hindus by race (sons of converts) and more than a third Bengalis. In Persia royal blood united with that of the Prophet through the marriage of Hosain with a Sassanide princess.[1] It is impossible here to review the many divisions of Islam, past and present, but the religious significance of one division cannot be passed over. Opposed to, and eventually triumphant over, the Syrian house of the Omayyads, arose in 750 the Bagdad Caliphate of the Abbasides (Abbas was Mohammed's uncle), who secured also the Caliphate of Cairo and eventually passed their religious pretensions over to the Sultan of Turkey. The change of power from Omayyads to Abbasides resulted in Islam becoming a world-religion instead of a national Arabian religion and did much to further the interest of Persian culture. It was this more liberal party that gave approval to Mutazilite rationalism (see below). Out of this party grew also the mysticism which began within a century of Mohammed's time, but found its best soil in Persia, where God became a God of love and man became God. In such a school blossomed the great Persian poets, believers and non-believers, who were indeed scarcely to be distinguished.[2] Opposed to this Caliphate was that of Spain.

Although the Koran has always been the ultimate authority for all Moslems, a saying attributed to Mohammed, namely, that " whatever has been well said I have myself said," made it easy to add " tradition " to the generally plain

[1] It is questionable how far the monotheistic tendencies to be seen in the Kabir and Nanak sects of India revert to Moslem (or Christian) influence. Akbar's religion was a liberal Sufism or Persian form of Islam. Like the first Caliph he had a Christian wife, but it is unlikely that either of them suffered his harem to mould his creed.

[2] This Abbaside Caliphate raised Nestorian Syrians to high office and it was these Syrians, thus patronized, who translated Greek science and philosophy into Syriac and Arabic (e. g., Hippocrates, Galen, Euclid, Aristotle). The Arabs received, assimilated, and, bettering their Syrian instructors, became in turn the teachers of Europe in the thirteenth century.

and quite circumscribed teachings of the Koran. The tradition, as to the Way of Mohammed, soon included that of his close companions and what they taught or did became authoritative to the orthodox (Sunni) as the right Way or Sunna and was accepted as Hadith (authoritative tradition), just as Tradition in India soon became almost as authoritative as Revelation. The Koran itself was not edited in a definitive form till about 650. But it was freely charged that certain Suras were forged, as certain "tradition" was forged. Not till the tenth century could orthodox Islam come to any agreement as to what was orthodox. Then, however, the varying opinions were sifted and there thus came into existence the formal Ijma or Agreement, which since then, because Mohammed said that the community could never agree in error, has been the third work recognized as authoritative. The fourth work in the religious literature is a body of reasoning in regard to doctrinal points.[1] There was from the beginning more or less disagreement as to the interpretation of verses of the Koran, the earliest probably involving the question as to man's free will. This was not altogether a purely theological point. Kadar or fatalism was upheld by the Omayyads of Damascus as a principle conducive to obedience; the powers that be are the powers divinely ordained. By a *lucus a non* those opposed to fatalism were called Kadarites, while those upholding this doctrine were known as Jabarites, believers in blind compulsive power. The Kadarites represented, however, a pietistic strain, not wholly political nor intellectual. The question of free will[2] was one of several arising from discussions coming into the church after the founder's death. Another of similar sort was the question whether

[1] The Kiyas: Books of practical instruction (Fikh) were based on this larger literature.

[2] God leaves it to man to follow His guidance; who forgets Him He forgets and abandons. One should pray "guard and guide me." Man's dependence on God is implied. Mohammed's earlier view inclined to free will but later, according to Grimme, he believed in greater dependence, eventually adopting the view of crass predestination. But see the next note.

God himself was free, or so bound by justice that he was obliged to submit to limitations. The early (eighth century) Mutazilite school argued that God was under the necessity of sending prophets to save man; that pious people must be recompensed for their suffering; and that even animals were to be recompensed hereafter; in short, the justice of God limits His power. Virtually, therefore, they taught that while man was free [1] God was not. God's will is not good as such; He must command what is good. The same religious philosophy derided the anthropomorphism of vulgar belief in God's hands and feet, etc. Mutazilites thus opposed the Hanbalite religious doctors, who represented the extreme wing of conservatism and to whom a purely spiritual God was contradictory of Mohammed's words (taken literally). Other later problems, discussed by the philosophers of the eighth and ninth centuries, were whether God had attributes and whether there was a natural law. In the tenth century, the Asharites renounced the rationalism of the Mutazilites and since the twelfth century the views of the latter have been given up by the orthodox. Thus the view of al-Ashari (832–933), who followed Hanbal, still prevails, according to which laws of nature are really habits; the absence of sunlight is not what makes a shadow, but it is a thing created. "A blind man may stand in China and see a gnat in Spain"; the eye may perceive a smell or a sound as well as see. The chief points held by the orthodox Sunni, who follow al-Ashari, are that God's word is eternal (uncreated) and that there will be a corporeal resurrection. Asharism also holds that the individual is not wholly free nor absolutely fated; God is omnipotent. They deny the Mutazilite notion of a place hereafter between heaven and hell.

[1] Texts of the Koran (xviii. 28; xxxviii. 25) allude to "him who will believe" and "desire leading astray." On the other hand, x. 100 says that none may believe except with God's permission. These are all Mecca texts. The last is a statement of fact; the first two are casual allusions from which only a theologian would draw any theory of free-will.

In contrast with Judaism, the original model of Islam, every man is his own priest and deals directly with his maker, supplicating God for assistance and for forgiveness. Mohammed himself taught that he, and other apostles, could mitigate God's justice by appearing as an intercessor and this doctrine was but the prototype of the later intercessory character of saints, to whom Mohammedans in general are as devoted, and of whom they make the same substitute for divinity, as other religionists. As the Sicilian or Russian invokes his patron saint and as such a saint is sometimes only a new form of an old god, so the patron god or saint of village and province becomes to the Mohammedan the divine power whom he invokes for rain or safety. Yet no need is felt for priestly mediators and no sacrifice is required except as part of the ancient Hajj. As contrasted with Judaism also Islam recognizes no chosen people; it is a democratic religion making converts everywhere. As a matter of course many Mohammedans nowadays neglect devotions and may go to the mosque but twice a year; but few religions can count so many genuine devotees.

Islam is as different from Mohammedanism as modern Christianity is from the teaching of Christ. A whole millennium of new ideas has been grafted upon it. Mohammed himself has been converted into a sinless being who performed miracles. The Sunna of the first three centuries is admittedly authoritative, but the orthodox school rejects the "degenerate" teaching of later days adopted by the Shiites, who, in accordance with their view that Ali received and passed on the divine succession, incline to a mysticism which has led to a pantheistic nihilism. A paganism modified by Gnosticism has inspired this branch of the church. The Nusairiah sect even treats the holy family of Islam as nature-gods. A marked feature here is the absolute obedience demanded of the religious community to its head, similar to the Guru-cult of India, the head being regarded as representative of, or even identical with, God. Thus the notorious Assassins yielded implicit obedience to their Old

Man and the modern Babis and Bahis regard their founders as divine. In part, this has come from an early adoption of Christian asceticism and celibacy, which introduced into Islam the pious ascetics called Wanderers, "male and female," [1] whose exaggeration of confidence in God led to an attitude of indifference and quietism. Clothed in *suf*, coarse wool, these ascetics, who soon became mystics, were known as Sufis. As early as the seventh century they adopted un-Mohammedan (Neo-Platonic?) ideas, became "drunk with divinity," identified the individual with God, gave themselves up to religious ecstasy and contemplation, and interpreting the Koran allegorically, appeared virtually Indic or Hellenic rather than Mohammedan. With the Kalenders or Dervishes they reject moral laws and even court disapproval. Ethically these heretics "pass beyond good and evil"; to them, "love alone is true religion."

Before the tenth century the protest had been made that "dirt is not religion." Although physical dirt was meant, moral dirt might have been intended. All this mixture of late philosophy and its resultant pantheism was repudiated once for all by al-Ghazali (died 1109), who had himself been a philosopher and Moslem doctor but is known to history rather as the "destroyer of philosophers." He opposed both the dogmatism and hair-splitting of the Sunni schoolmen and the gross heresy of the Sufites, in that he rejected their pantheism, though he admitted into orthodox belief a certain amount of ethical mysticism. He thus became known as the Regenerator of Religion. His real service was that "he turned the church from theological wrangling to the spirituality of a unifying faith," and gave it on its orthodox side something of Shiite liberality.[2] On the

[1] Compare the Buddhist "Wanderers," who may have served as models, though Christian examples were not lacking. Sufiism reflects different "sources," because they teach the same thing. No historical connexion has been proved with Indian thought, but it may have existed. Balkh was then a seat of Buddhism.

[2] The Agreement (above) had already given binding force to a mysticism foreign to the founder, a cult of saints, which he re-

other hand, the Shiites have two traits which lead them far afield from Mohammedanism. They have long given up any effort to make Islam's missionary spirit express itself by submission of its foes and have themselves adopted as their motto "caution," or submission to alien authority even to the extent of pretended apostasy (taught as a virtue), while they wait for the coming of the Guided One or Mahdi, that is, the twelfth or hidden Imam, who disappeared in the ninth century and will appear, a shadowless, sinless, infallible, incarnate, deity. A sect of Shiites called Ismailites end the visible line with the seventh instead of the twelfth Imam. They founded the African Fatimite dynasty in the tenth century. Philosophically they taught that each revealer ("speaker") of truth surpasses the last, so that there is a gradual revelation of the world-spirit; consequently that their Imam Ismail (died 762) surpassed his predecessor Mohammed. They too interpreted the Koran allegorically and regarded literal believers as heretics. Prohibition of wine, fast, and pilgrimage are thus nullified. Their belief that the Fatimite Caliph Hakim would reveal himself as God incarnate is still held by the Druses of Lebanon. The Khojas of Indian (under Agha Khan) represent this sect; they derive from an Assassin of the Fatimite dynasty. The most moderate Shiites derive from Zeid (tenth century), great-grandson of Hosein; they recognize any active Aliite as an Imam and are tolerant of the Sunnis. They are still found in southern Arabia under the name of Zeidites. The Shiites in general do not oppose Sunna but define Sunna as the traditional Way of the Prophet's family, not of his companions and their later adherents. Later religious modification sprang up on Arabian soil and was developed by loans

pudiated, and an extreme asceticism adopted from without. The Ijma today still holds the Moslem world to polygamy, facile divorce, concubinage, and slavery, in all which the Prophet's own teaching improved the ethics of his people but could not anticipate the higher views of today. Yet polygamy is allowed only to those able to afford it and slavery affects only war-captives, whom it is a merit to set free.

from Aryan sources. Although the Shiah party represents that freedom from literal interpretation and from received belief which makes it "liberal," it is, as Goldziher has shown, an error to suppose that its character arose in reaction from a narrow orthodoxy. The Shiites arose as a political party and when in power were more intolerant than the Sunni. At the present time not the Sunni but the Shiites take Sura ix. 28 (which speaks of unclean unbelievers) literally, some of them even "wash the eyes polluted by seeing Europeans." The Aliites known as Metawile, around Baalbek, destroy a vessel touched by a Christian. On the other hand it cannot be said that the Sunni have failed to respond to modern liberal views. The Malik school[1] upheld public utility as against the normal law and thus made possible the introduction of banks and insurance as well as intercession of saints, all of which are forbidden (see above) by the Koran. The fact is that Bida or innovation if enduring enough becomes custom, so that "it became Bida to oppose Bida." Thus Mohammed's birthday festival was opposed as late as the fifteenth century, but was finally adopted as orthodox. The most conservative Mohammedans today are a recent sect called Wahabites, of central Arabia, a reactionary body opposing the use of the rosary, tobacco, coffee, etc. In general Islam is today a tolerant religion[2] and its fatalism rightly understood is the expression of resignation to God's will. It is of course pessimistic, but so is Christianity. Both believe that the world is evil.

The value of Mohammedanism lies in its influence with rude races. As it represented God to the Arabs, so today

[1] This and the Hanbal school already mentioned are not sects but schools of religious law, of which four are orthodox, the Hanifites, Malikites, Shafiites, and Hanbalites. Traditionally Islam has 73 sects but this is only to make it superior to Judaism and Christianity which, according to the same myth, boast 71 and 72 sects.

[2] According to Hurgronje, the "faithful" may even include non-Moslem people. The Moslem Church never had an Inquisition though more liberal philosophical thought coincided with greater intolerance. This is ascribed to late Zoroastrian influence.

it is an effective means of betterment to those who stand on a low intellectual and ethical level. Its prohibition of intoxicants and simple creed make it a useful educator in Africa; its monotheism stands in pleasing contrast with Hindu polytheism. It is at its best when it has least political power.

Far removed from Mohammed is the "Mohammedan" Babi movement. It reverts to the theory of gradual progressive revelation. Mirza Ali Mohammed of Shiraz, b. 1820, believed he was the Imam and Bab (door) of salvation. He adopted the mystic combination of letters taught by the earlier Hurifis, preached the brotherhood of man and equality of woman, and was put to death in 1850. He was followed by the Bahi, who died in 1892 and was succeeded by Abbas Effendi. While the Bab is, in a way, a reform of a sect of Islam, the world-religion of the Bahis has no claim to be anything except a Persian form of mixed religious creeds, mystic philosophies, and social reforms. Similar tendencies have produced Mahdi religions in India, such as the Ahmediyya, a modern sect aiming at universality.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

GREEK RELIGION

About sixteen hundred B. C., Greece was over-run by Cretan invaders of higher culture (Minoan), who in turn were overcome by tribes of Aryan origin (Achaeans) from about 1500 to 1100 (Dorian invasion). The original inhabitants, "Pelasgian," formed a third element. Another stream of Aryans passed from the North into Asia Minor, and many northern tribes conquered by Achaeans or Dorians may have been their Aryan predecessors. It is impossible to distinguish the Pelasgian from the Cretan Mediterranean type. The latter, and probably the former, had idols and worshipped a great mother-goddess of productivity rather than a sky-god, while the Ayrans worshipped the sky-god as chief deity and were less advanced in religious art. Both races probably worshipped ancestors. In general, the Mediterranean type of religion was more magical and mystical; its spirits were, as compared with the Aryan type, less frank and human. By the former, divinity was worshipped more as a goddess or life-potency; by the latter, as a superhuman man; to the former, the divine was of earth; to the latter, of heaven. After settling in Greece, the Achaeans adopted many of the deities of the conquered, who may have included tribes of the Achaeans' own race, as subordinate figures, though it was a long time before the Cyprian goddess of love, the Thracian god of war, and the goddess of agriculture felt quite at home on Olympus, where the Aryan sky-god lived with his court. The Aryans as they settled down adopted magical rites to aid agriculture, in which as a host of invading soldiers they at first felt little interest, probably deeming farming the task of women and

slaves. More interest was shown in herding and their chief productivity-gods were of this type, Apollo, Hermes, and Poseidon, whom they brought with them from northern Greece, as they did Dionysos, the god of general fertility. As such the last was not at first esteemed very highly outside of his Thracian home, though afterwards, adopted as god of mystic madness induced by intoxication, he was converted into a "son of the sky-god." In the earlier period, the sky-god himself was all the god the Aryans needed for agriculture, as he sent rain, so that he united the conception of a god ruling in the sky with that of one governing life underground.[1]

Since the mystery-religion of Greece and the worship of female powers came earlier than the Aryan religion, Greek religion as a whole is often mistakenly represented as evolving from the lower to the higher form. No greater mistake can be made. There was no such evolution. The Aryan invaders, Achaeans and Dorians, simply adopted and adapted some of the lower elements native to the race they conquered, or long since brought into Greece from Crete, some parts of which may have come originally from Egypt. No fetish or ghost ever developed into Zeus.[2] It is characteristic of the Achaean religion that it had neither totemism nor tribal initiation, nor did its worshippers stand in fear of ghosts and ghouls. It was a virile man's religion, recognizing women-deities of love and domestic art, not as dark earth-potencies, but as shining celestial spirits. There is not the slightest evidence that it came from Crete like that of the preceding race in the Peloponnesus. But Zeus, though originally so, was no longer the "bright" Sky, any more than the Teutonic Thor was Thunder. He had al-

[1] Hence Zeus *georgos* (like Poseidon *georgos*, below), whence, eventually, "St. George."

[2] For various conflicting views as to the aborigines see Ridgeway, *Origin of Tragedy*, Cambridge, 1910, who believes that the Greek aborigines were akin to the Lycians (the Achaeans being Celts); Farnell, *The Higher Aspects of Greek Religion*, London, 1911; and Leaf, *Homer and History*, London, 1915. Zeus was a mountain-god of Olympus and elsewhere as well as a god of the sky.

ready become a family-man and chief of various clan-gods.[1] The naturalized Achaeans set beside him as his "wife" the dethroned female deity of Argos, Hera, archetype of monogamous union as "sacred marriage." As his brother they took Poseidon, who in his own place and for some time after his adoption had been as important as Zeus. Less clear to the Achaeans was the form of another "brother," called Hades, to whom was assigned the underworld, about which the Achaeans troubled themselves very little. But to this brother of Zeus they gave as wife Persephone, daughter of the corn-mother, Demeter, who may have been an Aryan-renamed goddess native to the original inhabitants, or an original Mother Earth, interpreted after the fashion of the farming population. She, too, was not originally an Olympian but as goddess of the earth and tilth and above all as Mother she became the lofty type of wifely motherhood;[2] until her image, spiritual and material, blended with that of the Christian Mother.

As Ares of Thrace and Aphrodite of Cyprus were called son and daughter, respectively, of Zeus, so Apollo, "dear to Zeus," was made his son, whose sister, like Apollo armed with bow and arrow, was Artemis,[3] goddess of life and death. As daughter of Zeus also is recognized Athene, goddess of art and skill at home and in the field, chief deity of Troy as well as chief goddess of the Achaeans and of Athens. Kronos, an old god of field and harvest, later con-

[1] A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, vol. i, London, 1914, seeks to show that the Greek Zeus was still the sky as in δῖος, ἔνδιος. He is more successful in proving that Zeus was not originally sun or stars. As family-man Zeus is associated with the family-cult as guardian of the home.

[2] "There is nothing greater than a mother," says a poet of the fourth century. Family-life is religiously guarded. On the sacredness of marriage and the possibility of a mystic religious element in the early rite, see Farnell, *op. cit.*, p. 30f. Adulterers sinned against Zeus and Hera and were excluded from religious precincts. Zeus guarded the honour of the family and the father's right.

[3] Artemis is a type of the vague female potency of life anthropomorphized as goddess but remaining ever unsullied. She has no organic connexion with Apollo. With her were identified others of her type, Britomartis, of Crete, Mâ, of Cappadocia, etc.

fused with Chronos, was made father of Zeus. The figure of Hestia (hearth, hearth-fire), who scarcely has personality in Homer, becomes in Hesiod the daughter of Demeter and Kronos. Hephaistos, called son of Zeus, was the local fire-god of Lemnos, though representing the forge-fire rather than the hearth. While the nature-elements in Poseidon and Hephaistos are veiled, nature-worship comes out more clearly in the direct worship of natural objects such as water in springs and rivers (the Alphaios, etc.), or of (the muses) hills and springs, in Thrace and Boeotia. Pan in Arcadia represents a cult of land and herds introduced quite late (fifth century) into Athens. Holy stones and posts, destined to become idols and gods, were perhaps adopted from the original inhabitants, such as the stone Hermes, originally a figure not unlike that of Priapos. Dryads, who die with the trees, are later personifications of sacred trees, such as ash, oak, and cypress; especially the laurel in Tempe and the palm in Delos. In Boeotia, the aboriginal cult of serpents was connected with that of Asklepios, also with the souls of the dead. Zeus himself, affected by these lower cults, takes the forms of animals, as Dionysos takes the form of a bull or goat, and other gods either take animal forms or have animal characteristics, Apollo being associated with the dolphin, Demeter appearing with a horse's mane, etc. In such phenomena, the bull-form is regarded as the god himself, and in the case of aboriginal deities, this may have been the first form.

Among the Greeks a tendency is observable to regulate groups of spirits by extending the reach of the sacred number three. Three days of mourning and a threefold invocation of the dead give a sacred character to the number, which is then applied to sacred or divine characters. So arise groups of three Graces, Fates, Eumenides, Hours, and thrice three Muses. These triads are usually female though sometimes male, but they never lead to the conception of a trinity. Thus Homer has three great brother gods, Zeus,

Poseidon, Hades. Zeus, Hera, and Athene or Apollo make a triad of a family (Hera takes the place of Dione, Juno). But the advent of the high Olympian gods introduced by the Achaeans reduced most of the earlier local goddesses to mythical, *quasi* historical characters. Cassandra and Helen were perhaps originally, or later took the place of, such local goddesses, with temples and images of their own. Others, as has been said, became forms of greater goddesses, as Kallisto, the Bear-maid, became a form (name) of Artemis Kalliste, just as local heroes were either absorbed in or became titles of great gods, Zeus Agamemnon, Meilichios, Philios, etc., unless, indeed, their legend was too savage to be adopted, when, like Tantalos, Sisyphos, and others, they became mere types of barbarism, historic characters meeting a deserved fate. Some of these were perhaps actual survivals of Cretan dominion in southern Greece.

Like the Roman Indigitamenta, there were also Powers of one office, whose duty was later absorbed by the higher divinities. Increase, Auxo, Thallo, Karpo, and such genii of fruitfulness found among all the Indo-Europeans probably belong to Achaean as well as to Mediterranean cults. Some appear as heroes, like Triptolemos, the ploughman or Erechtheus the ploughman, connected with Erichthonios, hero and father of fruitful Kekrops, a serpent-tailed hero as god of crops. Iphigeneia is by name (the spirit of) animal fruitfulness, whose cult was lost in that of Artemis. Probably older than Apollo are thus Iatros, Paian (purifier), and Iason, and the Thessalian Chiron. They are simply "the healer" in one form or under one name or another, possibly original hero-spirits in some cases. In some, there is only the personification of emotion (Fear, Love) or abstractions, Ploutos, Wealth, Hygieia, Health; Tyche, Fortune; Eirene, Peace; Themis, Justice. These powers tend to become mere attributes of gods of greater calibre, as local gods merge with and help to amplify the names of great gods, for example, Zeus Lykeios and Apollo Lykeios, who through a misunderstanding unite Zeus with the god

called Lykos in Boeotia and Arcadia.[1] An excellent example of such a combined divinity is the death-goddess of Homer, Persephone, who was united with Despoina and with Hekate and even with Artemis as local goddesses of the same sort current in Arcadia, and yet was united as well with the Maiden (Kore) or vegetable divinity. Environment again makes of a tribe's chief god another character when the scene shifts. For this reason the fertility- and water-god Poseidon coming from the north, like Apollo, becomes a sea-god when the tribe worshipping Poseidon comes to settle by the sea. Early epithets name him *georgos* and *phytalmios,* an agricultural plant-god, and his "horse" form is derived not from billows as sea-chargers but from the cultivation of horses. His cult even in Laconia, where he is Demeter's husband, was older than that of Zeus and in Athens older than that of Pallas Athene, the culture-goddess. Hera herself was a goddess of cattle and of well-watered meadows, for which reason she is a water-goddess in Argos and still bears in Homer the title "cow-eyed," while the pomegranate, emblem of fertility, is sacred to her, and Hebe (Spring-time) is her daughter. Some scholars, however, think [2] that she originally represented the moon as a horned goddess, patron of agriculture, and a deity especially of women, as the moon often is. More probably she was the greatest female-power of her state and as such became "wife" of Zeus (in place of Dione) as well as moon.

The animal-form of a god is, if anything, ruder than the vegetable form, as cattle-raising usually precedes the settled life of agriculture. Hence some of the rudest religious types belong in this category, such as that of Hermes, already mentioned, a god of animal productivity. The Homeric hymn sings him as a thief of cattle; he is also the slayer of the herdsman Argos; early art represents him with a ram's head. Herodotus tells us that the symbol of pro-

[1] Lykos is the wolf (god), but *lykeios* is light-god (*lyke*).

[2] Miss Harrison suggests that Hera is the same word as English Year! Leaf, *op. cit.,* p. 262, note.

ductivity was especially his. He was to Argos what Pan was to Arkadia. Probably he was originally a local god of productivity in general; hence his chthonic character, his office of psychopomp, and his control of riches (metal wealth) found in the earth. He guides and guards. He guards both graves and paths and marks, with his Hermes-stone, the paths dividing property. As God of wealth also he is god of the market-place (Mercurius to the Roman) and of cleverness and trickery. As a tricky god he fathers Autolykos, grandfather of Odysseus, who inherits his slyness. The later athletes also honoured him as god of the tricks helpful to wrestlers. In many respects Hermes is thus a little counterpart of Apollo, also a god of shepherds and cattle-raisers and fruitfulness, whose relations with the nymphs (like that of Krishna in India) date from this conception of him. An early symbol of Apollo is the goat or ram, whence he is identified with Karneios, a local ram-god. But he is also an agricultural god, who introduces or favours fruit-culture and bee-culture. He overcame Hyakinthos, that is, his cult took over that of a local god of that name. He became also a sea-god of fishes typified as the dolphin-form known in Crete and brought from Crete into Elis as the Delphinios Apollo, whose title was taken by Delphi, where Apollo assumed the oracular powers originally belonging to the earth-goddess, and killed her snake-guardian Pytho. Finally in Delos Apollo became a sun-god, so that the cult of the older Helios is lost in that of Apollo, as was that of the medicinal god Phoibos and other local gods. Apollo's rise to the position of sun-god stands parallel to that of his sister Artemis to the position of moon-goddess from the earlier status of a goddess of animal-productivity. Apollo came to Rome as "healer," *medicus,* that is, as Phoibos.

It is clear that the early Greek divinities do not arise from moral contemplation. They are themselves in story immoral or unmoral. They are not abstractions, nor usually Numina, but are anthropomorphic deities. No idea is ap-

parent of a god who omnipotently and justly rules the world. The gods themselves injure and deceive men. Yet in the conception of divinity foreshadowed by Moira, Fate, there is a rapid growth toward that of an over-ruling Providence. The amalgamation of local gods into one figure tends to increase the grandeur of that figure and with the growth of ethical ideals the idea of a god corresponding to those ideals begins to emerge. As receiver and absorber of the benefits thus bestowed upon the gods by more civilized men, Zeus, the guardian of the town, stands foremost, as his position at the head of the pantheon made it natural that he should be most prominent ethically as he was physically. He is *themistios,* the god of right order. He is not above Fate, which appears as a blind impersonal power; but he orders the world, sees all, notes wrong and right, upholds the family, befriends the stranger, aids the suppliant, and is the saviour and purifier of men, as he is the giver of life, happiness, and power. Later, Zeus becomes a world-principle; in the third century he is even "interpreted" as a ghost (doctrine of Euhemerus), but in the earlier religion he is a humanized spirit of nature, moral as man.

In Homer, the cult of such gods as he recognizes appears to be one of great simplicity. Every feast was a sacrifice. Temples and shrines were known, but the former might be a mere grove or a mountain-top and the shrine was not necessarily in a fixed place. Anywhere one might build an altar and sacrifice animals to a god. Altars, idols, and symbols of divinity belonged also to the Cretan cult, as did the worship of trees, stones, and animals. There was no Achaean priesthood, though professional priests existed; later came also priestesses. Priests were prayer-makers and prophets, holy men, but not celibate; there was no priestly caste. To honour the gods, communicate with them, and to win their help or avert misfortune were the objects of prayer, from which at first the formal elements of thanksgiving and praise seem to have been absent, though at a later date fully recognized. Even the great gods acted as house-

guardians, as in India (not in Rome). Sacrifices were annual and occasional. Human sacrifice to Zeus and other gods is mentioned in legend [1] and in early times was common to the mainland, to Crete and to the islands of the Aegean, where children as well as men were dismembered and devoured in magical rites to increase the strength of the god. Wine was also poured out to a god on taking an oath, at meals, and on other special occasions. The early gods were not supposed as a class to be concerned with moral acts, but by the seventh century purification was demanded by them in the case of murder; and ceremonial purification was also religiously expected after childbirth, or when one was initiated into religious mysteries. Sacrifice, scape-goats, or water-ablution were the means employed for purification, which was at first only ritualistic. The will of the gods was ascertained not only by oracles but through victims, dreams, flames, birds, snakes, bones, etc. In classical times the priests were State officials and the State religion was largely a formal observance of rites, including the oath and curse (which was rather magical than religious).[2] Months and days were dedicated to certain gods. Thus the first and seventh day of every month were Apollo's. Yet there was no intimate connexion with the Olympian gods. Even later, "to love God would be improper," says Aristotle. Morality was supported more by appeals to the right order of the universe or the right way (Themis, Dike) as abstract divine powers, than to the gods of Olympos. Only the Fates, even in Hesiod, are moral punishers of crime.[3] The

[1] At the funeral of Patroklos (Il. xxiii. 175) Achilles sacrificed on his pyre horses, dogs and Trojans, apparently to accompany the shade into the next world. Yet the worship of the dead belongs rather to primitive civilization than to that of the Achaeans.

[2] The curse operated without divine interference; but it was itself a sort of spirit, as a potency which could be invoked. It belonged, however, especially to the powers below, though in the care of Zeus.

[3] Sin in Homer is chiefly a violation of ethical rules, failure to honor parents or guests or suppliants or to keep an oath; sin against the gods comes from neglect in serving them, but violation of ethics brings divine punishment.

chief crime was *hybris,* insolent over-stepping of one's rights. In Hesiod, Justice includes regard for others' rights and morality is based on this as a divine power. Justice is called the daughter of Zeus. So to be law-abiding, says Hesiod, is the best thing to pray for. Later, the gods became the ideals born of advanced civilization. The State came into being out of a union of clans (the beginning of this is already Homeric), and accordingly the gods themselves became more universal, though clan-, club- and family-gods were retained. Even in Homer's time, Zeus and others had become general Greek gods and various clans united in worship at one temple, which drew around it the beginnings of a town. Thus the city was felt as a whole religiously; its god was regarded as citizen of it, sometimes as its ancestor. Each religious centre had its own individuality as had the clan. Later State-worship, with its temples, processions, statues, etc., gave a united religious aspect to Greek political life, and this conception of a religious State made easy the expansion of religion into a broader, universal religious brotherhood.

The community-religion of the Greek made it possible to allow one victim to represent the whole community in a vicarious sacrifice and it gave patriotism a religious significance. Who defended his land, defended his gods; conversely, who kept out foreign gods, was a patriot. But when the Persian war made Greece conscious of itself as a whole, Zeus became Hellenios, a moral god of all Greece now proclaimed as such. The Delphic oracle, too, helped to make all Greece one religious community. The Homeric divinity was already a protector of the suppliant and stranger and the god of friendship. Mercy and justice and compassion were his traits, as humanity and art were dear to Athene, and as Apollo inspired music and patronized philosophy. Thus religion, which had affected Greek life from the beginning, grew even more intimately connected with it, inseparable from its art and its philosophy.

On the other hand, the old cult of lower gods and ghosts

was taken over by the State but was modified by it. Apotropaic rites (of riddance) were made part of a higher cult of tendance by retaining the former as only part of the latter. A rite of fear became a joyous festival. Yet the chthonic spirits could not be wholly avoided. The savage view persisted. They were identified more or less with heroes as good ghosts, or were, as evil ghosts, placated with offerings and then sent away by the use of pitch and buckthorn or a good beating (as in Greenland, etc.). Sacrifice was made to them at night by persons dressed in black; while, to serve the Olympian gods, sacrifice was made by day by worshippers in white.

Sacrifices to the upper gods were based on the notion that they would gladly share in the meal of their worshippers and that to offer good things to them would coerce them to do good to the worshipper in turn. This is the predominant mixed note in the Homeric sacrifice. Slaughter of animals, bull, goat, sheep, or swine, was for the purpose of providing such a common meal. But the victim also imparted to the worshippers who ate of it communion with the god. The rites differed according to locality, but in general the victim was adorned with flowers and fillets and its horns were gilded. An altar-brand was plunged by way of consecration (communion) into a basin of water and all were baptized with this holy-water. Barley-groats salted were passed around and strewn on the victim and thrown into the fire, where also was thrown hair cut from the victim's brow and dedicated to the god. In solemn silence the victim's throat was cut; in the case of an ox or other large victim it was stunned first. The blood of the victim was thrown on the altar and part of the flesh was burned for the god; libations were made of wine, milk, and honey.

The sacrifice to the lower gods, to heroes, and to the dead was made by pouring the blood into the earth (a trench) and the entire victim was burned or buried or got rid of by casting the body into water. Animals unfit for food, such as dogs, were sometimes slain for this sacrifice; in any case

the worshippers did not partake of the food of the dead. For ghosts, beans and eggs cast on the ground served as sacrifice and pigs cast into a pit fed such ghosts materialized as serpents. As the backbone of a man was thought to become a serpent, snakes were generally regarded as new forms of defunct men. Offerings of fruit, honey, milk, especially cakes shaped like animals, were made to the lower powers, to whom usually no wine was offered, as this was reserved for the Olympians. At some altars only bloodless sacrifice was made. A repugnance against all bloody sacrifice manifested itself by the seventh century and became a trait of Pythagorean and Orphic religion.

Omens were taken from the thighs of the victim, wrapped in fat and consumed. Oracles were supposed to be divine utterances at certain places, the best known being that of Zeus at Dodona[1] and of Apollo at Delphi and Delos. Some heroes also had oracular shrines, such as Trophonius at Lebadeia in Boeotia; Amphiaraos near Thebes.

Chief of the earth-goddesses was Demeter, whose cult, together with that of Dionysos, both strange to Homer, introduced new elements into Greek religion. The Demeter cult, perhaps derived from the Mediterranean cult, which exalts a Mother-goddess, began probably with sympathetic magic (ὗε κύε), but became a sort of sacred drama in which were enacted scenes from the life of the sorrowing goddess, who mourned her lost daughter (the vegetable life of the world), Kore or Persephone, the worshippers sorrowing with her in a spectacle, carried out in darkness. She descended into Hades to find the lost Kore, whose revival in spring vegetation typified to the worshipper a resurrection, in which he came to share, as the idea of union with the divinity was imposed upon the primitive cult. This later idea, however, originated in the Dionysiac cult, which under Orphic influence became spiritual and ethical. Association of Bacchus with the Eleusis cult was

[1] Here Zeus himself gave oracles from his oaks (compare the Druids). The oak itself may have been the first god.

a secondary stage. The whole cult included, besides, the more primitive animism of the natives, which had intrenched itself in the life of the people too deeply to be given up. For the most part the old rites of riddance were therefore, as has been said, turned into decent religious rites in honour of respectable gods. Thus in its primitive form the "Diasia of Zeus" was a March "festival" of cursing, marked by killing pigs at night for ghosts. It is doubtful, however, whether the Anthesteria of Dionysos in February–March was originally, as some think, a placation of ghosts raised by prayer (an All Souls' Day). The first fruits were offered to spirits in May–June at the Thargelia, supposed to be a festival of Apollo but really a purification by means of a human scape-goat called the pharmakos. There was a rite wholly for women in October–November called the festival of the Thesmophoria, in which pigs were cast into a chasm in honour of Euboulos, who had vanished underground with Demeter's daughter. The remains of the pigs, such as had not been eaten by the snakes (i. e. ghosts), formed a sort of fertilizer, being placed on fallow ground to make crops grow with a "fair birth." These festivals rid house and town of the spirits after they had received their annual tendance. They correspond to the Roman placation ceremonies called Feralia and Lupercalia, in which, as a fertility-charm, women were hit with the skin of goats, animals sacrificed to spirits. Evil spirits impair fertility and purification is to be pure (free) of spirits. The Achaeans showed no regard for such rites at first, yet they gradually absorbed them, as they did the local gods. The two cults, of kindly Olympians and of frowsy ghosts, trees, and serpents, both revert to prehistoric times. Probably the reverence paid to trees, running water, sky-stones, and similar phenomena was an element common to Achaean and Mediterranean religion; while reverence paid to heroes of the past was certainly not confined to the latter, though a settled people holds in longer remembrance the local monuments of their dead. Mediter-

ranean burial, as opposed to Achaean cremation, was also a factor of importance. It is perhaps too commonly assumed that burial implies greater regard for life beyond the grave than does cremation; but India teaches that both methods of disposing of the dead may be practised synchronously, withal at a time when great regard was paid to the life hereafter. Yet the material presence of a grave, in the shape of a mound over a body known to be buried there, conserves a memory for centuries and tends of itself to convert a dead hero into a living divinity.

Other ghosts regarded as spirits have been exposed by modern scholars.[1] Thus the Erinyes have been shown to be at first avenging spirits, demanding vengeance, not food. Bird-like ghosts are Sirens and the Keres. Other spirits are doubtful. Thus the Winds are sometimes treated as perturbed ghosts, for whom black sacrificial animals were buried, such as Harpies, and sometimes as heavenly spirits, to whom white sheep were sacrificed. Stormy winds naturally appear in one rôle; kindly breezes in another. So in India (and in Zorastrianism) "good" and "bad" winds were recognized. Pigs that root in the ground naturally belong to ghosts, who fertilize land covered with the flesh and blood of swine. Sacrifices to the dead and to underground spirits are found among savages and must be distinguished from fertility-rites based on sympathetic magic. These latter hold up to nature what is to be imitated, at first drastically, then more symbolically, realistic action yielding to implication; lewd behaviour and language taking the place of magical performance.

All the lower spirits, like the higher, tend to become less animal in form. The Erinyes lose their wings and become one with the goddesses, ministers of justice, called the

[1] See especially Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1903. Miss Harrison's later (1913) work, *Themis* (from magic to Olympus), assumes too much and shows less judgment than her *Prolegomena*, though this work also is based on an implied evolution of a feministic religion into a cult of male deities (a decadence, as Miss Harrison regards it).

Semnai and Eumenides. Artemis appears no longer with scales like a fish, Demeter no longer with a mane like a horse. The forms of gods honoured by the Achaeans tended to make ridiculous the animal-forms revered by the natives. Finally the concept of divinity was raised to a height where even the humanized gods of the Achaeans, still more humanized by the statues that represented them as mere men and women, were too gross for philosophy. The poets mocked anthropomorphism; the early philosopher of the sixth century said, "There is One God, not like men in mind or body; all of him sees, thinks, and hears."[1] This is the "Zeus however called," who is not a man but the spiritual power of the universe.

Concerning man, we hear, at first in Hesiod, of the five ages of deterioration through which he has passed from a former diviner state. His soul becomes a shadow after death in a shadowy world. Man neither fears nor hopes much beyond the grave. Only the very wicked are tormented hereafter; only a few heroes of old dwell in Elysium. But even this is a grace of the gods, a prediction of a later salvation by grace. There is as yet no recognition of man's dual nature, earth-bound but fitted for divinity, purified by loosening the bonds of flesh through asceticism; no idea of sin inherited from a prenatal state; no close relation between the moral and the divine.

Hesiod reflects not only Homer's lore but the mythology of Crete and of the world, so to speak. His "birth of Zeus" pictures the sword-dancers of Crete and his contest of gods and Titans is like an echo of the conflict with Tiamat. But such contests are too general and universal to make necessary the assumption of a "loan." The old order changeth everywhere and the Titans' strife is merely a poetic version of the change from savagery to civilization. The perpetual strife is then between the gods above and the

[1] This (Orphic) pantheism becomes a belief in a vague Power like the primitive potency (without individuality) which characterizes the *mana*-belief. But the *mana*-belief is not a belief in a universal, but in an individual, potency. See above, p. 18.

powers below, the death of vegetation and of all life, when dark and cold oppose light and heat. This drama, too, appeared in Greece and as an actual (acted) drama of the country was introduced into Athens when the country-population began to drift into the town.

After the age of romance and chivalry associated with the feudalistic type of society portrayed by Homer, religion, as revealed by literature, is a reversion to the homelier side which had been more or less ignored.[1] At the same time questions arose as to the nature of gods and their relation with right and justice. So we get cosmologies and a crude ethical religion in Hesiod, but these beginnings at least paved the way to later religion by introducing a spirit of inquiry. On the other hand, the emotional element in religion, which had remained hidden among the rites of the wilder northern tribes and is almost ignored by Homer, begins to attain more prominence. Thus religion develops along two quite sundered lines, the emotional and the philosophical, till the former by becoming spiritualized blends as mysticism with the latter.

The first movement away from the traditional gods of the aristocratic class was incidental to social change, esteem for country life and plebeian gods and the gradual introduction of country rites into city life. Two cults, as has been said, united in the later Eleusinian mysteries, that of Demeter, as early as the seventh century, whose loss and recovery of her daughter represented the death and revival of vegetation, an early tribal mystery afterwards adopted by all, and that of Dionysos, the life-giver, whose Thracian worshippers, of unknown antiquity, were wild drunken devotees seeking union with the god by delirious orgies in which they, largely women, devoured the raw flesh of victims they had dismembered and identified with the god,

[1] This is probably not wholly due to literary chance. Doubtless the homelier religion existed before it was exploited by Hesiod, but also economic conditions aided then for the first time the culture of fields and of the deities of the fields. So in India agricultural gods are late because agriculture is later than cattle-lifting.

whose very body they assimilated and to whose immortality they thus became entitled. By the sixth century a deeper significance of this cult, by way of Orphism, was evolved. This substituted an emotion of the spirit for the excitement of the body; purity of soul for bodily purification; mysticism for sensuous feeling. This religion was open to all, even to slaves, and consolidated the worshippers, men and women, into a sort of church. It was a personal religion; the worshipper was intent on a future life of bliss rather than on worldly welfare such as that given by the Olympians, a life attained by assimilation to the divine nature of Zeus as the universal god whose son is Dionysos. Those uninitiated must go to a foul hell, till purified they are born again. How to overcome death was shown at Eleusis;[1] how to become divine was shown by Orphism. This popular Orphic religion, which was not, like the Eleusinian mysteries, adopted by the State, soon became rank with quackery but its essence was pure and its effect lasting.

Greek philosophy was incidentally ethical and religious from the beginning. The poets had given cosmologies and divine origins. Thales, c. 600 B. C., derived the universe from water and declared that God was the "intelligence of the world." Anaximander derived the world from the Infinite. Pythagoras, of Doric stock and spirit, combined a deepening of moral consciousness with metaphysical inquiry. He founded a religious-philosophical school, perhaps the first of those religious secret societies which attacked the naive Achaean Zeus-religion from within the Greek world. Behind matter he sought that which gives it form and proportion and found this in number, which alone, giving dimension, makes a harmonious whole. He predicated number not as the type but as the essence of things, the thing

[1] The initiate was moved by the spectacle rather than instructed; "blest is he who has seen these rites." The rise of the deity from the underworld became symbolic of life which arose again after burial. The original rite was a magical cult preserved in the invocation "rain, conceive!" Two jars represented heaven and earth.

itself; all is number; the soul and music are numbers. Later was ascribed to him (probably falsely) the *ipse dixit*, "Unity is Deity." From Orphic circles he adopted the belief in metempsychosis and invariable rotation of activity, later a doctrine of the Stoics. He first spoke of the body as the prison of the soul; he advocated moral life, purity, non-injury to animals; and founded a religious colony at Crotona in Italy, perhaps in the seventh century. In the sixth to fifth century Xenophanes, a follower of Anaximander, railed at current polytheism and opposed it with the doctrine that Being alone is the Ultimate; the Deity as all-embracing Being is One. Yet Xenophanes recognized the reality of plurality and becoming. In this system, which predicates the unity of the world, the immanent cause may be called God; it is a pantheism rather than a theism. Xenophanes also founded a school in Italy, at Elea, whence he and his two successors are called the Eleatics. Parmenides, the first of these, reduced the One and Many to the Eternal and Becoming; only that which can be can be thought; there is no non-being; all thought is of Being. This Being, one with thought, has no plurality or change; it is infused with creative heat, called light (symbolically represented as a female power governing all and mother of Eros) opposed to night. The third Eleatic, Zeno, called the "inventor of dialectic" might be called the first Sophist; he denied plurality and change (becoming). Movement is impossible; Achilles can never catch the tortoise; the arrow cannot move, etc.

Opposed to a school which had thus argued itself into such a denial of change or becoming, Heraclitus (c. 460) denied Absolute Being. All is Becoming, all flows; or, as Buddha also said, all is burning. Original energy, expressed by constant change, is both Being and Becoming. Empedocles of Sicily (440) made love and hate two forces operative in eternal matter, which, as he was first to state, is composed of four elements. In the same century Democritus assumed atoms acting from necessity as sufficient

to explain the universe, which he regarded as godless (he degraded gods to air-demons). The atomic theory he took from Leucippus and the idea of necessity from Pythagoras; he himself indulged in no cult of demons (as did Pythagoras), but held to a world evolved without divine agency. Anaxagoras, who may be said to have planted philosophy at Athens, where he was a friend of Pericles and Euripides, first set beside matter a divine Intelligence, Nous, as primal causality, though he left this Nous inactive thereafter, as the philosophic Hindus leave Brahman, who having created has done his part and rests. It remained for the Sophists to recognize mind as something permanently higher than matter, though the Sophists were not of one school, some remaining agnostic, some denying an intelligent governing principle.

But, as regards the people at large, apart from philosophy, there were, on the one hand, the vulgar, for whom Solon's religion doubtless sufficed, "Honour the gods and respect your parents"; and, on the other, those neither vulgar nor metaphysical speculators. To them, the cultivated honest men, there were two moral laws, one given by legal enactment or ancient custom and the other the unwritten law of nature, which together taught ritual purity, formal service, and ethical behaviour. In choosing between the two, the conservative chose ancient law; the liberal, natural law, as their guide. But the older credulity was gone. To the lyric poets, Zeus was vague; to Thucydides, oracles were of doubtful value. The chief bond between gods and men ethically was the maintenance of sobriety, especially in avoiding insolent assumption of power and wealth when acquisition involved unethical behaviour. Even the idea that the gods humbled the fortunate because they were too happy (quite apart from ethics) lingers on in Herodotus. Above all there is a doubt as to the governing power in the world; it may be, as Euripides says, the evil Necessity of the philosophers; it may be human intelligence, perhaps as part of the universal Nous. No one knows. There is no infal-

lible authority; no revelation; no inspired Word. None of the poets or would-be philosophers of the fifth and sixth centuries has any fixed ethical base of action. Most of them question old beliefs; some doubt the existence of divinity. Pericles in his great speech has not a word to say in the way of religious consolation.

Meantime the various Mysteries were influencing popular opinion. A sentimental religion, deriving from a sensuous mysticism, inspired hope of future life for the initiates, who as such, irrespective of their morality, were entitled to happiness in this world and bliss in the next, while those not initiate would fail of happiness here and sink in slime hereafter. Out of the religious mystery arose the drama which gave a new power to religious (and irreligious) truths uttered before a popular assembly. Symbolic interpretation of old tales also affected religion. The divine in man was revealed in the tale of the Titans. They devoured Dionysos and were in turn destroyed by Zeus, but they had absorbed divinity and their ashes kept it still.[1] The old Homeric idea of hell (Hades) as a place of torment for sinners was now quite generally united with that of transmigration, as in India. Zeus, to the thinker, became the supreme lord of the world, from whom in accordance with justice come good and evil.[2] The rule of the gods became

[1] Cretan, perhaps Egyptian, influence may have been at work in the Dionysos-Demeter (later "Year Demon") cult. Elysium has been compared with the Egyptian Aalu, whither he goes who being pure has escaped condemnation at the hands of Ra of Amenti (which becomes Rhadamanth-us). Miss Harrison, who believes in this etymology as an indication of Egyptian origin, also (*Prol.* 421) derives tragedy from *tragos,* "spelt," spelt wrong for trugodia "wine-lees." The etymology is false, but Dionysos's connexion with tragedy is assured. Professor Ridgeway has lately sought to show that all tragedy arises from ghost-cult. But tragedy (and play-acting in general) has more than one root. The "Year-demon," or better the season-strife, is clearly dramatized in primitive cults without reference to ghosts.

[2] An evil principle is not recognized by early Greek thought. Later philosophers and Orphics, however, referred evil to evil demons. The earlier ghosts were not evil by nature, though if neglected they might do evil to man. Still, demoniac powers were

the world-order. The poets recognize the old gods but accept the new ideas. Pindar erects shrines to Pan and Cybele, statues to Zeus, Apollo, and Hermes; but to him the gods are moral powers and he believes of them only the tales which exhibit them as all-seeing spirits who honour truth and right; *de deis nil nisi bonum.* He also teaches that a human soul may free itself from bodily bonds and find rebirth. Sophocles teaches that a man must follow the lead of the gods as beings superior to him in judgment of right. Undeserved misfortune by Aeschylus, who believes that the universe is moral, is explained on the principle of wisdom through suffering. To him all gods are names of one All-Being. Euripides (480–406 B. C.) taught that gods exist only if gods are good; divinity exhibits itself as reason and justice, whether one call it aether or intelligence; also he adopts the mystic standpoint enough to imply that inspiration more than knowledge brings wisdom. The intellectual life of Athens in the fifth century agrees with the popular religion and with the philosophers in postulating a higher divinity than that of old and in making man a divinely affected spirit. Socrates definitely expressed religion in terms of ethics, which finally led Plato (428–347) to the thesis that, as God is good, so the Good is God, and that man's nature is divine; since the human soul partakes of divinity in that it is eternal and immortal, like the Idea [1] which it can apprehend. For a time the belief in the old gods reasserted itself in condemning those publicly accused

a popular belief, Ephialtes, the demon of indigestion, bogeys like Lamia and Mormo (to frighten children), etc., and "man-demons," who may have been ghostly spirits, as avengers, *alkestores.* To the philosophers these were still more or less real, though Heraclitus says that a man's character is his daemon. The wicked demons of Empedocles who suffer metempsychosis for 30,000 years are, however, human souls.

[1] The Idea unites the noumenal and phenomenal. God is here transcendent; the world is shaped by demiurges according to the Ideas; they make the gods and the gods make the rest of creation. The world itself is *αὐτοζῶον*, and evil by Necessity. Plato is the first to argue that the soul is an immortal substance; the prison-house notion he took from Pythagoras.

of impiety. Socrates was slain as an unorthodox worshipper as well as a corruptor of morals; Anaxagoras before him had to flee for his life. It is a mistake to assume that Athens was wholly liberal-minded; but the populace confounded Socrates with the Sophists, who had indeed upset with casuistry all the grounds of ethics and religion, while Anaxagoras's blunt statement that the popular gods were base or were mere matter (the sun is a stone), was to the mind of the pious mere blasphemy.

In Orphism, the soul may eventually become divine; in Plato's system, it is already divine, needing only to escape its prison. This it does not emotionally but rationally. Although Plato condemned the quackery which arose in the train of Orphism, he borrowed much from it. Orphic ideas fairly metamorphosed the old Zeus-religion from six to three hundred B. C. All divinities were here looked upon as nourishing and saving forms of one potency: "Zeus is one, male and female, the breath (soul) of all. Sun, moon, stars, and sky are all Zeus." Each man is supposed to have a guardian spirit that accompanies him (fourth century). The world is imagined as coming from a cosmic egg (as in India). Eros and Dionysos were now held to be cosmic principles; divine love replaced passion; the principle of life and spiritual ecstasy took the place of Bacchantic madness. Old rules received new interpretation. Formerly beans were avoided as food of the ghosts; now one must avoid be-ans as a form of be-ing.[1]

It must not be thought, however, that the old country religion was suddenly given up. On the contrary, as late as the fifth century Pan was brought from Arcady and established at Athens, as Asklepios was brought thither from Epidauros. But, from Plato's time on, Orphic thought saturated philosophical religion, as it had greatly influenced

[1] Such sacred puns were no joke to the ancients; the name had a religious significance. Compare (Professor Lamman's version) the Hindu rule against eating meat: "*Me eat* will he, *mām sa*, whose meat, *māmsa*, I eat." The Greek rule, κυάμους διὰ τὴν κύησιν, is rendered as above by Miss Harrison.

people and philosophers for two centuries before him. The best man is now the one "nearest to God." Incarnated again and again, a man frees himself from grossness till (by a combination of purgatory and metempsychosis) he becomes his true self, divine. Soul and body make a dual nature, the latter hindering and imprisoning the former. Means of release in this life are, besides knowledge (Plato's emphatic modification), abstinence from meat, eggs, beans,[1] etc., and a discipline more or less magical. Empedocles recounted his "former births." Pindar, Euripides, and Plato were Orphic adepts. Plato in fact lived for some time at Croton in Italy, where Pythagoras was cultivated as a divine founder of a school, one of the numerous brotherhoods which took an important part in disrupting Greek religion. They were partly philosophical and partly religious congregations devoted to the service of special gods, generally foreign gods like Sebazios, and having their own rules and sacraments.

The importance of Aristotle (384–322 B. C.) as a religious teacher was not felt till the Middle Ages. In opposition to Plato he taught that Ideas were not realities, but that there was a real and intelligent Cause, setting the world in order with a view to its predestined end, this cause being God in Nature. God does nothing without purpose; order and purpose testify to Mind or God, who in the last analysis must be identical with Nature, as ultimate matter is one with what Aristotle calls the Form as God. But the philosopher is not wholly consistent with himself, since he also holds that God (First Cause and Pure Thought) is not mixed with matter but immaterial, like Plato's Idea, transcendent, not immanent in matter, so that his system is logically dualistic. The Nous or soul in this system is divine (eternal and immortal) [2] as it is the creative, reasoning part of man. Thus the way is prepared for Stoicism and its

[1] That is food fit for ghosts and demons.

[2] So Janet and Séailles, *A History of the Problems of Philosophy*, London, 1902, vol. ii. pp. 355 f., as opposed to Zeller, who denies that the *human* νοῦς of Aristotle is immortal.

teaching that man has a moral nature. The Stoics [1] taught that the soul shares the appetites of the animal and the reason of divinity. The aim of life is to develop this moral nature; virtue is man's highest pursuit and virtue is intelligence, discretion, courage, and justice, which they summed up as knowledge, thus identified with virtue, as Socrates identified the two. Man's will must be brought into accord with nature; he must be dominated by reason, which is the active principle in the material universe. This reason, theoretically material, is actually regarded as God (World-Reason), immanent in matter, not transcending matter though it may be called Zeus, " from whom men derive, the author of all nature, guiding all with law." To the Stoic, evil is complementary to good, as is dark to light; the soul, if wise (thus Chrysippus), survives death till the end of the age, when the world through a conflagration comes to a practical stop (it actually continues through new cycles of involved existences). One of the most significant doctrines of Stoicism is that of the brotherhood of man, all men possessing part of the universal Reason. That all men being divine are born equal and that all gods except God as Reason are allegories, may be said to sum up the view of the Stoics. Naturally, Stoicism became chiefly a moral philosophy, since it had discarded personal gods. Its doctrines, when received at Rome, had a great influence on the religion of the future.

Reviewing the course of Greek religion thus far, we find that the idea of divinity, already enlarged by political accident, as clans rose to State, was elevated by Orphism, which interpreted the divine not only mystically but morally. The moral element was an addition to the older (ritualistic) purity of the mysteries, but it was present in the Zeus-religion. Resurrection, also was not new. All Greece had local

[1] The chief Stoics were Zeno (340 B. C.) of Cyprus, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus. They assumed two active and two passive (receptive) elements, fire and air *versus* earth and water; but their fire is a reasoning energy, the seed of being and thought and the ethical principle (" Zeus ").

heroes, who lived after death; ghosts, too, returned to earth to injure or benefit man; and vegetable-resurrection was celebrated as a divine return to life of a spirit-power.[1] To these ideas of revival the Orphics added that of the human soul destined to suffer and be rewarded hereafter, which infused into Greek religion the belief in the torments of hell for every sinner, as every pure soul might be blessed in the next life. Homer's pessimism as to the next life becomes optimism; but on the other hand his optimism or joy in this life becomes pessimistic; the material world is now essentially evil (so even Plato argues).[2] The germ of moral disease is to be seen here. Spirituality carried to the point of seeking riddance from the body is not sound. No healthy animal desires to die. So long as Orphism remained a cult of philosophy and of a few mystics it was not dangerous. In the sixth and later centuries the great gain for religion was its humanitarian aspect. Religion is open to all and man's nature is recognized as the same everywhere. "No good man is alien to me," says Menander (fourth century B. C.). God is a spirit discerned by mind: "The light of the mind is to gaze upon God." But as Athens declined in power her intelligence weakened. Finding that the old gods could not help her, her thinkers turned to magical mysticism and to the cult of foreign gods; though probably the mass remained as true to the old gods, nymphs, spirits, and ghosts as masses always do. But Tyche, Fortune, an uncertain substitute for Zeus, became the refuge of the Greeks by the third century B. C. The cult of Fortune was indeed taken so seriously that

[1] Some modern scholars speak of this Year Daimon, as if he were the chief god of Greece! But this Daimon is only a late anthropomorphic form of the spirit of vegetation (Demeter-Dionysos). To the Hindus, the Year Divinity was one with the Father of Life but also one with Death.

[2] Plato denied the real existence of matter (only the Idea exists), but ascribed sin to the soul's admixture with matter. Aristotle objected to Plato's Ideas as being meaningless metaphors, abstractions without individual existence. The essence cannot be separated from that of which it is the essence. Both the tortures of hell and the view that earthly life is evil were passed on to the Christian world.

Tyche was made one with the Logos or Nous. Epicurus (341 B. C.), who was born six years after Plato died, scornfully said that he would rather be the slave of the old gods than of such a deity.[1] Chrysippus, the Stoic, who died about 208, says that in his day men worshipped Sun, Moon, Stars, Law, and deified human beings. This is a peculiarly interesting statement in showing that the Olympian gods, who did not include sun, moon, and stars, were quite dead and that people had reverted to a more primitive ghost- and nature-cult with an ethical tinge. But those who now called themselves philosophers turned to Oriental occultism. They worshipped the elements; substituted the Maid of the Mind, Sophia, for the Maiden Kore; adored the seven planets, as spheres full of spirits; admired the harmony of the universe; and mystically identified the spiritual planets with elements, *stoicheia,* which in turn designated vowels, also seven, so that these became signs of the planets used in magical formulas. The months were divided into weeks, a day for each planet, Sun, Moon, Ares,[2] Hermes, Zeus, Aphrodite, Kronos. This is adulterated Greek. Astrology with its pretence of prophecy became rampant as early as the time of Alexander, when Berosus exploited the "Chaldean" thirty gods of counsel beneath seven planet-gods, angel-stars, the Twelve Masters (Zodiacal signs), and all the rest, later Babylonian wisdom brought to Cos and thence spread over Greece. Professor Gilbert Murray calls this era the Stage of Failure of Nerve,[3] as distinguished from those of Primitive Foolishness, Classical Olympians, and a final Stage of post-Christian religion. At any rate it was a stage which marked the decay of the old belief that Zeus was in his heaven and all was right with the world, though it takes perhaps as much nerve to renounce happiness as to expect it. But all this later rubbish, of the angel-stars, etc.,

[1] Gad, the Palestinian god, is personified Fortune. In India, Time as Fate, also became a god of fortune, but he was identified with Brahma.

[2] Still preserved in Mardi, Mercredi, etc.

[3] *Four Stages of Greek Religion,* New York, 1912.

is only part of a logical reversal. The name philosopher deceives. Magic-mongers and astrologers made a great noise at this time, but religion was really advancing despite this foreign magic-philosophy, which masqueraded as religion. For though condemned by Epicurus, who was a rationalistic naturalist (practically atheistic),[1] the Stoics adopted the new religious thought and went their way with it to create a very noble religion. The Orphic mysticism revels in thoughts of harmony and its "I am become God" and "I am your fellow star" reflects a real belief, yet one not so influential among the people nor tending to advantage them so much as does the Stoic aphorism, "God is the helping of man by man and this is the path to eternal glory." Even the Epicurean negation, "God is naught to fear; death is naught to feel," [2] is not indicative of a failure of moral fibre. But, in any event, philosophy has little to do with the religion of the masses.

Greece was now over-run with foreign deities, Isis, long worshipped at Delos; Cybele, Bendis, Adonis, Sabazios, all over the country. In 271 B. C., Ptolemy Philadelphos and his wife were formally deified, as Alexander had previously deified himself. This deification of man differs from the unconscious lapse of regard into worship which characterizes the cult of heroes and it was not acceptable in all cases. Aristotle was exiled because he deified a man. On the other hand the line between human and divine was not so broad as we draw it. Homer's heroes are "god-born" and Plato was spoken of as "divine." But in the case of new deities, Greece was always catholic, or she would not have received the Cyprian goddess so easily, or so easily have recognized divinity abroad. Alexander worshipped Isis and the Jews' god from policy, but also because every place had its god and Greece recognized the fact. Hence, when Greece became a greater name, a Greek would worship as Greek the gods of the place where he was. Conversely,

[1] He taught that the gods lived without relation to man, who has no immortal soul.

[2] Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

he could bring into Greece any god and worship him or her, when once he had realized that a god is not like a ghost, a spirit of one locality. Love is ever the same; hence Aphrodite rules everywhere; the spirit of life is ever the same, hence Cybele can be worshipped in Hellas as well as in Asia Minor. We must add the spread of the idea that all gods are forms of One and we have the explanation of the religious syncretism of the time, which was marked also by so many foreign figures.

There passed forth from this period into the coming greater religion of the world many streams of thought and cultural practices. The idea of a world-religion, of the brotherhood of man, the missionary spirit (in Orphism), these were all pre-Christian. Bloody sacrifice had been condemned by the Pythagoreans and by Heraclitus. The acceptable sacrifice was already a pure heart. The thought that man was of God and that God was one, was current before Christian theology began. The Church incidentally converted some old gods into harmless saints. The adoration of images replaced the use of idols in the Greek world,— an image of Demeter was in fact worshipped as a saint as late as 1801! — as did the use of incense in the Church that of incense at the altar of the temple.[1] St. Paul based his arguments as to evil communications on the words of a Greek comedian, as he cited a Greek philosopher to show that men are children of God, and his knowledge of the Greek mysteries lent a mystic tinge to his interpretation of the Christian mystery.

After Greek philosophy became united, at Alexandria, with Jewish thought, there arose a new mysticism characterized by a belief in a God of whom nothing save his pure existence can be predicated. He creates only through secondary powers, chief of whom is the reason or wisdom called Logos. It is not possible here to discuss this combi-

[1] Homer's use of sweet savours and scented wood led to the use of incense (in the seventh century); but this incense-idea came from the East.

nation of Platonic and Jewish belief further than to point out that according to it, as taught by Philo, in the first century A. D., knowledge and virtue are gifts of God, and consequently salvation is an act of grace, an idea which also amalgamated with Christian doctrine. The Logos doctrine is an attempt to bridge the chasm between Absolute Being and the world of phenomena. Later Neo-Platonism also tries or tends to make dualism monistic,[1] but it bridges the chasm by means of two intermediaries and yields itself to ecstasy and theurgy rather than to logic. Based on Plato and the Stoics and, as its name implies, considering itself the interpreter of Plato's thought, it is in fact a philosophy of feeling rather than of thinking.

At first Neo-Platonism was a revolt against the Sceptics, who had contended, against the Stoics and Epicureans, that knowledge was impossible. Opposed to such a negation. Plotinus, the pupil of Ammonius Saccas, who also taught Origen and Longinus, and other Neo-Platonists felt a longing for absolute truth, which they satisfied by mystical exaltation, an immediate beholding or intuition, only to be attained when there is no distinction between the knower and the known. The soul must feel itself illumined by the Absolute in pure rapture; objective knowledge and dialectics are of no use. Not reason, which distinguishes thought, thinker, and object, but something higher than reason must be the Absolute, which stands above being as well as above reason and has neither thought nor will; but it is unthinkable, undefinable. Out of it emanates the world-intelligence, out of which again emanates the world-soul (a Pythagorean conception), which, permeated by reason as world-intelligence, actualizes it in an outer world. Except for the series of emanations, this system is at one with that of the

[1] It may be said that it tries rather to make its inherent monism dualistic. The world as emanation presupposes monism and Neo-Platonism was really monistic; its unconscious aim was to unite all in one being. But it had inherited a dualism it could not get rid of, physical and moral; its conscious objective was to get rid of one half and keep the other.

earlier Upanishads of India (c. 600 B. C.), before the doctrine of illusion was introduced into it. The teaching, though opposed to Christianity, had a marked effect on it. Plotinus taught at Rome in the middle of the third century A. D., where later his work may have converted Augustine from Manichaeism. He believed in asceticism, for one becomes diviner through becoming less human; by losing man one becomes God. But Plotinus also upheld polytheism, the gods being spirits between God and man, and he maintained rites, making a dangerous alliance between his theology and magic, in that he held to a secret power in the soul and in nature, whence also he derived support for mantic inspiration. Here, too, we have contrasted good and evil spirits.[1] He was followed by Porphyry, a vegetarian and Puritan polemical writer adverse to Christianity,[2] as Porphyry in turn was succeeded by Iamblichus, whose religion was a curious mixture of godliness and magic. In this reversion to magic, Greek religion went back in its old age to the childhood-stage; though one must remember that native belief had been infused for centuries with foreign thought and most of the later magic is an importation from the Orient.

The living religion of Zeus as anthropomorphic god faded away in Greece under the light of philosophy and the concurrence of foreign cults. But probably its disappearance was influenced even more by lowly native thought than by higher or foreign beliefs. Thus the hope of a future happiness for the masses, the divine nature of man, the immanence of the divine, were all outgrowths of Grecian thought. These in their beginnings, are crude enough and in part (as Thracian) are not what we usually think of as Greek, though Thrace was really Greek and probably the

[1] Tutelary angels and malignant devils. Some of the latter are diseases as demons. Worship is paid to the good spirits.

[2] Porphyry wrote in defence of vegetarianism and against Christianity. He opposed all amusements and objected to "injury of animals." Worship is not performed by sacrifice but by knowledge and godliness — no new idea, however, in Greek thought.

Dionysos of the first wild cult was racially an Aryan god, however opposed to Achaean or Athenian.[1] How much this cult was affected by Cretan thought and ritual we cannot say, nor how early it and the Demeter cult began to broaden the old Zeus-religion. One point, however, should be kept in mind. The old religion was not one of mere form and ritual. It was ethical to a high degree even in Homer and not even the brotherhood of man is an idea quite unknown to its earlier stage. Its ethics did not coincide with ours. For example, to be chaste and not to steal or lie are not rules included in pre-Orphic religion; but it is no little achievement for a polytheistic nature-religion, even before man began to dream of a heavenly reward for earthly virtue, and with no authoritative scripture or word of authority, to demand mercy, kindness, forgiveness, care of the stranger, the sanctity of the suppliant and of marriage, the inviolability of an oath, and to teach that the prayers of men are heard as entreaties or as curses by heavenly powers.

We have no right, however, to stop with this. We must recognize the purely Greek nature of Stoic theology and ethics, the Greek acceptance (if not origin) of the idea of spiritual purity, and the Greek character underlying the idealistic monism of Plotinus. On the other hand, we are apt to idealize somewhat both the sunny religion of the earlier Greeks and the philosophic acumen of the later, forgetting that the earlier religion was compact with the grossest superstition, much nastiness, and no little savagery, and that the latter reeked with magical practices. Nor can we suppose that the works of philosophers were ever conned by the masses who, however, were well acquainted with magic, and remained superstitious to the end.

The religion of Greece is the only great religion — there are but seven — which is built upon human thought without appeal to inspired authority. The oracles were supposed to be divine revelations, but they constituted no religious

[1] The Thracian Getai believed that the dead lived with their god in a paradise below earth. Herodotus iv. 94f.

system, and the Delphic oracle rather appealed to philosophy than attempted to govern it. The religion, in so far as one can speak of it as one religion, was not hampered by dogmatism. The utterances of one teacher were stoutly but safely denied by another. There was no authoritative sacerdotal orthodoxy to hinder free expression of opinion, though occasionally the mob objected violently to impiety; but it was the mob and not the priests who were illiberal. The religion of China might be considered a parallel; but practically Chinese religion, inspired by Shang Ti, was dictated also by authority, and discussion was limited to ethics, at least for a thousand years. Brahmans, Buddhists, Zoroastrians, Hebrews, all those who had an intellectual religion, held it subject to orthodox approval.[1] Heterodoxy was overthrown in Egypt as soon as it arose. Babylon had no ideas, or not enough to provoke heresy; Rome never thought for herself. After Greece, Europe believed along received lines or hid her belief. Apart therefore from the clarity and logical brilliancy of Greek thought, apart also from the beauty which has transfused all she received and created, there remains the unique character of her genius, which united ethics and metaphysics into a religion based not on superstition but on philosophy, not on faith but on logic, yet in which due place was given to emotion. It is a very wonderful creation, though the very lack of authority resulted in the demolition of this edifice of the mind as soon as the mind itself began to fail; for the image of every god falls when its foundation crumbles.

[1] As has been shown above, all Brahmanic philosophy had to be based on the divine word of the Veda; no Buddhistic sect but based its creed on Buddha's own teaching; no Zoroastrian sect but emphasized its belief in Zoroaster's creed. It is often said that the State in China did not persecute heresy, but the Confucian books were burned as soon as the State found them objectionable and all those who taught them were buried alive (see p. 227). At a later date religious persecution in China drove out all foreign religions (p. 266).

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CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

THE RELIGION OF THE ROMANS

The question whether Roman religion in its earliest known form represents the mixed religion of two races, one reflected in the beliefs of the plebeians and the other in that of the patricians, is and probably always will be impossible to answer. There was doubtless a native population, Ligurian, Pelasgian, or otherwise called, overpowered by a foreign immigrating host, such a host as in Greece demarcates Achaean from "Pelasgian" elements. But the Greek hypothesis applied to Rome is not easy to substantiate. The mixture remains more theory than fact. Rome, as we know it, consisted of a native population closely related religiously to other Italic settlements and, very near the beginning of its history, united with the neighbouring Sabines, whose god Quirinus was soon identified with the Roman Mars.

From the first, Rome was a State of families and clans, agricultural but bellicose, yet controlled by law, which concerned itself equally with things divine and human. In fact, as India may be said to be religion incarnate, and as Greece is beauty and philosophy, so Rome is war and law. Its earliest religious expression is found in legalized and ritualized war-dances and lustrations under the care of the war-god. The earliest conception of the sky-god is that of a State-god who kills, Jupiter Latiaris and Feretrius. The agricultural community depended for its security on the war-god, who was conceived therefore as a god of fruits and fights. Before the discussion of other aspects of Roman religion, the whole character of that religion may best be discovered through the study of the two chief divinities recognized by it.

Rome's civic religion consisted at first in the strict observance of duties toward Mars and other political spirits under the supervision of the king, who was the civic high priest; as in each family the *pater familias* was the chief priest of the family spirits. But as Rome itself never produced a philosopher with new ideas, so it drew its civic cult from its more civilized neighbours, the Etruscans,[1] through whom were filtered foreign notions, in regard to art, architecture, the ritual (games, scenic shows), and even the gods. It had, according to tradition, no religious institutions at all till they were established by the Sabine Numa half a century after the city was built. It is significant that Numa was first of all a legislator; to the Romans, the State-religion was a legislative measure, a legal matter, not a matter of feeling or of philosophy. As a back-ground to the civic religion may be imagined such primitive ideas as are both the property of other uncivilized races and the implied inheritance of Rome, taboos, still operative for the priest, such as of knots and iron and wheat, the first because knots through sympathetic magic interfered with a smooth religious line, the last two because iron and wheat were once novelties, condemned *ipso facto,* since religion is conservative and dislikes innovation. At birth and death also there were taboos, such as are found generally among savages. Places struck by lightning were of course of religious interest and there was a disposition to regard odd numbers as lucky (*numero deus impare gaudet*), so that the first and third days of the month were more suited for gods' days than the second and fourth, a superstition still current ("there's luck in odd numbers"). Sympathetic magic may also be revealed in the slaughter of animals to procure rain and crops, the use of images transfixed to produce a like effect upon a foe, the swinging-rite, the magic ever practiced by old women at child-birth, and perhaps the use of

[1] More remotely, the Etruscan art of divination was in part Babylonian, perhaps by way of Minoan culture. Racial connexion between Minoan and Etruscan civilization in the Bronze Age is suspected but not certain.

amulets and other charms, such as incantations or spells, *carmina,* some of which have been incorporated into the State-ritual. On the whole, however, the State religion discouraged the practice of magic, though it retained old conservative objections to novelties which were really based on a magical foundation.[1]

It is sometimes maintained that all this antedates religion and that the great Roman gods are a later stage of a religion once consisting wholly in magic and animism. But all such statements are based on the *a priori* conviction that magic must precede religion, whereas as a historical fact magic makes no step which converts it into religion in Rome. From the beginning great gods are there, as well as little gods and those animistic sexless spirits which are in truth merely vivified things and actions. Yet even among these some from the first have personality, and it is questionable whether the host of these Numina (Powers) was not largely the result of later systematizing thought. What is true is that even the greater spirits show little myth-making thought. Mythology is poetry, due to imagination, and even the Polynesians had more religious imagination than the Romans. Consequently, when the early Romans had raised a Door-power to a Power representing any entrance or beginning in place or time, that is when they changed a *janua* or *janus* (door or gate) into a Janus, looking two ways, whose double door was always open except in times of war, they made no myths about him. They invoked him at the beginning of a prayer, because he was the beginning-spirit, and associated him as Matutinus Pater with the Dawn (of day and of life, Mater Matuta), and as Portunus with ports, because a voyage begins there. But until the later poets got hold of him and Augustus made his gate famous by boasting that the Janus doors had thrice been closed (indicating perfect peace) under the emperor, no one paid him more

[1] The priestess of Jupiter called Flaminia Dialis was not permitted to wear leather shoes of the usual kind, just as the Flamen Dialis was subjected to taboos in regard to eating beans, wearing iron, contact with a corpse, etc.

than perfunctory honour; he was unknown to other Italic settlements. The first month may be named for him. He is called *divom deus,* but only as god of firsts; he had no early temple and no early inscriptions are devoted to his cult.[1] As Door-spirit he is paired with Vesta the Hearth-fire.

Janus (Janus-pater, but also fem. Jana), the apotheosis of the Numina, has a cult old but mechanical, though he is the highest of the indefinitely varied Roman host whose members are all personified abstractions, such as Silvanus, the wood-power, Faunus, the wild-animal power, Terminus, the boundary-power, Fons and Flora, spring- and blossom-powers. In contrast with Janus, Mars called Father, Mars-pater (-piter), was not simply Roman but Italian (Oscan, Umbrian, perhaps Etruscan), and from the beginning he was no mere sexless Power. The first month of the older year, beginning in March, was called by his name in Rome and elsewhere. His name was taken by men.[2] The very old Brotherhood called the Arvales invoked him to keep evil from the inhabitants (herds and flocks). The priests called the Salii danced in his honour as the high-stepping (Gradivus) god of war, and war-arms made part of their furnishing, while a war-steed was sacrificed to him when the war-season was over in October.[3] His sacred animals were fighting wolves and woodpeckers, after whom some tribes called themselves (Hirpini, Picenti). With him was associated, near the temple of Mars at Porta Capena, the cult of Honos and Virtus (bravery) and his energy was represented as a personified Neria (cf. *ἀνήρ* and Sk. *nar* = *vir*); also as

[1] Some ancient and modern writers falsely interpret Janus as sun-god or sky-god; but he is nothing but a door, gate, beginning. The *rex sacrorum* was especially his priest, as religious ceremonies began with him.

[2] Mars is the only god whose name is used as a human proper name; perhaps, too, as month-name (Janus and Juno are doubtful).

[3] This October-horse is often cited as a proof that Mars was originally a vegetable-spirit; but see below and compare the combination of war-and-fertility god among Mayas, Hindus, etc.

Bellona, to whom a temple was erected B. C. 296. His Sabine form, Quirinus, has left faint traces of a separate cult, but was generally looked upon as one with Mars, perhaps as his more peaceful side, until the later Romans made Quirinus a name of Romulus. The Campus Martius had an early altar to Mars at which the *suovetaurilia* sacrifice of boar, ram, and bull, was offered, partly to thank him for former favours and partly to incite him to fresh efforts, a sacrifice made every five years, after the sacrificial animals had encircled the people drawn up as an army. A similar sacrifice occurred with a corresponding circuit of the fields, and this also has given rise to the idea that Mars was originally a god of vegetation. But primitive tribal gods were not confined to one specialty. The god of a tribe saw to the tribe, whether in war or peace, increasing their crops and their strength alike. The war-like Romans made Mars more warlike than agricultural and, had we to choose, the god's paraphernalia would make us prefer as starting point at least for Rome the conception of war-god. At any rate, to Rome he was at all time god of war, though at first equally god of agriculture. The country-folks kept his agricultural side; the martial townsmen and army preserved him as war-god. At first he was simply clan-god, who protected his clan against foes spiritual and human.

If Mars was the nearest god to the Roman, Jupiter (Umbrian Jupater) was the greatest. In his case also we have to do with a god who was more than Roman. Yet the conception of Jupiter (or Juppiter) was not exactly that of his Grecian parallel, a celestial being on a hill or in the clouds. Jupiter was rather the sky itself (*"sub jove frigido"*), less person than personified phenomenon. In other parts of Latium he is known as Diovis or Jovis and the meaning of his name is clearly "shining" sky (Diespiter, Dianus, Lucetius). Sometimes, however, he is not the day-sky but the dark night-sky, when as Summanus he receives dark instead of white animals in sacrifice. As Latin god, he is called Juppiter *indiges* and he is in fact, after Janus,

the first of the Indigites, that is, the native gods in distinction from the Novensides or immigrant settler gods, such as Minerva, Mercurius, etc., afterwards imported into Rome from Etruria and Greece.

The temple of Jupiter was on the heights nearest to the sky, whence as Feretrius (smiter) he sent his lightning. As god of the sky, too, he was revered as the power giving rain and fruitfulness or fulness (Liber), which caused him to be called *almus* and *frugifer* and *liberalis*, whence later came his aspect as Libertas, still later understood as liberty. As Liber, the vine was his care and the feast called Vinalia, like the Pithoigia of the Greeks, a feast of wine-cultivators. His day was the full-moon day (Ides) of every month, when light lasts all hours. But it was especially as a civic god that he was honoured. The god of right and victory embodying the Roman ideals was the Capitoline Jupiter called Optimus Maximus (his best and greatest form). There, on the Capitoline, a temple was built to him and there was his earliest altar as a god of victory. Afterwards this aspect of him as victor caused the creation of an abstract Victoria, a goddess to whom a temple was dedicated B. C. 294. Jupiter himself, as Victor and Stator, had been honoured in the same way the year before. His emblem is the thunder-bolt stone (*silex*), which gives him the title Jupiter Lapis. But we need not imagine that Jupiter was originally either an oak, because it was his tree, or this *silex*, and then a god holding a stone (bolt), as is sometimes taught. For the history of the god[1] shows clearly that he was from the beginning a sky-god. This stone, perhaps originally a divine thunder-stone, was carried by the Fetiales, a college of

[1] No one has yet attempted to show that Zeus-pater, Ju-piter, and Dyaus-pitar, are not the same "bright (sky) father," the most incontestable and important fact in the history of Aryan civilization. But many scholars who, on *a priori* grounds, assert that Sky cannot be a primitive god, assume that the oak and silex were divine before the sky and that therefore they are the real god. The obvious conclusion, however, would be that, if previously divine, they became, with the advent of the Sky as god, his interpreters, not that Jupiter was originally a tree or a stone.

priests, whose duty it was to make and preserve treaties under religious sanction, and the god they revered was Jupiter Fidius, from which conjunction also, as in the case of Victoria, was evolved a goddess Fides. As god of oaths, right, and faith, Jupiter was the chief political god of the Republic, but also in private matters a god of troth (witness-god in weddings, etc.), to whom, under the name Terminus, boundary-lines were entrusted. But always the fundamental meaning of the god reappears. The augurs, who studied the sky, were his as *interpretes Jovis*. In drought, matrons with bare feet and loosened hair took part in the *aquaelicium* or rite of eliciting water from Elicius, Jupiter Pluvialis, on the Aventine. As concomitant and cause of rain he was also called Tonans, even Fulgur, lightning and rain coming together. Being god of all Latins he was celebrated as Latiaris Jupiter on Mt. Albanus, in a sacrifice without wine and marked by a swinging festival, such as is found in India, to increase the power of the sun. His "wife," Juno or Jovia, was an Italian goddess, known to the Umbrians as Lucina and Regina (like Belit, Our Lady Queen). She was also conceived as armed with lightning; but she generally appears as the feminine side of Jupiter, the power especially concerned with women. Hers were the strips of goat-skin, which caused fertility when women were struck with them in the rite called Lupercalia. Her day was the first day of each moon (month) and certain aspects of her cult make it possible that she herself was originally the moon. In Greece also, Dione (Juno) was the older consort of Zeus. Juno was not of any importance at first as a State-goddess. She may have come from some neighbouring town, perhaps as Latin goddess of Veii. Goddesses were more powerful out of Rome than in it, perhaps owing to a difference socially in the power of women or to the fact that matrilinear rights had been given up by the Romans. The strongest point in her character as Moon-goddess is her connection with women as Lucina of the Kalends; but this is not decisive. She may have been to Jupiter as

Moles and Neria were to Mars, merely the feminine side or the power as feminine.[1] Women swore by Juno, their own feminine power, as men by their virility, Genius.

The history of Jupiter reflects not only the enlargement of Rome politically but its religious growth. He is grouped with Mars and Quirinus and this indicates the period of union of the first three communities, with Rome as the most important; but this group soon yields to that of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, which marks the first Graeco-Etruscan influence. There was originally only one goddess of great importance at Rome. She was Vesta, the Hearth-fire (in distinction from Volcanus, destructive fire),[2] who was paired with Janus, as Door and Hearth, and like him was intimately, as well as publicly, revered. Her relationship to the Greek Hestia is obvious, yet she was not borrowed from Greece. To Vesta offerings were made after dinner by the household; as a State divinity she was served by virgins and her sacred fire was renewed yearly on the (old) New Year's Day. Her cult was in charge of the Pontifex Maximus and any Vestal who violated her vows was buried alive, as happened in 217 B. C., in the Punic war, when other victims suffered the same fate, but as offerings to the lower gods. As spirit of the hearth, Vesta was associated with the Di Penates, Numina of the pantry or food-supply, and with the Lares, spirits, who may have been ancestral, presiding over the family in a larger sense, including the fields and the house (Lar Familiaris). The little spirits of the fields and woods, such as Flora and Silvanus, or for the garden and cattle, Pomona and Bubona, were of importance to the house-holder, but only Consus and Ops and Saturnus became great, withal because they represented the

[1] In India the god Indra (war-god) is called "lord of power" and soon Power becomes his "wife," helped to that dignity through the fact that "lord" also means husband. Juno, however, was not "wife of Jove," but a Latin goddess carried to Rome after the Romans conquered the city where she was chief divinity.

[2] Vulcan is the lightning (incendiary) fire. The volcano is Vediovis, who lightens and thunders from below, associated with the Manes. See Frothingham, *Am. J. Phil.* xxxviii. p. 370.

harvest-store and sowing of grain, as publicly recognized in State ceremonials. There was also an insignificant water-spirit called Neptunus, who first became important when the Romans identified him with Poseidon. The later Romans made a list of functional spirits, that is, spirits representing mere functions, such as Edulia, Potina, Domiduca, Eating, Drinking, Home-bringing, etc., but many if not most of them were probably later abstractions, like the abstraction Roma, eventually deified.

Among the primitive Roman gods must be reckoned also the Genius and Di Manes. The Genius was a man's own creative power, which was regarded almost as a separate entity, even as the marriage-god. Later, every family and tribe or town had its genius, so that by 200 B. C. we find reverence paid to the Genius of the Roman People, as if it were a guardian spirit. The Genius of a man was fêted on his birthday. The departed spirits, called Di, were honoured (compare the Eumenides) as good, Manes, kindly disposed, or were so named that they might be kind. Though called gods, they were recognzed as spirits, which had gone down to the earth-deity or later to Orcus under earth.[1] Persons represented them with masks at funerals and to them, on the tenth day after the funeral, gifts of food were made. They were also supposed to return through the *mundus,* an opening in the ground in the Forum. The dead man was carried feet foremost through the door and his house was then purified, as if to prevent his return. In May the old Lemuria rite made it necessary for the house-father to offer the ghosts beans and bid them go; but in February they were honoured with kindly services at the Parentalia and Feralia. In this double cult there was doubtless retained the view of ghosts as evil spirits together with the more advanced or super-added view of the family spirits as protecting powers. It is possible that, as suggested

[1] The cult of underworld gods is due to Greek thought. The primitive Italian population thought little of the underworld but had an earth-deity.

above, the Lares were also originally conceived as *larvae*, ghosts, since Laverna was goddess of the dead. But there was no real worship of the dead. They were thought of as massed spirits only, not as individual heroes, as in Greece. Mother Earth, Tellus Mater, was revered as a fostering mother in conjunction with the crop-making Ceres, though also as a goddess associated with the Manes, who vanished through a hole in the ground and were received by her, as in Celtic belief. But in general the Romans did not pay much attention to the dead or to a life to come, till Greek rites and philosophy taught them to hope for a happy hereafter. Even then the view of the learned was often that of Pliny, who says that man is an animal like other animals and ought not to expect a future for himself different from that of other animals. Life was enough for the Roman; his main concern with the dead was to treat them properly and then be rid of them. Originally he regarded them merely as a swarm of evil-minded ghosts and maltreated them, somewhat as he did other spirits whom he suspected of evil intent and kept away by hacking at them and sweeping them out of the house, as did the Greeks and as do the Eskimo and Shaman today.[1]

Naturally, to an agricultural community, the spirit of good crops was of prime importance and among the early temples of Rome one was built by Servius Tullius to such a goddess, under the name of the fertile, Fortuna. This goddess was later identified with the Greek goddess of fortune as good luck and became the greatest of those abstract female powers, such as Virtus, Concordia, Pietas, who received not only poetic recognition but a practical service with an altar and cult. She may have been a Sabine deity.

With the growth of Rome, new divinities, absorbed from neighbouring states, began to be recognized, such as Diana of Aricia, a goddess of the wild, whose cult was taken over by Rome when Rome became head of the Latin league and

[1] The burial of ordinary Romans was merely casting them into a pit. Only distinguished Romans of the Republic had special tombs.

later became one with the cult of Artemis (431 B. C.). It is probable also that Minerva was not originally Roman but was received from Falerii, perhaps the local goddess of handicraft, afterwards goddess of wisdom, identified with Athene. Her festivals came in March and June and she has been thought to be Etruscan; but Etruria was a land through which Greek divinities came in altered form to Rome and she may have been Greek from the first.[1] By way of Etruria and lower Italy, which was Greek, came other religious innovations. Castor and Pollux and Hercules came thus as gods of merchants, who also introduced Hermes as Mercurius (trade-god). All these gods had their days of celebration[2] as they had temples (Castor's temple as early as 485 B. C.). They first became Italian and then thoroughly Roman, thus paving the way for future immigration from Greece. Yet the *feriae* or festival days show that the old gods were for a long time the main religious factors of Rome. It has already been remarked that all Ides were sacred to Jupiter and all Kalends to Janus and Juno. The principal festivals in old days were agricultural and military. The first month was sacred to Mars, who remained the chief deity in the lustration of fields, from which he kept off evil. Agricultural interests are represented also in the next month, when cows were sacrificed, as instruments of fertility, to Earth, and Ceres was revered. Then too firebrands were tied to foxes let loose over the fields, to scare away crop-injuring demons, and Pales was

[1] The fact that she made one of the triad, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, shows that Greek influence was already felt.

[2] The year was divided into days fit for legal business and other days, though some days were "split," *fissi*, half profane and half sacred. Days were thus *fasti*, fit for business, or *nefasti*, that is, holy, because it was wrong to conduct business on such days. Vergil says that there is no divine or human law against doing some work *festis diebus* (*Georgics* I. 268). The holy days were 109 in the year, generally days counted as lucky (odd days). *Dies religiosi* were *vitiosi*, days on which no undertaking, religious or profane, might be begun, such as days devoted to the cult of the dead or days of public misfortune.

worshipped by shepherds, also by the State, as god or goddess of productivity (the feast was called Parilia, from *pario*?); but the most striking feature of this festival was that men and cattle were passed through or over fire as a means of purification. Shortly after this, red mildew was propitiated, as Mars, by the sacrifice of a red dog (Robigalia, April 25th). In May, came the Lemuria or rite of expelling ghosts (above) and the Fratres Arvales or brotherhood of ploughmen undertook to keep evil from the crops by their lustration, a purificatory ceremony consisting in dancing along the boundary lines and making offerings of the *suovetaurilia* with an apotropaic litany against pests.[1] Consus and Ops, the harvest-horde deities, were honoured in August. A formal sacrifice was made to them at an underground altar in the Circus Maximus, where grain was stored (as usual in cellars), whence the goddess Ops became associated with underground powers; they were honoured again in December, when Saturnus, the Sowing-god, was celebrated with the well-known laxity of harvest times (the Saturnalia). In October occurred the *armilustrium* or purification, when the army rested from its annual duties. This was of course a festival of Mars and (as already stated) to him at this time was sacrificed the war-horse. In the same month came a fountain festival, Fontinalia, and a wine-festival, when diseases were healed by drinking. At the former, garlands were flung into springs and the goddess or nymph Juturna (Diuturna) was worshipped. She was a Latin goddess whom later myths made wife of Janus, as the latter was made father by her of Fons, to whom a temple was given (231 B. C.).[2] Of all these rites the Saturnalia on December 17 has lasted longest in after-ef-

[1] Later, faces of Bacchus suspended to trees were used for the same purpose, to secure fertility (*Georgics*, 2, 388).

[2] The *fons* or spring in these cases is universalized. Every spring was a holy medicinal power. Probably Juturna was originally a special spring whose name like Arethusa ("flowing") was localized. Vergil makes Juturna sister of Turnus.

fects, since from it derive several Christmas customs, such as gift-giving and candle-illumination. At the end of this Sowing rite came one in honour of Tellus and Ceres, Earth and Grain-goddess. December over, the month of Janus celebrated the goddess of new birth (beginning of the year) called Casmenta, originally a lymph (nymph), whose name suggests the connexion between prophecy and the Muses or singing water as an oracle. She was a prophetess of birth rather than a birth-goddess. In the purifying month February, at the end of the old Roman year, were performed rites in honour of the dead (Parentalia, Feralia), preceded by the Lupercalia, in which survived a magical practice probably influenced from the beginning by Greek thought. The participants were smeared with sacrificial blood from a dog and goat, wiped in wool dipped in milk, and after laughing were clothed in goat-skins of the sacrifice, when they feasted and then ran around the Palatine, striking women with strips of the goat-skins to induce fertility. This festival was dedicated to Faunus ("Pan"). It was a wolf-resisting (*lup-arceo*) rite, according to the Romans themselves and most modern scholars, though both etymology and meaning are doubtful. Probably the rite was at first for possession of the herd by the Luperci, the "wolf-warders." Faunus is god of the rite to whom the goat is offered (not piacular); there is no sign of totemism in this or any other Roman rite. The chief act originally was the *amphidromion,* which implies the magic circle, especially when performed by naked or nearly naked people. Hitting the women was a secondary trait introduced in the third century. This is one of the few rites in which blood is a prominent feature; its presence and removal show that the rite was then understood as purificatory. It is not, as Mannhardt thinks, a vegetation rite, but a mystery in which the purificatory wool (a *februum*) soaks up the symbol of death. The (obligatory) laugh indicates the joy of the purified. These are Greek ideas, which may have been introduced

circa 200 B. C., when the rite was enlarged and its character changed.[1] Its classical form is a composite.

There were several minor *feriae stativae* or fixed festivals, such as the Blessing of Children, Liberalia (March 17), the Matronalia, Vestalia, and Matralia, in April and June, the feast of Bona Dea, attended only by women, and later the feasts of foreign divinities, the Megalesia (feast of Cybele, April 4), and that of Castor and Pollux (July 15). In the same month occurred the feast of Neptunus as a sea-power. At Paestum-Poseidonia there was a Greek colony who honoured him as sea-god. The later New Year's day in honour of Janus was celebrated January 9. The old New Year's day was celebrated with gross liberty in honour of Anna Perenna, the year-goddess. To the simple celebrations of old days were added, through foreign influence during the Republic, games, introduced at first to celebrate a triumph, which became popular, and later to these games (of horse-racing, etc.) were added wrestling, dancing, and dramatic scenes, all as religious functions.

These new elements, circus and drama, marked the worship of Greek gods, whose cult was introduced at an early date. Before turning, however, to the incursion of Greek influence, it will be necessary to indicate the process by which the field of religion was kept fruitful. All public rites of religion were performed at public expense for the people under the supervision of the tribes or the representatives of the State. Sundry brotherhoods, before any formal colleges of priests existed, had the conduct of certain rites and these were retained through the historical period, though their importance varied at different times. Such were the Salii and Arvales and Luperci already mentioned, all of whom were originally priests of Mars. About 200 B. C. were added the priests of Cybele called Galli, but no Roman might become such a priest. But under Etruscan influence,

[1] See Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, London, 1899, and Deubner, *Lupercalia* in *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte*, 1910, pp. 481–508.

as early as the sixth century B. C., there were formed State colleges of priests, the chief of whom were the Pontifices and Augures, who had charge of the whole public religious life of the people. The Pontifices administered ecclesiastical laws which concerned marriage, adoption, testaments, expiation, etc., prescribed forms and ceremonies, kept the archives, composed the calendars and annals, inaugurated magistrates, and punished persons guilty even of private religious offences, on the ground that even a private crime violated the *pax deorum*. This college kept a stock of religious formulas useful for any occasion and it was they who drew up the lists of invocations called *indigitamenta*. Till 300 B. C. they and the other priests were all patricians.

That some Etruscan divination is of Babylonian origin has already been mentioned. Yet this does not apply to all divination. The Augures or auspices divined signs sent by the gods by means of birds and animals (inspection of the liver), and interpreted omens, such as lightning, sneezing, etc., much as did other Europeans. Besides other less important colleges, there were also one of the Fetiales, instituted by Numa and presided over by the Pater Patratus, which had treaties under religious observation and acted as guardians of the public faith. It was their office to conclude treaties with religious formality and to demand restitution when necessary. Their aid was required also in declaring war. In the course of time the Pontifices became more secular than religious and the office of Pontifex Maximus became politically important. Other religious officials were special priests in the modern sense, whose acolytes have been preserved as a feature of the Christian church. Of these special priests, the most notable were the Duoviri afterwards (367 B. C.) increased to Decemviri, by which name they are generally known, though later made a college of Quindecimviri,[1] *sacrorum* or *sacris faciundis*,

[1] This number was raised to sixteen by Caesar and even to more than twenty by the subsequent emperors, who kept the college till the fourth century A. D.

whose sole business was the care of the Sibylline oracles and the rites thereby enjoined; the three Flamines of Jupiter (Flamen Dialis), Mars, and Quirinus; and the Vestal Virgins. These Vestals were appointed to care for the State fire. They were chosen by the Pontifex Maximus at the age of six to ten and served thirty years, as initiates, servants of the sacred flame, and teachers, one decade for each office, after which they might marry. They had peculiar dignities and privileges, such as front seats at spectacles, freedom from parental control, the right of way even with the Pontiff. They wore white and did not sacrifice. Their whole office recognizes Fire as a god of purity.[1]

The connexion thus indicated between religion and morality appears also in the old legal requirement that sinners were *sacri* to the gods, that is, it was left to offended gods to punish sin, possibly implying an earlier stage in which sinners were sacrificed, though there is no certain indication that the Romans countenanced human sacrifices. It is true that the gods do nothing (as Cicero says) to make a man moral; they only make him healthy and wealthy; yet their attitude was not immoral, as was that of the Greek gods, and their relations with man were based above all on a scrupulous regard for truth and faith. This religious scrupulosity is usually presented as the most striking feature of Roman religion. The vow must be kept in letter and spirit, whether a private or a public undertaking, and to ensure this there was the most meticulous regard in preserving forms. This is extended to all dealings with the gods and religion thus becomes a sort of heavenly bookkeeping, in which obligations are entered and met with dry exactness. But it is possible that this aspect has been unduly emphasized. In the first place, verbal accuracy in things divine is not unique, for it is exactly the attitude of the Brahman, to whom a mistake in pronunciation of a word ruined a religious ceremony, and fidelity to the vow

[1] Analogies in Ireland and Peru have been noticed above (pp. 114, 131). But the Vestals also to do with fertility-rites.

belongs to the Negro, whose fetish-vow is as rigidly observed as the Roman's *votum*. But more than this, we know Roman religion mainly through its appearance as a State-religion controlled by priests, who have their own way of being religious by form. Vows made to the gods were of course always a way of winning favours desired. Thus, as the State promises something if the gods will help, so the farmer does also.[1] Yet there was no book-keeping in the gay but religious revelry of harvest-thanksgiving and New-Year or spring-time ritual. Nor in private life was it perhaps wholly mechanical observance when the *pater familias* offered his daily gift to the house-hold gods and his yearly tribute to his ancestral spirits. Probably the act of Feretrius inspired religious awe at all times and though the religious rites at fixed seasons seem to adjust relations with this or that god for the year, and so to be rid of him for another twelve-month, yet all *feriae stativae* appear to do this. There are even some Christians who seem to remember Christ only on Sundays and Christmas Day.

The religious festivals do show, as has been observed by others, that the Romans had passed beyond the stage where man is uncertain of the Powers. These Powers were now, so to speak, under control. If the State fulfilled its recognized obligations, the gods could not but fulfil theirs. So much for so much. The Roman State might sleep peacefully when it had secured the divine blessing, for it was to morally responsible gods that the Romans looked for a fair exchange of values. Yet even this is more a logical than an historical induction. Beneath the contract and its fulfilment, which lie open for inspection, there was doubtless the feeling, not revealed by documentary evidence, that the gods were not bound by any contract which ignored religion in a deeper sense. The wild religious expedients adopted in the Punic panic, when men and women were buried alive, a rite unknown to ordinary occasions, the frequent recourse

[1] Compare Vergil, *votis vocare inbrem,* as advice to the farmer who wants rain.

to other gods, whenever the state was imperilled, all show that the martinet character of Roman religion was mainly on the surface. The Roman said "I thank the gods" on every occasion. It is true, however, that the Roman, who had no fear of hell hereafter and no "sense of sin" and was neither so imaginative nor emotional as the Hindu and Greek, appears to have taken his religion very calmly on ordinary occasions and that, as a State-affair, it was looked upon as something outside the province of the individual. Whether the private man went to a feast prepared by the State for a god, was in the old days a matter of indifference. If he observed the holy day, he was not obliged to appear at any public religious function; the priests did his public religious duty for him, as his bailiff might worship the family-god for him. He had, so to speak, to keep Sunday, but he did not have to go to church. Gellius cites the saying, one must be pious but not too pious, that is, superstitious. The early Roman, too, was not artistic, a great lack in building up cults. He did not even build temples till the Etruscans taught him how. His *templum* (derived from the Etruscans) was the sky as he saw it, divided into regions, where Heaven might show signs, and his first earthly temple was merely a space of earth marked out to correspond. The song and flight of birds were his oracles, voices of the gods as clear to him as the obvious voice of Jove in thunder. Grecian oracles[1] and lots were foreign devices, adopted later, and studying the entrails of animals to learn the future was an ancient form of divination (*haruspicium*) brought to him by the Etruscans or Greeks, to whom he owed also, as already remarked, the introduction of various other religious novelties. Yet these aspects must not blind us to the fact that a grateful piety really expressed the religious attitude of Rome, as contrasted with the base fear of spirits. The Roman at all times recognized a supreme directing Power, which was a moral force in his life and in that of the State. He attributed to it his own sturdy character, up-

[1] Compare *habitae Graiis oracula quercus, Georgics,* 2. 14.

holding truth and hard duties of every sort. The Romans surpassed all nations in the worship of gods, said Cicero; he meant that Roman religion produced a better State, which to a surprising extent had banished magical superstition in favour of moral religious powers. And Cicero was right, for, with the exception of religions about which he knew nothing, Roman religion, though not profound, was the cleanest and highest of classical antiquity.[1] It had no such scandalous divinities as the best known to Homer. It had indeed its unclean under-side, but in general it was a religious structure built by earnest upright men, who had made their gods in their own image and whose lack of mythology, though it may have been due primarily to a lack of imagination, resulted also in a safe lack of familiarity with the gods. Communal feasts with divinities played little part in Rome, though found in the *Feriae Latinae* and festivals like the Fornacalia, a communal feast of those using the same oven. Sacrifices generally were honorific or piacular.[2] Men did not presume to know their gods; often they did not know by name the divinity to whom they prayed. Their relations with them if stiff were dignified. Until the praetorship was established, in the fourth century B. C., the Pontifices, whose chief absorbed the powers of the old Rex Sacrorum, were practically a law-court as well as a religious college (eventually of fifteen members) and the Pontifex Maximus became the judge and arbiter of

[1] Cicero is contrasting it with Greek, Egyptian, and Oriental cults.

[2] The State-sacrifices were either for lustration, that is accompanied with prayer for protection, or piacular, that is a gift as a sin-offering to atone for some remissness in observing the "sacred law." Vegetables, beans, corn, cakes, fresh fruits, and animal sacrifices with milk, wine, and incense, were offered in fire from the first recorded times as daily offerings by private individuals; but there are indications that wine was regarded as something new; some sacrifices expressly omit it. Of the begarlanded animals (sex, age, and colour were important), the gods received the carefully examined *exta* (heart, lungs, liver, gall) and the priests consumed the *viscera*. The *suovetaurilia*, boar, ram, and bull, was the greatest sacrifice; the boar or pig the commonest. The lower gods received black, the upper gods, white animals.

all affairs divine and human. That is, the activities of the people were directed by interpreters of the divine will, who controlled their conduct in all the acts of their life.

It is very difficult to say when the old Roman religion began to change. If we compare what has been called the religion of Numa (early Roman) with the religion of the third century B. C., we find it as a civic phenomenon greatly altered. Greek gods and Greek ritual submerged what was old Roman. But while the time, even the year, can be stated in which this or that Greek god was introduced, we cannot tell how early a more insidious intrusion of Greek ideas began. Even in the Lupercalia, Greek thought appears to dominate; even in the introduction of Minerva as one of a triad, Greek arrangement seems to lurk; and even in the country rites of Flora or Fauna, which elements came from the Roman and which from the Greek is hard to specify.

Before speaking of those Greek gods and rites regarding which there is no question, we may pause a moment to lay more stress on the importance, for the understanding of Roman religion as a whole, of some of the little celebrations, to which only a passing allusion has been made. In every religion these seemingly unimportant factors are apt to be underestimated. So we tell of the great gods of India and their ritual and flatter ourselves that we have described the religion of that land, while as a matter of fact the real religion of an ordinary Hindu was probably mainly concerned with spirits and beliefs which have left but fugitive traces in the literature. Or in modern days we may describe the cult and belief of the Church and call it the religion of a Sardinian peasant, whose real religion is scarcely touched by formal cult and acknowledged belief. We must make allowance for this factor in judging of Roman religion. Of course the great gods and their cult as prescribed were recognized; but probably the Roman's real religion lay closer to him. We have spoken of the pretty rite of crowning with garlands the beneficent fountain and offering a

share of the daily meal to the household gods. But all Roman life was full of such artless devotion[1] though in our uncertainty as to Greek influence spreading naturally north from Hellenized lower Italy, we cannot say certainly how the elements of the simpler cults should be analysed. But, admitting the possibility of early Greek influence, it is more important for us to realize what the Roman thought and did than to know whether all he thought and did was his own invention.

The number of rustic rites, some of which afterwards became adopted by the city, is too large to describe individually, but their import may be seen in one or two examples. So the offerings and devotion paid to Mother Earth appear in a simpler form addressed to Dea Dia, the "goddess" *par excellence,* whose personality gradually vanished as it was absorbed into that of the specific Earth. The goddess Flora was worshipped in spring, that she might guard the growing grain, though it was not till 238 B. C. that a Roman temple was erected to her, withal at the behest of the Sibylline oracle. The form of worship was not refined. Dances by naked women and coarse mimes celebrated the goddess of fecund nature, as was to be expected, and Greek influence is discernible in the State performance. But be the rite Greek or Roman originally, it was Roman enough by the end of the third century B. C. to be regarded as an exposition of Roman religious feeling and probably it was not all Greek. Flora is Italian, revered by Sabines and Oscans as well as by Romans;[2] her cult is essentially that of a Venus, unrefined, native. Another popular festi-

[1] Thus the rite in honour of Ceres described by Vergil has no sinister union with that of Tellus, as an underground divinity, but the peasants "dance and sing to Ceres," make to her offerings of honey, milk, and wine, and "invite her into their homes," as a rustic goddess of the harvest (*Georgics* I. 347).

[2] Flora was worshipped by the Fratres Arvales and had her early Flamen. Her day was the prostitutes' festival. The more or less obscene fertility-rite at the shepherds' feast Parilia (April 21) with the fire-lustration (above) belongs to this class of religious rites. "Worship" here is largely magic.

val was the harvest-feast of Consus, the divinity of the harvested grain. First fruits were offered to the god; athletic contests were held by the shepherds; the farm animals, allowed a day of rest, were garlanded with flowers; and there was a mule-race. The feast of Saturnus, originally of purgative character,[1] was formally altered to a Greek rite in 217 B. C., when Saturnus was identified with Kronos.

As a last specimen of the real religion of the ordinary Roman we may consider the goddess Fauna, Bona Dea, and her cult, which was probably affected by Grecian worship, but by the Romans was felt as quite indigenous, though the form of worship in the third century may, as has been thought, have come from Tarentum (272 B. C.). That she was not all Greek, however, is shown by the fact that the Umbrians and Picenti also had a Cupra, or Good Goddess, identical with Bona Dea Fauna. In the city cult this local deity was identified with the Greek Damia and her rite was doubtless changed accordingly. However that may be, the worship at Rome in the third century was a picturesque ceremony. All night long women sacrificed and danced in honour of Bona Dea; a pig and wine satisfied her not; she had to have music and the dance. She was looked upon as a healing power and only women might serve her; among whom, in the city cult, were the Vestals. A curious circumstance, indicating antiquity, is that, though wine was used freely, it had to be called milk, *vinum lac nuncupetur*. Connected with her city temple were the healing serpents of Aesculapius and she was especially invoked by women in sickness; but the country cult shows no indication of this (Greek) combination. Her very general designation made it possible for various local Good Goddesses to be identified with her. Another country goddess was Venus or Frutis, the goddess of garden and vineyard,

[1] Human sacrifice may have taken place at this rite, when the ills of the year were disposed of through a scape-goat. Reaction from apprehension of accumulated evil is always expressed by "saturnalian" abandon, though primitive people require little excuse for laxity.

who was brought from Ardea and had a Roman temple as early as 295 B. C. She was later (287 B. C.) identified with Aphrodite of Eryx and her worship was set for August 17, her formal day. Later, under the designation *felix,* she was regarded as Fortuna; but her original Roman rôle was that of a fruit-goddess rather than goddess of general fruitfulness and fortune.

Other divinities played in the religious consciousness of Latium and Rome a part not to be overlooked, Volturnus or Tiberinus Pater, the "rolling" river and Volcanus, to whom were made many shrines and offerings, for, as has been said, he was destructive Fire (afterwards Hephaestus as god of smiths) and received such fearful worship as was given to pests. Maia or Maiestas was his "wife," as Moles is wife of Mars, his power. Furthermore, many gods or spirits are known, whose fanes remained much longer than their divinity and whose names even are sometimes in doubt. Such were the goddesses of birth, either of the year, when the Divalia honoured Diva Angerona, or of birth and death of man, Mana; deities corresponding to the phallus, Mutunus and Tutunus; or again the Dea Febris or spirit of disease, more particularly Tertiana and Quartana, the personification of the third and fourth fever days (malaria), and Mefitis, the power seen in mephitic exaltations, who had a grove and temple.

Tarquin the Proud, according to tradition, dickered with the Sibyl, an Apollo oracle at Cumae, till he came into possession of the oracles called Sibyllina Remedia. They were acrostics, not intended to give oracles in regard to the future but to explain what remedies should be applied in case the State was in danger. They were kept at Rome but never used except by permission of the Senate. Soon after Tarquin's death a famine at Rome suggested a consultation of this Sibylline wisdom and in consequence was introduced, for the first time formally, the worship of Greek gods, Apollo, Leto, and Artemis leading the way, followed by Demeter, Dionysus, and Kore. Probably Apollo was intro-

duced as healer and Demeter (496 B. C.) as grain-goddess. As healer, Apollo was called Medicus and a temple was built for him in 423 B. C. Hercules, also as a healer, was brought into Rome in the same way in 399 B. C.; later, his image was exhibited in the first recorded *lectisternium* or procession of gods reclining on couches in pairs. But in general not much addition of this sort was made to the pantheon through the fourth and fifth centuries, though Aesculapius was called in to heal another pest, and in this case the Romans sent an embassy to Epidaurus to get him (in the form of a snake) in 293 B. C., as later Hygeia (Salus) came in at command of the Sibyl in 180 B. C. Again, in 249 B. C., Dispater and Proserpina appeared, in Latinized forms of Pluton and Persephone, to still the fear of an ominous lightning-stroke and of war. Then, in 205 B. C., the Sibyl recommended the introduction of Magna Mater, that is, the Phrygian Cybele with her cult of the Asiatic goddess and her maimed lover Attis, who was subsequently associated with Tanith, the Carthaginian Dea Caelestis. Meantime the Sibyl had also managed to bring in the cult of Venus Erycina and of Bona Mens (Sophrosyne), to offset military disasters in 217 B. C. To anticipate, Sulla on his own account brought in a companion goddess to the Magna Mater deum Idaea when he brought back from his campaign in Asia Minor the cult of Mâ (as Bellona), whose wild priests were called Fanatici, a term applied as well to the priests of Isis. She also was adopted by Sulla, but was looked on with suspicion till after the Christian era, when a temple was built for her at Rome.[1]

The long list of the Greek and Oriental deities flooding Rome from the third century includes also the Dea Syria or Suria, a form of Atargatis (and Hadad), and other forms of Sol Invictus. Sol was no old Roman god (he had a temple on the Aventine in 182 B. C.), though he was worshipped by agriculturists; but as a foreign deity he

[1] Isis first had temples at Puteoli (c. 100 B. C.) and Pompeii. At Puteoli there was also a later Syrian congregation who worshipped "Jupiter of Beyrout," that is Baal of Heliopolis (c. 100 A. D.).

played a great part, especially when identified with Mithra, and even before this, when the mad emperor Elagabal made all Rome worship his black stone for three years. The emperor Aurelian built a temple to Sol (274 A. D.) and gave him a Roman college. Trade and the foreign legions also brought into Rome numerous Asiatic gods whose worshippers were foreign soldiers and traders. These gods were called Jupiters with their qualifying local title, such as Jupiter Dolichenus (from Doliche in Syria), or Jupiter Damascenus, i.e., the god of Damascus worshipped as Jupiter. Mithra himself, well known to Plutarch, was patronized by Commodus with Isis in the third century A. D. In the second century A. D., Jupiter Sabazios, of Phrygia, was confused with Sabaoth and was thought to be the Jewish god.

This deluge of gods did not destroy the Roman State-cult, but it destroyed the simplicity of the old Roman religion, first by bringing in new gods thinly disguised under Roman names, then by lowering the idea of divinity, through exhibiting Greek idols as gods in human form in temples and in the *lectisternium,* and thirdly by introducing not only the *Graecus ritus* but all the strange ideas underlying the cult of Dionysus, Demeter, and other mystic gods. Now for the first time were the Romans taught ecstatic communion with deity, and were vexed with problems of the life hereafter.[1] Now first they set out an *epulum Jovis* as part of the Ludi Romani and exhibited twelve gods in pairs in a *lectisternium* (217 B. C.). Now first they had new forms of Supplicationes, as ordered by the Sibyl, in processions of girls (*ad omnia pulvinaria*), who visited the couches of all the gods. In 207 B. C., the Decemviri headed a procession of maidens who went about singing choric songs to Juno and dancing,

[1] In 249 B. C., the Etruscans introduced the Ludi Saeculares or Tarentini with the cult of chthonic divinities and the more sombre tone associated with this cult. The mystery of religion in the Greek sense had not till then been operative. The first deities introduced were mainly for healing purposes, like Apollo himself, but even he was identified with Vediovis, the underground (volcanic) form of Jupiter.

as they hung on to a connecting rope. This exhibition was nothing in the world but a Greek Panathenaea projected upon wondering Rome by the Greek Sibyl to offset a strange prodigy. One other important object was attained through the new rites. They popularized religion, the cults being such that all citizens might share in them. To the Romans the new religion also made an aesthetic appeal comparable to the effect produced on plain people by gorgeous pageantry.

Pestilence and the fear of Hannibal were the chief reasons leading to this Hellenizing of Rome. But more influential than Grecian cults were the Oriental religions imported into Rome. At first, the Megalesia rites of Magna Mater and her followers opened wide the door to every form of religious orgy. From the time when Rome gave herself to these cults, the old Roman religion existed only as a subordinate survival. The real religion of Rome was now built on debased Greek [1] and Oriental superstition and mysticism, to which was added Greek philosophy. For with the Greek gods came to Italy Greek metaphysics. Euhemerus and his interpretation of gods as merely men became familiar through the works of Ennius (200 B. C.). In vain old Cato sought to revive the ancient superstitions and rustic religious formulas. Ennius himself said that, though divinities existed, they cared not for men. Varro, in the first century B. C., tried to save the life of the deities by interpreting them allegorically,[2] but neither Epicurean nor Stoic philosophy could restore the dying gods of Rome, which had converted even its Jupiter into a political rather than a religious aegis and now supported its old State-ritual merely as part of the administrative machine. Plautus

[1] It must be remembered that the Greek religion absorbed by Rome was mainly that of c. 200, when it was far removed from its original form. When, for example, the Romans received the cult of Egyptian Isis they took it from Delos, where Isis had been worshipped as early as 300 B. C.

[2] The allegorical interpretation of gods was familiar to the Greeks. Theagenes of Rhegium, five hundred years before Christ, said that Homer's gods expressed faculties or natural elements. Vergil (after Chrysippus) calls Aether the omnipotent father.

(254–184 B. C.) publicly ridiculed the genealogies of the gods and in the same era Cato already dared to express wonder that one augur could meet another without laughing. Religion, in its received form at least, was regarded as hypocrisy or as a legitimate pretence, to disguise from the common people the truth they were intellectually incapable of receiving.

By the time of Lucretius (98–55 B. C.), all the gods had become mere figures of speech to the learned. Venus to Lucretius was neither the genuine Italian god of gardens and vineyards nor the Aphrodite with whom she had become officially identified, but a cosmic power. His great poem *De Rerum Natura* was essentially atheistic; his endeavour was not to uphold religion but to crush superstition. Alongside of this Epicurean heterodoxy, which, expelled from the State in a short-lived spasm of orthodoxy in 173 B. C., had returned again, there flourished also the mysticism and credulity which passed under the name of Pythagoras, whose system had been foisted upon the state by forged documents in 181 B. C. and had been officially rejected, but among the people had made great progress by its appeal to the unknown and its tempting doctrine of metempsychosis. Yet no Greek philosophy had so great and lasting an effect at Rome as that of the Stoics. Epicureanism, while it eliminated emotion as contrary to reason, also eliminated the object of emotion, the gods. Pythagoreanism, in the form brought into Rome from south Italy, appeared only as a maze of unfounded speculation too mystic for the hard-headed Roman to assimilate. On the other hand, Stoicism, which itself had absorbed what was best from the Academy, appealed to the Roman because it laid great weight on moral virtues under the allegorical interpretation of gods as ethical powers. As early as 140 B. C., Panaetius of Rhodes had taught Scipio and his intimates the principles of the Stoics, that the universe is the orderly product of mind inherent in matter, that what we call God is within all forces, as the sum of existence; Jupiter exists as reason in a material uni-

verse, which reason man alone shares, and man may realize himself in communion with this sum of existence called God; when he does so, he perceives that man's law is but a form of God's law.

No doctrine could please a high-minded Roman, naturally law-abiding and morally inclined, better than the materialism thus subtly disguised as religious philosophy. From about 200 B. C. to 200 A. D. it may be said to be the Roman philosophy *par excellence*. Cicero adopted Panaetius as his own and edited him under the form of (the first) two books entitled *De Officiis*.[1] At the same time the Oriental religions tended to inculcate a popular polytheism in which all gods represented one (pantheistic) principle.

But the philosophers of Rome, at whose hands religion was reduced to speculative morality, represented only a class. Had her practical statesmen remained religious in the old sense, there would still have been a large body of influential men whose beliefs would have been felt as a religious force by the people. But this was not the case. On the contrary, the practical statesmen converted the priestly colleges into political clubs. Sulla made himself master of Rome through using these colleges as part of his political machine. He could do this very easily, as most priests might hold public office and the priests as a class had complete control of the State. They put the ban of religion on what they disliked and oracularly proclaimed their own desires as the wishes of the gods; they could declare war and prevent it; they could elect and reject as they would; there was always a prodigy or augury at command. All the members of the Pontifici and Augures were put in office as political tools of the demagogue, who was himself the head of Rome's religious world. There was no further need of "Sibylline Books" to debauch Roman religion when once Sulla had determined to become dictator.[2]

[1] Ambrose later based his *De Officiis* on this model.

[2] The year before this happened the Sibylline books were destroyed by fire, when the Capitol where they were kept was burned (83 B. C.). The later "Sibylline" texts included even Jewish writings.

There has been space here only to show the general result of importing foreign gods into Rome. Roman religion differs from the religion of Rome. The latter still retained the old forms, as it retained largely the old names of gods. But the Roman gods for the most part vanished under Greek names. On the other hand, Roman religion did not vanish in form but changed in spirit. For, despite the atheism of philosophy and the hypocrisy of politicians, there was of course a mass of people neither philosophers nor politicians who believed and felt something, not only during the hysteria of the Punic wars and the machinations of the civil disorders but after excitement was quelled and life had resumed its usual course. We may perhaps envisage this popular religion best in two phases, before Hannibal and after Sulla.

The first intrusion of Greek gods had no great effect; they did not come into the country in large numbers till Hannibal frightened the people into groping for new forms of divine assistance. Up till then we may say that religion was chiefly a matter of form rigidly adhered to on the lines of a legal contract between men and gods, though the deities were thought of as kindly protective spirits and there was not lacking a respondent human sentiment of cheerful gratitude. But Greek religion not only changed the conception of deities and made them much more human in figure; it affected too the conception of the relation of man to divinity. We are accustomed to speak of Greek mysteries and orgies together and it is true that the orgiastic side of Dionysos worship, especially when reinforced by the grosser Oriental cults, did much to affect unfavourably the purer religious morality approved by the Roman State. But at the same time the mystery, which was not necessarily orgiastic in expression, introduced an entirely new idea, that of a life purified within, rather than without, and devoted to a god with whom man might abide in communion all his life if he would, and with whom he might be united after death. This was, in sum, the one tremendous change introduced

by foreign cults at Rome. How large a circle it affected we cannot know, but it was an entirely new presentation of religion and, so to speak, it accorded religiously with what had been taught philosophically by the Stoics, so that emotion and intelligence met in a new sphere of thought destined as it chanced to have much influence on the religion of the future. Another element also is to be noticed in the new religion of Rome. It is logically to be obtained both from the philosophy of the Stoics and from that church-idea which enveloped the brothers of the mystery. For when religion became personal instead of political and the worshippers felt themselves bound together not as a clan or town but as companions in a service to a god, there was bound to arise a new idea of kinship, a spiritual brotherhood quite different from the Fratres of the collegia. This in turn led, or might easily lead, to a feeling of human brotherhood, a note not altogether rare in antiquity but leading further to the feeling of appreciation for all animal life and perhaps to the gentle spirit nowhere so perceptible as in the verse of Vergil.[1] Thus a kindly sympathy was added to the religion of hope and to the spiritual conception of man accented by the mystery-religion. These new elements, united with that ingrained sense of duty which was natively Roman and that love of order and dignity which exhibits itself in the Roman ritual, all combined to prepare the world for a religion in which every one of these elements is prominent, so prominent in fact that it was easy to turn the stately Roman *lustratio* into the lustration-ceremony of the Roman Catholic Church, to substitute for observance of the dead the kindly prayers for the dead, to convert local deities into saints, and adopt bodily such ritual practices as the

[1] Vergil, perhaps influenced by Augustus, still clings to the genuine Roman gods in his poetic lectures on farming. Ceres, Pales, Silvanus, Vesta (who guards the Tibur), and Saturnus are recognized by him as deities to be worshipped by the farmer and shepherd, as well as rain-giving Jupiter, though he also favours the cult of Bacchus and other Greek gods. To Mars he alludes only as the "impious" god who destroys the farmer's peace.

use of acolytes, of incense and holy water, and the reverent remembrance still potent on December 25th.

With the fall of the Republic, religion, while it still reached after new cults, reverted also to old forms. One movement, however, was untrammelled, the other was dictated by authority. Augustus, namely, having converted a rotten republic into a precarious empire, sought to guide his people into safe pastures, where peace and prosperity would appear as imperial trapping. We need not inquire how religious was the emperor whose scepticism is as well known as his piety. It was his to bring back a people, long harassed by internal dissensions, to quiet stability and to impress upon them the right of Augustus of the gens Julia so to do. He set up his own Genius to be worshipped beside the Lares of every city *vicus;* he practically invented Julius as his family god; he made the world acknowledge Augustus to be a divinity. At the same time, he urged a return to old simplicity and country life and withal to old religious ideas, rebuilding the temples of moribund gods and reviving the old religious machinery, such as the ceremony performed by the Fratres Arvales. He himself became Pontifex Maximus (12 B. C.) and took charge therewith of the cult of Vesta; but made it a cult of his own Vesta or house (as Vesta Augusta). Of the Greek gods, he made most of Apollo, because this divinity had saved him at Actium, and Mars he worshipped, but as Ultor, because this divinity had avenged Augustus; while he built quite new temples to these gods and also to Venus as mother of Augustus' family. He encouraged the Mantuan poet to turn the people from politics to agriculture with the Georgics[1] and with the Aeneid to imbue them with the Venus-Augustus legend of an empire fashioned in heaven and brought to earth by the divine man, with whom the regenerated world should be born anew;

[1] Vergil admits the divinity of Augustus in the Eclogues, *deus nobis haec otia fecit.* In the first three centuries of our era this "Roman peace" was an important factor in the growth of Christianity, as it produced a cosmopolitan equality which levelled old class and race distinctions.

for which purpose he dictated to another poet the substance of the Carmen Saeculare (17 B. C.). Ovid, to please himself, made the gods ridiculous and, to please the emperor, wrote the Fasti. The evil Augustus did lived after him. Human gods continued to be made of dead and living emperors, who sometimes also deified their women and even their favourites (Hadrian thus deified the youth Antinous), till there were nearly forty of these monstrous gods besides the bizarre Jupiters that streamed into the city from every point in the Orient, who were really not Jupiters at all but local Oriental gods worshipped by the various soldiers and merchants quartered at Rome. The objections felt against the Bacchus-worshippers, which had led to a decree against them in 186 B. C., and against the Chaldaeans, a general name for Oriental astrologers, which had led to their being expelled from Italy in 139 B. C., had given place to enthusiastic welcome, so that Caesar himself restored the Bacchic cult, withal mixed with Oriental excess. Thus, even when no welcome was extended, no further objection was felt to foreign cults, which remained unmolested, provided the liberality which permitted their worshippers to practise their own religion was met with a spirit liberal enough to worship also the god of Rome. It was a surprise to the Romans to find that Christians would not do this, as it was a shock to Augustus to find that his godhead, recognized by all the world besides, was not accepted by the Druids and the Jews.

The Roman world at this time was in sympathy with a belief in one divine power, a God who embraced in himself numerous forms of different gods; but the Christian monotheistic idea excluded all gods save one, which proved a stumbling-block to polytheist and pantheist.

All through the time of the early emperors, however, despite the overwhelming sea of new cults, the old rites remained in force, till Theodosius in the fourth century put an end to the private worship of the Lares, Penates, and Genius. There were occasional outbreaks of zeal against Christians, who were persecuted by the mad boy Nero

(54–68 A. D.), and philosophers, who were banished from Rome by Domitian (81–96 A. D.); but these were personal sporadic whimsies. M. Aurelius (161–180 A. D.) reinstated philosophy, which even under Nero was embodied in such teachers as Seneca and Epictetus. In this era too the peripatetic philosopher became a sort of household priest and comforter, in whose conversation and precepts the living found relief and the dying hope. Philosophers wandered about as lecturers and preachers, like the beggar monks of India and the Capuchins, among whom of course there were charlatans justifying satirical attacks. To these philosophers, however, religion was not so much a matter of metaphysics as of practical ethics. Closet philosophers, too, taught that man should be sacred to man and an object of pity and love, so that it has become a question whether Seneca was not really influenced by Christian belief, as the circumstances of his life made quite possible.[2]

Plutarch in the second century[1] discussed the relation of man to God like a Christian theologian. In the next century, the cult of Mithra almost submerged Christianity. As Sol Invictus his festival led to the Christian celebration of Christmas on December 25, while Mithra-worship itself was a *quasi* monotheism with rites closely resembling those of the Christian church. As a popular Roman religion it became in fact the forerunner of Christianity, which later in

[1] St. Paul was tried before his brother; but many scholars oppose the idea that this "heathen Christian" was really influenced by Christian thought.

[2] Plutarch (50–125 A. D.) is an instructive example of the union of high and low in the religious atmosphere of this period. While an eminent theologian, teaching "not different gods but one divine Reason, Providence," he believed in dreams, oracles, and such manifestations of the divine will, as strongly as any old peasant. Probably superstitions lasted longer than religion with many Romans. Pliny says that most Romans including himself repeated charms and spells to protect themselves against accidents. It is doubtful whether Vergil really believed in the Stoic Divine Mind. He says: "Some say that there is part of a divine mind even in bees, and there is no place for death," *viva volare omnia*, but this is what *quidam dixere* (*Georgics*, 4, 220f.).

turn became the religion of Rome. It emphasized morality and made every man a soldier of a church militant. It absorbed sun-worship, otherwise recognized (when Elagabalus brought to Rome the black stone symbol of his sun-god at Emesa), but made the sun merely a symbol of divinity; it adapted the already popular worship of Fortuna to its own ends, and even made the State-religion a matter of concern to women by combining with itself the cult of the originally licentious Mother-goddess, although it appealed at the same time to those who demanded ethical purity as a condition of membership in its secret organization.[1] It was at once a religion, a philosophy, a school of morality, and a secret society, and many of its elements remained permanent factors of Roman religion even after the downfall of Mithraism itself. In this syncretism of all religions at Rome it is not strange that the new religion of the Christians was recognized officially. The pious cousin of Elagabalus, Alexander Severus (d. 235 A. D.), who conciliated all religious parties and revered all gods, built a temple to Isis and wished to build one to Christ, but the auspices prevented him from accomplishing this intention. His own private religion appears to have consisted in the worship of his own ancestors and of the great benefactors of man, some of lower order such as Vergil and Cicero, others of higher rank, among whom were Alexander the Great, Abraham, Orpheus, and Jesus Christ. Here, truly, may be said to end all Roman religion, though Severus' attitude differed less in spirit than in form from the worship of the Manes and the Lares, the kind ghosts and helpful spirits of Rome's early regard.[2]

[1] This seeming paradox is solved by the fact that the orgiastic religions of the East fell on unfruitful soil in Rome as far as their native erotic character was concerned. Thus Oriental cults gradually adopted Roman morality, and were influential mainly as a spiritualizing force in pantheistic form. Isis, c. 150 A. D., is the divine power in the world, called the Mother Goddess, Venus, Juno, etc., pure divinity. So too the Mother-cult was concentrated on the idea of resurrecton (symbolized in the *Hilaria* of March 25th).

[2] Later emperors, however, like Diocletian, persecuted the Chris-

There was only one step further to go and that was taken by Constantine, when he not only admitted Christianity as a Roman religion but gradually gave it his preference among the confused cults of the Roman empire. In the years 361–363 A. D. Julian the Apostate reverted to the doctrines of ancient days and built temples to the old gods, who were, however, already dead; but in 392 Theodosius put a formal end to all pagan cults.

But though therewith the cults of Rome were banished, Roman religion persisted; first, in its lower forms as superstitions still potent in their native habitat, though perhaps these may be said to be universal rather than Roman. But at any rate they were preserved, from a primitive Italian origin, after passing through the Roman mind. Then, in the forms of those remote analogous gods who through Roman military influence had been identified with Roman originals, fugitive forms, which exist only as echoes, like the Hercules Magusanus of the Batavians. Thirdly, in the saints, as well as in the ritual observances already referred to as inherited by the Christian Church,[1] and above all in the Roman realistic religious spirit, which appears in the early Roman Church fathers, whose systematizing tendency conceived of religion ethically and legally rather than metaphysically and idealistically. So, although what has been said by an eminent scholar seems to be true, namely, that the Romans if well-advised would have feared the Greeks bearing gifts and that, after they had renounced their gods, they won the whole world but lost their own soul, yet in very truth the spirit of Roman religion was not wholly lost nor was the gift of the Greeks wholly destructive. What was finest in the Greek religion as in that of the Orientals entered into Rome, which, however, still preserved its own indomitable

tians generally, as they had been persecuted sporadically by Nero (see under Christianity).

[1] Some Roman and Greek deities have become saints. Venus is a Sicilian saint dancing before the Lord! Augustine tells us that memorial services in honor of the martyrs virtually relapsed into heathen worship.

spirit, the spirit of St. Augustine, to whom religion was primarily law, though tempered with mystic emotion.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

THE RELIGION OF CHRIST AND CHRISTIANITY

The religion of Christ stands to Christianity somewhat as that of Buddha to Buddhism. In each, interpretation begotten of speculation embraced alien thought and bore hybrid descendants, some harking back to original features, others far removed from any likeness to the founder. In other regards also the two religions are similar. As Buddha has been resolved into a sun-myth, so Jesus Christ has been explained as cosmic truth in legendary form, a Gilgamesh or other divine hero. The wisdom of Buddha has been referred to Zoroaster and to Moses; that of Jesus to Seneca and Epictetus. Finally, the life, temptation, miracles, parables, and even the disciples of Jesus have been derived directly from Buddhism. In general, these speculations are based on similarities too slight to consider, or too rare to affect a general judgment. It was not till the second century that Buddhistic teaching affected the story of Jesus.

Within almost a generation of his death, the words and activities of Jesus and of his immediate followers were committed to writing. The account is too near the event to justify doubt as to the historicity of Jesus. He was no myth. His birth, in current opinion, occurred a few years (perhaps six to eight) before the usually accepted Year of Our Lord. It is not spoken of as a supernatural event by the author of the oldest Gospel nor by Jesus himself; nor by any of his disciples in their conversations is it referred to as a proof of his divinity. Paul, too, is silent regarding it. But as an early article of faith it was introduced into the opening chapter of Luke and the introduction prefaced to Matthew.[1]

[1] The synoptic Gospels appear to derive from precepts compiled

Apocryphal writings, some of which were at first regarded as authoritative Scripture,[1] show that many impossible tales soon gathered about the personality of Jesus and his mother. His life was a centre upon which converged religious speculation. Some have thought that for this reason his personality must be fictitious. But because myths gather about a person it does not follow that the person is a myth. On the other hand, no one who knows history, especially Oriental history, will doubt that the heirs of the founders of all religions have framed their portraits in golden legends, such as the tale of the mediaeval Kings of the East. To see how one such history was made shows how other history may have been made. This myth of the kings was invented piously to honour Christ and it is not without its inner truth, for it strikes the note, made resonant by Paul, that the Glad Tidings concerned not the Jews alone, but all the known world.

In its first form the legend says that wise men of the East, presumably Zoroastrian Magi, were led to the cave where the Child was born. This was the cave, one of the Church Fathers tells us, in which the venerated Mother-goddess of the heathen bore her divine child. It was centuries before the sages became " Kings of Orient." Epiphany also, taken from the cult of Dionysos, became a day (Jan. 6) more celebrated than Christmas, which latter date (as Dec. 25) was indeed not fixed till the fourth century, when it was

about the time of the greater Pauline epistles (50–60 A. D.) and from anecdotes reported by Peter. The oldest Gospel is that of Mark (c. 75 A. D.). The present Gospels of Matthew and Luke revert to a source designated as Q by Biblical scholars. In Mark the precept-side gives way to the emphasis laid on the power and authority of Jesus; Matthew and Luke lay more weight on the teachings of Jesus. The basis of Acts xvi–xxii may be dated c. 62 A. D. According to R. W. Husband, *The Prosecution of Jesus*, Princeton Press, 1916, the trial of Jesus took place Friday, April 3, 33 A. D.

[1] Conversely, Hebrews (written 81–85 A. D.) and Revelation were still held as un-scriptural in the second century, though Hebrews was "edifying." Montanus (see below) may have caused Revelation to be looked upon with suspicion.

taken from the Mithra-cult. The first step made the Magi three in number, representing Europe and Africa as well as Asia, whence in mediaeval art one is represented as a Negro. Western tradition of the second century fixes the number of Magi as three, but Syrian writers assume twelve. They did not become kings till the sixth century, doubtless that the Scripture might be fulfilled (Ps. lxx. 10).

Palestine, long distressed, had many would-be Messiahs, some deluded, some imposters, trading on Jewish hope. That the Messiah was divine, that the earth was made by him in a pre-existent state, was now the conception of the Jewish world (see 2 Esdras, vi. 1f.). Jesus was persuaded that he was the Messiah (Christ), yet he looked not for a worldly kingdom, nor for the realization of the later Jewish ideal, which was built on the Law and saw God afar off; but, with the early prophets, he conceived of God as present, speaking now in the heart. At the same time he was not uninfluenced by that wider idea of God which came after the worship of Yahweh as a national deity. He is not the son of Yahweh but of God; yet he saw God as a Father in heaven, who loved his children and demanded obedience in inner life rather than in outer form. He accepted also the later teaching in regard to the soul and resurrection. It has been imagined by some scholars that Jesus was indebted to the Essenes (above, p. 446) for his teachings. But their ideal was utterly opposed to his. They fled the world; he consorted with all; they did not proselytize; he sent out missionaries; they emphasized ceremonial purity; he cared little for it. His antecedents were rather those old Hebrews whose disdain of cult in comparison with spiritual religion found an echo in his own teaching. There had also been great spiritual progress among the Jews for a century before Jesus.[1] It is well to realize that Jesus, the last of the Jews, that is, of the great Palestine Jews, even in his words is closely linked with his people's past, both

[1] See especially Enoch, the Book of Wisdom, and the (Sadducean) Ecclesiasticus, in the centuries just before Christ.

remote and near. Thus with one Psalmist he promised that those who loved God should find joy in him (Ps. v. 11), and with another, who said "the meek shall inherit the earth" (Ps. xxxvii. 11), he was in full accord. As the Psalmist cries, "I will love thee, O Lord," and again, "God is the father of the fatherless" (Ps. xviii. 1; lxviii. 5), so he taught that God is the heavenly Father whom man should love. The "poor and fatherless" (Ps. lxxxii. 3) were ever in his thought and with the cry, "Thou art my Father, my God, and the rock of my salvation," words that revert to Psalmist and the Song of Moses (Ps. lxxxix. 26 and Deut. xxxii), he comforted himself in trial. From this source was drawn the tender image of the nestlings under brooding wings (Ps. xci. 4). The humility of man, the greatness, yet the love, of God as Father, are all pre-Christian elements, as they are outstanding features of the religion of Jesus, who, however, taught his law of love and love as a law more surely, because more explicitly and more serenely, than did his remote ancestors or his immediate predecessor, John the Baptist. In fine, he freed the gold from the dross; in his teaching he took the best and truest ideas handed down from of old and made them the supreme test of a religious spirit. What they implied, he expressed: if God be Father of all, then shall each son be brother to each. It is this which created the "beloved community" and gave the Church its unifying power.

Jesus is represented as performing miracles, some of which would be accepted today as due to the curative power of a strong spirituality, while others came in response to the usual Eastern demand for marvels, which have always been required of a religious leader. Jesus himself deprecated such signs and the Biblical narrative intimates that they were often the result of subjective belief: Mk. vi. 5: "He could there do no mighty work"; because of their unbelief, Matt. xiii. 58. Paul, too, never mentions miracles as a proof of Christ's divine power. But he may not have heard of them; or he regarded them as the inevitable ac-

companiment of spiritual potency, which in the popular apprehension might manifest itself as easily in multiplying fishes as in curing disease or expelling devils.[1]

(Paul's reticence is eloquent also when he tells the story of the resurrection, which interested him more than any event in the history of Jesus, for he omits some of the striking details given by the synoptic gospels, which are, indeed, not in complete accord as to the time (whether the resurrection occurred on the third day or after three days).[2]

At this point it is thought by some scholars that there has been fusion with the much older resurrection-story which long before Jesus' day had held the East enthralled. As in the later contact with the Mithra-cult, it is not possible to say definitively whether the later religion borrowed from the earlier; but as the two traditions cover the same time and same territory, and present unusual similarity, no historian has a right to ignore the striking resemblance of the general faith with that resurrection-faith which began with Peter and Paul, when they made the crucified Jesus as resurrected Christ an Avatar of God. The cult of Cybele and Attis coalesced in some regards with that of Mithra. Its Megalesia were rites of the spring equinox. They began

[1] Curing blindness, stilling storm, walking on water, turning water to wine, are miracles mentioned also of others, by Jewish and Greek writers. Turning water into wine is a miracle of Dionysos, whose epiphany was thus marked on Jan. 6. Compare Bousset, *Kyrios Christos,* Göttingen, 1913, p. 72 f. For Buddhist parallels, see above, p. 195, note.

[2] So the author of the fourth Gospel (c. 100) omits the temptation and the eucharist at the Supper. This Evangelist differs from the others not only in introducing the interpretation of Christ as the manifestation of the Logos, divine Reason, but also in seeing Jesus more remotely, in making him active at Jerusalem rather than in the country, etc. Paintings of scenes from this Gospel are found as early as 180 A. D. It may have been in use in Rome at the beginning of this century. The *Logos* of "John" is not that of Philo Judaeus; it is the One Logos as contrasted with the many "powers" and *logoi* of Philo. The two probably drew from the common stock of ideas current at the time. "After three days," in the Roman Gospel of Mark, may reflect the older resurrection-story of Attis-Osiris-Dionysos, originally one.

with the carrying of reeds, among which Attis, like Moses and Sargon of Akkad, had been exposed, and continued with a fast of nine days. At the end of this fast was portrayed the "procession of the tree," with lamentation and self-inflicted mutilations, initiating the "day of blood," which represented the god's death. Then, *after three days,* came the "day of joy," which represented the resurrection of the god, and was celebrated with glad cries of "Attis is risen." A weak Greek version of the cult lingers in Theocritus' description of the Adonis festival at Alexandria. About 200, Clement of Alexandria was initiated into these Cybele mysteries before he became a Father of the Church, and Tertullian joined a sect which was founded by an old Cybele worshipper. The mysteries, it will be remembered (above, p. 541), were brought to Rome c. 200 B. C.[1] But, though the idea of a risen god was common, that of a god suffering for us, that of the "blood shed for us," was new.

Paul, before whose death, 64 A. D., the new religion had spread over the Roman empire, was the founder of Christianity in distinction from the religion of Jesus. His Christology is not drawn from the apocalyptic literature of Palestine but from the Wisdom literature of Alexandria. He saw the Gospel-story in the light of his knowledge of Greek and Alexandrine philosophy and of the divine mysteries current in Greece, and thus gave a new interpretation of Christ, who, as the risen Lord and Spirit of God, fills the believer and makes him one with the Lord. In so doing he discarded his own earlier apocalyptic interpretation of Jesus (as Jewish Messiah). In Paul there is still vibrant the spirit of Jesus (love, meekness, joy, faith inspire it); but this spirit is already over-laid with intellectualism. His preoccupation is not with the life and words of Jesus, but with the spirit of God revealed in the resurrection of Christ. Converted by a Christophany, he saw Christ ever above the

[1] Admixture of other cults such as that of Osiris is historically possible. Later Ephesian Mariolatry probably owes much to absorption of the local Artemis-cult, of which Paul speaks.

earth. Scholar and student of Gamaliel, the pupil of Hillel (above, p. 447), but also a student of the older Wisdom (Tarsus where he was born was a seat of philosophy), he desired to prove his faith to the Gentiles. Paul does not dwell on, though he recognizes, Jesus as the teacher of a new religious life and ideal; rather he cites his resurrection as a proof of life after death. For he that believes in the risen Lord becomes also immortal.[1] Paul even uses O. T. phrases of the Lord Yahweh as if they were of the Lord Christ.

The statement of Ben Sira (c. 180 B. C.), that "from a woman was the beginning of sin and because of her we all die" (xxv. 24), appears in Paul in the form that death and sin entered the world through Adam and man inherits death and sin till Christ dies for man. Jesus says not a word of this origin of sin, and the old Prophets, who talk much of man's depravity, do not suggest it. Paul also extends the idea of the new man possessed by Christ to the Church, which is the body of Christ. This conception at a later date greatly strengthened Church authority. Paul's chief theological features are justification by faith, atonement, opposition to legal Judaism, and the mystic idea of the Spirit of Christ possessing man (thus driving out the evil spirit obsessing him) and making the believer able to cast out devils, speak prophetic words, etc. In close connexion with this mystic view, baptism drives off evil spirits and so may be performed "for the dead" (to free them from evil spirits, 1 Cor. xv. 29). Moreover, as sacrifice to devils brings fellowship with devils (1 Cor. x. 20), so communion through sacrifice gives divine power.

Whether eventually Mazdean or Babylonian, the eschatology of the first century is a direct inheritance from Judaism. Jewish conceptions as to Paradise and Abraham's Bosom,

[1] As genuine epistles of Paul may be conservatively recognized the First to the Thessalonians, Corinthians, Galatians, Romans, Philippians, Philemon, Colossians (and Ephesians?). Some extremists hold that all the Pauline epistles are spurious.

the new Jerusalem, with the four and twenty elders, the angels of the gates, etc., present nothing new.[1]

At the beginning of the second century (to which period may be referred the epistles to Timothy and Titus, the Gospels of John and Peter, the second epistle of Peter and those of Jude and John, of Pseudo-Barnabas and Ignatius, the Didache, and the Shepherd of Hermas), Gnostic philosophy attempted to absorb Christianity and give it out again as a cosmic scheme. Nature-religions still opposed the faith. Jewish Christians perverted it. Imperialism confronted it with the one universal worship (that of the emperor). Episcopal power was now beginning to form, though the Church was still regarded as a body of believers rather than as a united organization. Pseudo-Barnabas broke with the Jews through his teaching that the old Law had been not a preliminary preparation but a punishment for their obstinacy. Clement of Rome conciliated the apostolic contention as to faith and works; he deprecated sects. "Love (he says) knows naught of schism." In the West, Rome began to show its authority, as seat of Peter and Paul. "Rome, in a presidency of love, our teacher," says Ignatius sweetly.[2] He exalts the bishop as representing God, though he recognizes no apostolic succession or priestly function of the clergy. He condemns Gnosticism for overwhelming Christian truth and (the Docetic) heresy,[3] which made Christ's sufferings only ap-

[1] Compare Ezek. xlviii. 39f. and Rev. xxi. 12f. and see Clemen, *Primitive Christianity and its non-Jewish Sources,* New York, 1912, p. 102f. For Paul's language reflecting Greek thought, see 2 Cor. xii. 2f. and Gal. vi. 17. The descent into hell is a refinement of a Mandaean mystery.

[2] Ignatius (c. 115?) first speaks of "Christianism" (Christianity as a body and as a state of mind), of "eucharist," and of the "Catholic" Church: "Where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic (universal) Church." He is also the first to mention the virgin birth (outside the N. T.), and to speak of Jesus as *iatros,* a mystery-term used with *soter* (Asklepios).

[3] Docetism was an old doctrine. Helen's "imaginary life" formed the basis for the earliest Greek "recantation" of heresy (the Palinode). Docetism is also found in Buddhism.

parent. He has no trinitarian formula (that in Matthew is late) or theory of transubstantiation.

The Didache, perhaps c. 120 (possibly before the second century), enjoins baptism (for adults) which is performed in living (running) water after a two days' fast, immersion preferred; if this be impracticable, one is sprinkled, with cold or warm water. The Love-feast (later abandoned) here appears to be one with the Lord's Supper, at which the formula was: "We thank Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus, thy servant."[1] The Didache recommends confession of sins in the church and communistic fellowship in property. Polycarp, reputed pupil of John and teacher of Irenaeus, in the middle of this century reviles a "son of Satan" who may be Marcion. This Marcion, the first reformer, eliminated from "Scripture" everything except Paul and an expurgated edition of Luke. To Justin also (martyred between 163 and 167) Marcion was an *advocatus diaboli*.[2] Clearly strife was already rife in the Church. To Justin, Christ is Son of God (but "in the second place") made manifest as the divine intelligence, hitherto shown less decidedly in Moses, Socrates, etc., who also were forms of the Logos. Acceptance of Christ with Justin is acceptance of his message, not of him as a metaphysical proposition. Every man according to his actions in life receives eternal punishment or salvation. Sin is forgiven when one fasts, prays for forgiveness, and is baptized. Within a few years of Justin's attack on Marcion (139–140), the *Shepherd* of Hermas shows a lenient attitude toward teachings inclining to Gnosticism (the author con-

[1] The post-exilic Isaiah uses of the martyred people the phrase *ebed Yahweh*, "servant of God," translated *παῖς θεοῦ*, hence *υἱὸς θεοῦ*, as *παῖς* means son as well as servant. This is Paul's conception of Jesus as the pre-existent Christ, yet, though Lord, the suffering servant of God. The conventional ideal of Matt. xi. 25–30; xxiii. 34–39 is drawn from Alexandrine Wisdom literature.

[2] Marcion's denial that Jesus was the Messiah led to the baptismal formula which afterwards produced the "Apostles' Creed."

fuses, as did Paul, 2 Cor. iii. 17, the Son with the Spirit) and teaches that works of supererogation win glory. For generations this work was regarded as Scripture (it was appealed to as authority for keeping Easter on Sunday).[1] Yet "John" had already formulated the creed to be: Christ was the Logos, Creator, God. "The Word was God." All else was matter of definition. In point of fact, it was no longer a question whether Christology, the doctrine about Christ, or the teachings of Jesus were the kernel of religion. Christology had won. Those who denied the metaphysical doctrine became unchristian.

Yet sundry heresies arose in this period, which has been called that of the Defenders of the Faith (Apologists). Not only did the Jewish Christians, chiefly Ebionites, deny Christ's divinity (other Jewish sects were the Elkasites and Nazarenes), but there sprang up in the second century the Alogoi, a Christian sect that denied that Christ was the Logos. Besides doctrinal difference, extravagance in discipline occurred. About 150, Montanus, a Cybele priest of Phrygia, became converted and wandered about drumming up recruits with two female companions, proclaiming himself to be the Spirit of Truth (John xvi. 13), who had come with a new discipline better than that of Christ, as he was a prophet superior to Christ. This discipline was strongly tinged with Cybele-elements, ecstatic manifestations and extreme self-mortification, in order to meet properly the second coming of Christ. Montanus made great use of Revelation; his religious phase was distinctly revivalistic; he and his women with their exhortations and music must have had a Salvation Army effect. It affected the fiery African Tertullian, who became suspect on account of his allegiance to Montanism. The sober Church deprecated its extravagance, as it also opposed the roaming

[1] By this time, although the collection of the N.T. was not settled till the third or fourth century, the Christian belief in the trinity, in Christ born of the Virgin Mary, as son of God, in the resurrection of the body, and the doctrine of atonement was fully established.

"prophets," who tramped through the country begging for gold but unwilling to work for a meal. The Didache warns against them: "If they will not work, give them nothing." Asceticism did not become a marked religious factor till the fourth century.

Two great teachers of the West appeared at the close of the second century, Irenaeus of Lyons, who wrote against heresies (181–189), and Tertullian of Carthage (c. 150–225). Irenaeus believed in the speedy coming of Christ. He believed also that Adam had made mortal what God had made immortal and that Christ re-made man immortal, thus redeeming him. Redemption generally in the East (the Church was still practically Eastern) meant not from sin but from death. Tertullian, a greater man, who founded a sect of his own in Africa, opposed the "mottled Christianity" (mixed with philosophy) of Antioch and Alexandria. Christianity to him meant a change of heart, "new law, new promise," not a theory of Christ's nature. Tertullian first used Latin as a medium of Church teaching; he also showed the Latin spirit and appealed to Church tradition as authority and guardian of truth. He had a deep sense of sin and of the need of salvation, which is won largely by good works. Confession and self-mortification follow baptism as means of grace. Unforgivable sin (e. g. adultery) leads to excommunication. In all this the doctrinė of the later Church is anticipated. Tertullian (against Praxeas) first used the word trinity in its present sense and anticipated the creed of the next century. But his view that the Church was the body of those who had experienced a change of heart, was not that of the Bishop of Rome (Kallistus, c. 220), who treated adultery as forgivable and regarded the Church as a body of the baptized, that is, a corporate group of mechanically admitted members, which group served as an ark of safety. Rome, whose founders, Romulus and Remus, now gave up their places on the calendar of feast-days, to Peter and Paul, as founders of the new Rome, was already becoming authoritative. She stood alone in the West, while

the Eastern Church had several schools, none of which would yield priority to another. In the third century the Western priesthood became organized, mediating between man and God; as the Supper became the Mass, a sacrifice performed by the priest.

Gnosticism, to which Tertullian objected, did not oppose Christianity but professed to interpret it. First of all, the Gnostics believed in development, not in creation. Irenaeus declares that "God alone can make something out of nothing" (*de nihilo fecisti coelum et terram,* says Augustine), but the Gnostic regarded *nihil ex nihilo* as axiomatic. The world is evil;[1] it is "made" only by an evil being opposed to God and man's soul, which is now bound by planetary spirits and can be released by Christ's knowledge of the mysteries. Paul's use of *stoicheia* and *kosmokratores* (Gal. iv. 3; Eph. i. 21) is Gnostic (compare allusions to probable Gnosticism in 1 Tim. i. 4; vi. 20; 2 Tim. iii. 6–8). Knowledge, not faith, saves; Christ frees entangled but divine Wisdom in the soul. Salvation is open only to the wise or spiritual, the elect. This doctrine, essentially Orphic, is built upon the hypostasis of attributes (Wisdom, etc.). Docetism (see above), taught by Simon Magus, explains Christ's humanity as unreal.

Gnostic elements entered into Ebionitism and its fantastic spiritism[2] affected the Alexandrian Christians; but it led to the result that Christianity, which to Gnosticism was a theosophic myth, was obliged to define itself, examine its

[1] Evil is due to an antagonistic spirit or is inherent in matter or is "absence of light," according to different Gnostic views. In the O.T. and early Greek philosophy, God is not "light"; this is a Gnostic idea. Gnosticism is older than the second century, when it first developed powerful schools, such as those of Basilides and Valentinus, c. 130–160.

[2] Not to be overlooked is the admixture of magical elements in the interpretation of Christianity, the notion that Christ came to save the world from the devil, who wished to prevent the sun from rising, etc. These vulgar and ignorant views prevailed among the common people from the fourth to the sixth century. They derive, however, from the old mystery-element, the struggle against the powers of darkness, which Christianity had absorbed.

own documents, and ethically to insist on moral rules disregarded by the Gnostics, who "calmed the spirit for philosophy" by repression or by indulgence (Nicolaitan view, like that of the Hindu Tantrists). Owing to Gnostic misuse of the texts, the Church had to determine its canon. Thus Irenaeus already cites the four gospels as fundamental, "like the four winds or four quarters" (c. 186). Tatian (pupil of Justin), who held Encratite views (condemning wine, flesh, and marriage), about 160 made a combination gospel, Diatessaron, used for three centuries in Syria. This process of definition and exclusion, however, led again to greater strictness of doctrine, which in turn added greater authority to the Church, giving it power to decide orthodox doctrine, as against any individual interpretation.

Origen at Alexandria (200–250) tried to reconcile science and religion. Like his predecessors Justin and Clement (c. 200), Origen held that God was always educating man. Whatever is most perfect in humanity is divine. Christ is the culmination of a progressive manifestation; in him the divine Fatherhood is freely realized. "Whatever has been rightly said among all men belongs to us Christians; all wise men previously have dimly seen the truth through the Logos-seed implanted in them" (Justin). Clement taught the immanence of God; men are akin to God.[1] He also was the first clearly to assert the doctrine of free-will. Love of God to him is apprehension of the good, a knowledge higher than faith. His follower, Origen (Egyptian by birth and name), unfortunately combined with Christian theology a mass of occult Gnostic teaching: sin is due to obsession by evil spirits; the body is inflicted as punishment for sin (man has a pre-existent soul); stars are intelligent beings; all rational existence will be merged at last in one unity, embracing Christ and Satan; and (Universalist doctrine) all

[1] Clement of Alexandria, head of its school of religion, succeeded Pantaenus, the "missionary to India," who is said to have found there the Aramaean gospel of Matthew. The immanence of God is also a Stoic doctrine (see p. 542). Plotinus lived at this time, whose spirtual enthusiasm affected Augustine.

souls will finally be saved. Salvation comes from illumination. Christ's blood is a ransom, paid to Satan to free souls from the evil power. The blood of martyrs is also a redeeming power.[1] But Origen's fantastic ideas, like his allegorical interpretation of Scripture, are of little account. What is important is his liberality. He based Christianity on the history of man, not on dogma. As a scholar, he is noteworthy also for having first made a critical edition of the Bible. He declared, too, that the son was *homoousian* (of the same nature) with the Father, though he made Christ a "second God," a God subordinate to *The* God. In face of a cultured scepticism, it was the task of Origen to prove that the God-man exists as such; only thus could the hesitant world of scholars be brought to the faith. The Logos-doctrine thus won a practical as well as a metaphysical value. It not only declared that Christ was the Logos but maintained that the Logos was Christ, giving a philosophical foundation to Christianity.

Origen went to Rome but was disheartened by two things: first, the vice and venality of Roman Church officials, and second, the prevalence of the Noetian heresy, which denied the three persons of the trinity save as manifestations of one. This led to the Patripassian or Monarchian view, that God suffered in Christ's person (below).

The Bishop of Rome in the middle of the third century says that the true creed will not divide the monad, divine unity, nor make Christ a creature. But he says also that within the Church some believe that Christ is an emanation (Sabellian heresy); some assume three hypostases not of one substance; and some make Son and Spirit creatures of God. Paul of Samosata (Bishop of Antioch, where Arius lived), and Sabellius rejected the "three persons." Christ

[1] Justin's soul had welcomed martyrdom but some Alexandrine fathers evaded the test when Decius' furious persecution came. If the blood of martyrs did not redeem, it strengthened the Church, which their death was intended to weaken. Under Nero, Domitian, Decius, and Valerian, 250–259, the blood of the martyrs was indeed the "seed of the Church."

to God is as light to the sun; Logos and Spirit are, respectively, illuminating and enlivening powers or modes of God. Origen says: "Some affirm that the Saviour is God. Though we do not affirm this, yet we ascribe authority to him as the Logos, Wisdom, Justice, and Truth of God."

Thus began the dispute, the settlement of which at last formulated the Nicene Symbol (creed). Arius, born 256, imbibed at Antioch the view that the Son was subordinate, not *autotheos,* very God, co-eternal with God; "there was when he was not." Christ is a creature, God's agent in creating the world.[1] Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, supported him. Constantine, who after the persecutions of Decius, Valerian, and Diocletian (250–303) had granted the Church toleration, found it necessary to settle the matter by an ecumenical council of some three hundred delegates of the Church, the first general council. Under imperial pressure Arius was at first condemned, but the contest lasted for fifty years, led by Athanasius, successor of Alexander, who had opposed Arius. Eventually both parties appealed to Rome, where Athanasius was recognized as orthodox; but the Bishop of Rome in 350–355 lost his position because of imperial disfavour, and Athanasius was condemned by the Milan Council. Yet Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus still supported him and, with this backing, it was at last decided that Christ was not of similar nature but of the same nature with God. Many maintained that this view was heterodox. Arius was about to be reinstated as orthodox when he died (336). Trinitarian metaphysical orthodoxy at any rate was established against a respectable body of protestants, and it seems to have been due mainly to imperial will that one side succeeded in enforcing its belief.[2]

[1] He is thus one with Yahweh, as was held by Clement, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and other theologians against the Gnostic view that Yahweh was an evil spirit (because creator).

[2] A belief in the trinity (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) was held by all Christians; but just how the members of it were related to each other was first decided at Nicaea in 325.

The Antioch school held in general that God dwells apart from his world and that the Son is a creature; the Alexandrian, that God is immanent in his world and that the Son is not a creature. Under Theodosius in 381 the first Constantinople Council reaffirmed the Nicene Symbol. But Arianism survived long among the Goths, Burgundians, and Lombards. It is not identical with Socinianism (Faustus Socinus, 1539–1604); for Socinus explained Christ as mere man, while Arius made him neither man nor God. Modern followers of Arius were Milton, Newton, and Locke, and the early American Unitarians, like Channing (who believed in a pre-existent Christ), while English Unitarians of the eighteenth century were rather Socinian. At present, Unitarians, like Athanasius, emphasize Christ's humanity, though, to quote Chadwick, they make the proposition general and say that all men are both divine and human.

At this point must be mentioned a matter historically more important than metaphysics. At the Council of Arles (314) were present English Bishops of London, York, and perhaps Lincoln. Patrick was born about 389. Pelagius (who may have been English or Irish) disputed with Augustine, c. 400, at Rome. These are indications how far missionary effort had already been extended.

Minor disputes soon arose in the Church. Nestorius of Antioch created intense excitement by denying that Mary was mother of God, maintaining that two natures and two persons were connected in Christ. After years of painful mutual anathemas between Antiochan and Alexandrian theologians, the Council at Chalcedon (451) decided once for all that Christ has one person and two natures, not two persons and two natures, and not, as Eutyches had said, one person and one nature, monphysite heresy.[1] Mean-

[1] Adherents of Eutyches formed the schismatic Coptic, Abyssinian, and Armenian churches. That Christ had two wills (as having two natures) was declared to be orthodox doctrine in 680 at the third Council of Constantinople.

time Nestorius, condemned at Ephesus in 431, founded his Chaldee (Nestorian) Church of Eastern Protestants, which sent missionaries to the far East, permitted clergy to marry, and condemned the use of images and pictures, later expressly sanctioned by the orthodox Eastern Church at the second Nicean, seventh general, Council, in 787.

The Eastern Church, however, had one more problem to settle, ere it sank into that repose from which it has never since emerged. The Nicean Council had strangely neglected to formulate the status of the Holy Spirit, which an earlier time had on occasion confused with the Logos and even interpreted as the Mother Spirit. Thus Bardesanes (died 223) called the Spirit the "secret Mother." Some believed the Spirit to be consubstantial with the Father; some (Semi-Arians) denied the Spirit's divinity. Bishop Macedonius (a sect was named for him) taught that the Spirit is a creature and servant of God, while the Son is divine and one with the Father. But, under Gregory of Nazianzus, a formal definition of the Spirit was made, as "life-giving Lord, proceeding from the Father, and to be worshipped and glorified with the Father and the Son." Epiphanius and Augustine, representative of the West, on the other hand, derived the Spirit "from the Father and from the Son," *filioque*. In 589, at Toledo, this Filioque was added to the confession, and the refusal of the Eastern Church to adopt it sundered the Churches. The separation did not take place formally till after the time of John of Damascus (750), but he was the last Easterner to be heard with respect in the West.

After the Second Nicean Council (the seventh ecumenical council) in 787, the Greek Church (officially the Holy Eastern Orthodox Catholic Apostolic Church) went its own way. Intellectually it did not go far, though geographically it extended itself over Bulgaria in the ninth and Russia in the tenth centuries. But the new problems of the West did not affect it; it had no reforms, only schisms on metaphysical grounds (above). It attached itself to symbols and

mysteries, shows and ceremonies, and divided itself into bodies under different jurisdictions ruled by Patriarchs and local synods.[1]

The chief difference between the Eastern and Western Churches, besides the theological dispute, is that the East cared little for the question of redemption. It conceived it as a means of freeing the soul from death, not from sin, and never advanced beyond apostolic thought. As compared with the subjective practical religion of Rome, it is metaphysical and very ritualistic. Sculpture and organs it taboos, but pictures it adores (literally). It has threefold immersion, infant communion, anoints with oil (but not for extreme unction), has communion *sub utraque* (in both kinds) and leavened bread, exalts the cross and forbids the crucifix.[2] The non-clerical character of the monastic orders is that of the early Western Church. Prayer is made standing in an eastern direction, as in the apostolic Church. Absolution is given with the words (used also by the Waldenses) "*may* God forgive thee." The Eastern Church has its own Bible and the Catechism of Philaret (1839) is the chief manual of belief. On the whole, this Church has remained Hellenic in spirit, a divine mystery-religion, preoccupied with the occult, delighted with spectacles, superstitious, not inimical to the flesh, sensuously serene, not spiritually stirred.[3] An attempt was made in the fifteenth century to effect a reunion with the Western Church. This was accomplished in form only and the new union soon dissolved under political pressure.

[1] Some of the national schismatic churches have as rivals United Churches, Greek, Nestorian, Armenian, Syrian, Coptic, Abyssinian, which are partly Roman, accepting the Filioque and submitting to the Roman pope, though they retain clerogamy (except for monks and bishops) and communion in both kinds. They are modern (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). Of the National Syrian Jacobites (of 451) and Marionites (of 680), the latter have become subject to the Roman pope (in the East *papa* or *pope* is a general priestly title).

[2] The cross appeared as a symbol in the Western Church (Catacombs) in the third century, the crucifix not till the seventh.

[3] Yet it has developed pietistic sects like the Doukhabors. It also

The Roman Church had gradually built up its power at Rome itself. As early as 190, Pope Victor, who, like Tertullian, used Latin, high-handedly excommunicated the whole Eastern Church because it would not celebrate Easter on the Sunday after the Paschal full moon, though Eastern delegates urged that they followed the Apostle John in celebrating it on 14th Nisan (Passover). But Rome, following authority in faith, followed the Roman way in forms. It made the ceremonial of old Rome its own, adapting its religious processions, its feast-days, etc., or did as it chose. Because more convenient than the apostolic custom, it made Easter come on Sunday; because inconvenient, in another sense, it did away with the apostolic Love-feast. It ruled as it would. The coercive policy became its settled method from the third century when it became Latin. It conceived of itself Jewishly as a community ruled by God's delegates through law, whereas the Eastern Church conceived of itself not as a body receiving doctrines and sacraments but as the soul of the world, consisting of members that were individual elect souls.

Its spirit was saved not from within but from without. Africa gave it the fiery Tertullian (above) and the same land gave it Augustine. But Africa gave it also Cyprian of Carthage (d. 258), who laid the ecclesiastical framework of the Church by developing the prestige of the bishop, as representative of God, having the authority of Christ, who as a priest offered himself in sacrifice. That sacrifice the bishop repeats when he celebrates the sacrament of the eucharist. Rome accepted this doctrine gladly, as she had accepted the teaching of Tertullian (though otherwise she rated him a heretic), that all culture before Christ was sinful;[1] that the Church had received faith as its property

conceals survivals of old Cybele-worship among the more illiterate masses.

[1] In the East, Marcion (above) also held that even Judaism was not the work of a good God. In general, however, the East took a more liberal view and regarded all previous religions as preparatory to Christianity and thus containing elements of truth.

(as Irenaeus said, " a deposit ") ; that heresy was only self-will.

Augustine (354–430), the constructive mind of the Western Church, established the Roman Church on a firm foundation. In regard to the Arian question, he accepted, as did the whole later Church, Roman and Protestant, the Nicean theology and the Chalcedonian Christology. Yet, like the Rome of old, he was not much interested in abstractions; his work lay in practical theology, in the relation between God and man rather than the relation between God and Christ. But in one utterance he presents an interesting parallel to the greatest of India's early theologians who (c. 600 B. C.) said that Brahma could be defined only by No, No (by negations). " If asked to define the trinity," says Augustine, " we can say only that it is *Not this* and *Not that.*" John of Damascus echoes this: " All that we can know of the divine nature is that it is not to be known " (this appears to revert to Plotinus).

Following Arnobius (c. 290), who degraded man to exalt God, and taught that only some souls are saved (because immortal), Augustine explained his doctrine of original sin, grace, and predestination. He was at first, in Africa, a disciple of the Manichaeans, whose principles were later taken up by the Albigenses or Cathari in the twelfth century. He was influenced first by Neo-Platonism and then by Bishop Ambrose (who became bishop without having been a priest) of Milan, where Augustine became Professor of Rhetoric. His chief works were directed against the Manichaeans; against Pelagius, who proclaimed salvation by faith and declared that all men are born sinless; and against Donatus, founder of a sectarian African church (which lasted for two centuries), who demanded that the Church separate itself from the world, and taught that a Christian must have a personal experience of religion and need not belong to the Roman Church. Donatus was severe on apostates weakened by persecution; in his views he was supported to some extent by Novatian at Rome.

Although Augustine knew little Greek and no Hebrew,[1] yet his eloquence and constructive imagination established the dogmatic leadership of the Roman Church. His famous treatise, *The City of God* (*De Civitate Dei*), was written in 426. His sister founded the order of Augustinian nuns, but the monks of his name, to whose order Luther belonged, were a later mediaeval body. His theory of predestination is the product of a legal Roman mind, and it is significant that it made no impression on the Church till it was revived and systematized by Anselm and Calvin, both of whom were bred to legal study. His attitude is genuinely old Roman, a business or legal attitude, concerned with adjusting relations in a case where there is a guilty party and a plaintiff. In the course of his *De Civitate Dei,* Augustine shows that human empires wane (the Goths captured Rome in 410), but God's empire grows as the other fails; this divine empire is the (Roman) Church. This attitude became that of the Church itself when, in 380, an edict of Theodosius made Roman faith the test of orthodoxy, and when, in 445, Emperor Valerian recognized the Roman Pope as head of the Church.[2]

There was no early consensus as to redemption and grace. The Gnostics held that man is sinful by nature, as is all creation, but the early Fathers said that man was a free moral agent, till Pelagius "was permitted to speak falsely that the Fathers might learn to speak rightly." Justin, Clement, and Origen were content to say that God helps him whose soul inclines to will aright (will is here a function of the soul). Original sin is not really sin, but an inherited disease, which inclines to the wrong: "Sinless at

[1] He used the Latin texts of which there were several before Jerome, whose (Vulgate) version (384–400) supplanted all others. Cyprian (c. 250) already cites Latin texts of the Bible.

[2] Chrysostom, who was banished from his office at Constantinople by the Chalcedon Council in 403 and died in 407, recognized the Bishop of Rome as Peter's successor "in primacy of honour but not supremacy of jurisdiction." This reflects the general Eastern view of Rome. Chrysostom, like Nestorius, promoted missions but opposed "Mariolatry," though he favoured the veneration of saints.

birth, we sin from choice." Thus too the Antioch school: "None sins through another's sin."[1] So Chrysostom: "When man chooses well, God co-operates." The soul, created in each instance, is not propagated; its action is its own; its connexion with Adam is not immediate but through the flesh, mediate; hence infants are born guiltless.

But here a word as to the soul's pre-existence is needed. That the intellectual preceded the material, that souls came before bodies, was the view of the Essenes, of Origen, and of all those who regarded a body as a punishment for sin: all souls were created once for all in the beginning. This was derided by Jerome and Augustine, and was a view obsolete by the end of the fourth century. The opposed theory, that each soul is created at birth (see Zech. xii. 1), prevailed in the East and had adherents in the West. "God," says Jerome, "fabricates souls daily." Every man's body is derived from Adam; his soul comes straight from God. But against this theory, Tertullian advanced still another, and it is this which in the West soon became the working hypothesis of its anthropology, viz., body and soul are both propagated. God has done nothing since he rested on the seventh day. The soul of Adam was created holy; but in Adam it sinned and today man inherits that sinful soul, as he does that mortal body, which Adam transmitted. In 461, Leo the Great declared that "every man is formed *soul and body* in the womb, and this is the Catholic belief." In a letter to Jerome, Augustine says he does not know certainly about this matter (his *De Anima* is against creationism); but his theory of predestination seems to imply that he holds the soul as descended from Adam and tainted by his sin. The later Church reverted to creationism, as less materializing; but Luther revived the Tertullian "traducianism," as best

[1] Compare the Karma doctrine, which insists on the same point. A further interesting parallel is that between the Buddhist "thirst" or desire as originating evil and the Christian source in ἐπιθυμία, desire ("concupiscence"). There is of course no historical connection.

explaining original sin. Calvin, however, remained a creationist.[1]

That the soul is born sinful, is the view of Cyprian, Ambrose, and Hilary (third and fourth centuries). Augustine, whose own spiritual struggles had shown him that the will itself is perverse and is determined by the state of the soul ("immanent determinism"), gradually gave up the view that God co-operates (synergism) and decided that the Holy Spirit must do all, even renovate the will (monergism); hence faith is a gift of God and, since faith is necessary to salvation, only they whom God elects are saved. Original sin must first of all be erased by baptism; the unbaptized, even infants, are damned; all pagans are damned; what is not of faith is sin; ergo, even old Roman virtues are really all sins (*De Civitate Dei*).

Pelagius, an "indeterminist," taught, on the other hand, that sin is due to temptation and example, not to inheritance. Grace remits sin; regeneration comes from illumination of the intellect by truth. What is called Semi-Pelagianism holds that evil but not guilt is inherited; it upholds a combination of free-will and grace. This Semi-Pelagianism, after being sanctioned by the Councils of Arles and Lyons in 475, was adopted by the Council of Trent in 1545 (with synergism); while Pelagianism was cast out as a heresy, in 416 and 418, and even roused the East, which promptly condemned it also, at Ephesus, in 431. Some Eastern bishops, however, sided with Pelagius; some said his view was "not essential." Luther was a stronger determinist than Calvin. The argument as to inherited guilt or inherited evil was revived by the controversy between Calvinists and the Semi-Pelagian Arminians (the followers of one Hermann). The Semi-Pelagian theory of inherited evil has modified the Calvinism of the English Church.

Augustine's unrelenting logic took up also the relation between God's justice and mercy, which later troubled the

[1] In America, traducianism was taught by Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Hopkins.

Mohammedans. To a Christian the problem expresses itself thus: How are infinite mercy and infinite justice correlated, and how is justice satisfied by Christ's suffering? As already remarked, expiation did not trouble the Jewish Christians; to them, repentance and righteousness made atonement. Other early believers (or unbelievers) assumed, with Marcion, that divine suffering was apparent only and hence was not expiatory; or, with Basilides, that Christ's suffering was human only and hence finite, and therefore not vicarious. Ignatius and Polycarp, reputed pupils of John, merely repeat Scripture (Christ died for our sins); Barnabas and Clement, reputed pupils of Paul, say that "the [Christ's] soul is given for man's soul." That is, a ransom is paid; but from what? Irenaeus says bluntly, "from the devil." Origen goes a step further and says the ransom is paid to the devil. Gregory of Nazianzus knows of this theory (390), but he questions its correctness; Christ suffers, not to pay Satan but to satisfy God.[1]

But Augustine has no hesitation in saying: "It would have been unjust if Satan had not had the right to rule over his captive (man)." On the other hand, both Gregory the Great and John of Damascus say that atonement is paid to God and not to the devil. Here the subject was dropped, for the Church trusted rather to justification through works, till the almost Protestant "Bishop of Canterbury," Anselm, in his *Cur Deus Homo* (1035–1109) reasoned the matter out on the basis of Roman law: God has been robbed and must be reimbursed. Satan's claim is denied. God's justice must be satisfied. It is God's compassion for man that leads to the sacrifice, through which alone justice can be satisfied.

But the Church preferred the theory of Abelard and Lombard (1164): Christ's suffering conjoined with baptism

[1] This Gregory recognizes purification by fire, which under Gregory the Great (c. 600) assumes the form of Purgatory, with deliverance therefrom through intercessory prayers and masses. The early church of Rome has no purgatory; the believer expects to go immediately to God.

and penance gives remission of sin.) Thomas Aquinas (1270), agreeing with Bonaventura, though the latter was not uninfluenced by Anselm, says that if God sees fit to remit sin, it is not "unjust" for him to do so; God is above legal satisfaction. The Christian soul, member of the Church, which is one with Christ, can partly redeem itself (through works of supererogation), as Christ himself not only satisfies justice but adds merit to the redeemed. This view has remained that of the Roman Church; baptism, character, good works, conformity to law are items tending to remission of sins (so the Council of Trent, 1545–1563).[1]

This discussion has anticipated the progress of the Church along other lines. In the first Christian era, Chiliasm, the expectation of Christ's near advent to reign a thousand years before the last day, had led many devout souls to become ascetic. Ready for Christ, they renounced the world and, sometimes, imitating earlier pagan associations, collected in coenobite colonies. By the fourth century most of the Fathers had renounced all hope of Christ's speedy advent (Eusebius calls it a fable);[2] but the monastic practice had already been regulated by Basil the Great (d. 379), who laid the foundation of Eastern monachism in Cappadocia. Athanasius, it is said, brought the idea to the West. By the fifth century, there were monasteries in Italy, Africa, and Gaul. The first well regulated order was that of the Benedictines (529), whose regulations were adopted by others. Personal salvation was the aim of these passive saints, who were lay brothers, till Gregory the Great converted them into active priestly missionaries. Cassiodorus at Vivarium at the same time (i. e. 600) made their home a seminary of learning. But, till 910, they were not under

[1] Protestants think that this "confuses sanctification with justification." See Luther's view, below. Some early Christians (second century) held that the eucharist was mystically "the medicine of immortality."

[2] It was revived in the year 1000 and later by the Anabaptists; also by the Millerites and other distraught sects crying: "the day is at hand; prepare to meet thy God."

papal jurisdiction, and being uncontrolled they became more or less corrupt. Yet they were by no means idle or vicious bodies. The Cluny reform then incorporated monastic opposition to simony, to clerical marriage, and to papal election by party politics (the Cluny movement forced the election by cardinals). A century before, monks had brought Christianity to Germany. The reform movement also expressed itself in new orders. Bernhard's Cistertians were such a reformed Benedictine order (eleventh century). The armies of the Church, the Knights Templar, etc., were formed at this time. From the last quarter of the ninth to the second half of the eleventh century, the Church was controlled by the corrupt aristocracy of Rome; but when it shook itself free, there sprang up the reformatory orders of mendicant friars, the Franciscans (1209), and Dominicans (1215). They followed the life of Jesus as imitated by that mystical saint, Francis of Assisi (d. 1226), who bore on his body the stigmata of Christ and in his heart the desire to be like his Lord. This desire was expressed by vows of humility, poverty, love, devotion, and obedience. These friars in their first estate were the great missionaries of their time and their reformation lasted till what is known as the Reformation was well-nigh at hand.

But, between them and the Protestant era, came the fourteenth century, when the Church was rent to its foundation, for the papal throne was claimed by two Popes whose mutual anathemas shocked the world. Then spirituality seemed to have left the Church. Boccaccio and Dante show that the ecclesiastic, bishop, priest, monk, or friar, was often synonymous with crime, meanness, and lust. Yet, before entering upon this topic, to trace the Church orders a little further, the Reformation itself produced one of the most important, that of Ignatius Loyola (1534), whose Society of Jesus dedicated itself to the service of the Church absolutely, and whose missionaries with wonderful devotion laid the principles of Christianity before the new and savage world of America, as well as before the ancient civilization of the

East.[1] Another result of the Reformation was the formation, within the Church, of the Augustinian party called Jansenists. Jansen (1585–1638) contended against the Jesuits at Louvain. His sect was expelled from France by Louis XV; but it still forms a schismatic Netherland Church. Jansen's *Augustinus,* which was published in 1640, denies free will.

During the period just reviewed the Church was intellectually alert. Its formal philosophy, though hampered by orthodox requirements, was subtle. But the most important movement in it passed without appreciation of its significance. This was when, after Anselm had enunciated his *credo ut intelligam* (dogmatic truth must be made intelligible), Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican, and Duns Scotus, a Franciscan, founded two schools, in which understanding and will were respectively made the highest principle. Therewith the former union of faith and knowledge was broken. At the same time the identity of thought and being was investigated. The Nominalists, of the eleventh century, denied reality to concepts; while Anselm and other Realists held to the old *Universalia ante rem.*[2] The goal was then sought through pantheism and mysticism. Scotus Erigena, in the ninth, and Eckhardt and Bernhard, in the twelfth

[1] That Jesuitical and Jesuit have become Protestant terms of reproach is due to three reasons. Devotion to the Church involves obedience to it expressed by complete service, including sacrifice, of one's own personality; higher truth must be served even by evasion or untruth. To this ethics, corporate good is supreme. Second, liberal politics in England opposed the Stuarts supported by the Jesuits, who thus became odious to the Commonwealth party. Third, Jesuits are often supposed to have invented the horrors of the Inquisition, which was really invented in 1232 to enforce the prohibition, of three years before, against the laity reading the Bible. Again, an Alva was merely a political agent. To balance Jesuit errors (many of them those of their day), the historian in his general estimate should weigh the life of the Jesuit Fathers among our Redskins, for example: their heroic courage, their frequent martyrdom; and, from a human point of view, the unrivalled work they have done for the history of religions.

[2] Abelard, who was condemned by the Church as a rationalist in 1121 and 1140, held a middle view, *Universalia in re.* His answer

century, had been respectively precursors of these two doctrines, which were revived by the pantheist Giordano Bruno and the mystic Jacob Boehme (sixteenth century).

Herewith closes the period of Church-philosophy. In the seventeenth century, Descartes assumed as the foundation of his philosophy not orthodoxy but doubt, and Descartes' affirmation of the reality of a knowledge of things was based on the veracity of God as known through man's innate idea of the perfect. Thereafter, philosophy might, or might not, support the Church. It was no longer the nursling of religion.

Both Bernhard, who held that faith, though an intuition of truth, is based on authority, as science is based on reason, and Anselm, who invented the topic called Evidences,[1] were influential in furthering that veneration for the Mother of God which is often called Mariolatry. Nestorius, in 431, was condemned for his attitude toward this revered Mother, the only mortal born sinless and going direct to God, as the Fathers taught. Intense excitement was aroused in the Eastern Church by Nestorius' repudiation of Mariolatry. The priests who had defended the " Mother of God " in the controversy were escorted home by a tumultuous mob of enthusiasts. Devotion to her in the West was of later growth, but in the thirteenth century they that neglected her were fined and in 1854 Pius IX promulgated the doctrine that Mary was immaculately conceived. But her wor-

to *credo ut intelligam* was *Non credendum nisi prius intellectum.* Occam, who opposed papal control of the State in the fourteenth century, revived Nominalism, but after him the identity of thought and being was no longer urged in its scholastic form.

[1] The Fathers' evidence (of God's existence) was either based on teleology or on the subjective effect of his presence; divinity in Augustine's phrase, " impinges on the soul "; God is known by being experienced; we know he exists because we love him. Formal ontology appears first in Anselm's argument (1033-1109): The mind possesses the idea of God as a perfect being; hence such a being exists. For a being who may not exist is not most perfect and a necessarily existent being cannot be conceived as not existent; hence the mind conceiving of a perfect being must conceive of a real being.

ship is not permitted, only "hyperdoulia," or great veneration, higher than the doulia paid to a saint, to whom also one does not pray, but cries *ora pro nobis,* pray for us. Early veneration is shown by the remains in the catacombs. There Mary with the child in her lap appears as early as the first and second centuries. The accepted type of the Mother of God may have been of Egyptian origin (Isis).

The first case of "intercession of saints" is found c. 200 in the Gnostic *Acts of Paul and Thecla,* cited by Tertullian.[1] Formal canonization was at first a sensible safeguard against a multiplicity of doubtful saints. As it was, the Church inadvertently canonized Buddha (St. Josaphat). A few popes have been canonized, among them Pius V, who excommunicated Queen Elizabeth. But most of the Roman saints are worthy Christians, apostles, the early Fathers (except those incapacitated by heresy or other blemishes, like Tertullian and Origen) and later worthies credited with piety and miracles, either in person or through relics. They have a vision of God and intercourse with God, according to Origen and Justin; they wear aureoles, says Aquinas, instead of common gold crowns.[2] The nimbus occurs first in the third century pictures of Christ; by the fifth century it adorns any saint. It may have come, in the first instance, from the head-shield of Greek statues.

The veneration of images, prohibited in the Eastern Church, has been practised since the fifth century and probably before that. Many old divinities of Greece have become, as images, converted into Christian objects of veneration. Gregory the Great censured the Bishop of Marseilles for having defaced the images in his diocese (c. 600), which shows that official opinion was not uniform. In 1563, the Church declared that images were only mnemonic, reminders

[1] Prayers to martyrs occur as early as the fourth century. Augustine recognizes prayers for the dead. It is of interest to see that in his day it was a novelty to sing psalms in church.

[2] Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* systematized theological science in the thirteenth century (Lombard had attempted this in the twelfth). Aquinas' work was endorsed by the Pope in 1879.

of piety. Reformed churches now employ them for this purpose.

All Christian creeds agree in making the lives of the good eternal in heaven; but Christians differ as to a probationary period and as to eternal damnation. Augustine, who speaks of a "secret receptacle" of souls (purgatorial), postulates an aionian fate for the damned, as did Calvin (Matt. xxv. 41). Origen speaks of eternal punishment, yet not as a reality, for man can free himself, but as a beneficial *deception of God* (to induce good behaviour). Annihilation of sinners was taught by Arnobius. Hell, in mediaeval theology, lies remote from heaven. Next to hell is purgatory; next to that, the *limbus infantum,* who die unbaptized; next to that, the *limbus patrum,* where Christ went to preach to those in bondage, the abode of Old Testament saints (also called the Bosom of Abraham).[1]

The Roman Church extended the sacramental idea, from baptism and the Last Supper, to include confirmation, penance, extreme unction, ordination, and marriage. Only for the ordained priest does God change the bread and wine into the eucharist as a sacrifice. Jesus was himself baptized but did not baptize. Both the original sacraments have been traced by comparative study to magical ideas. Baptism, as we have seen, is magic lustration practised by many races to expel demons or evil. Baptism "in the Name" reverts to the hypostasis of the Name, of one whose power is thereby conveyed to the one baptized. It purifies from sickness as well as from sin, as does oil, used to keep off sickness and other devils in life after death. Even in the fifth century, baptism was a medicine for disease. Baptism to wash away sin and as a symbol of the resurrection is, says Tertullian, a Mithra-rite inspired by the devil to

[1] Luther favoured more than did Calvin an intermediate state after death and this view was received and extended by Swedenborg. There has been no consensus as to what sort of body would rise again. According to Aquinas, it will be like the earthly body, but it will "move faster." The whole subject was matter of opinion not of dogma.

mock Christianity. The Name gives the power of the divinity invoked. Lustrating water and Name together are irresistible against devil and evil.

So of the Supper, Justin tells us that bread and a cup of water (the early Christians used either water or wine; Paul speaks of the cup only) made part of the Mithra ritual, which bread signifies immortality. There is, indeed, no doubt that the idea back of these rites was mystical. The eating of a divine body is an early communion which makes the worshipper one with the god. But the Church spiritualizes. Augustine says that the eucharist contains a spiritual presence. The early congregation described by Justin seems to regard it as mnemonic, others as a means of obtaining immortality. As early as the eighth century, however, the Church of the East regarded the eucharist as the real body and blood. This doctrine, called transubstantiation in 1215 by the Roman Church, was known earlier than it was named. In 1050, Berengarius was excommunicated for denying the real presence. In the sixteenth century, the Jesuits proclaimed the *opus operatum;* the sacraments effect in the penitent soul a disposition to grace.

The Reformers differed as to the eucharist. Luther clung to the Church doctrine, as approved in 1215, but modified it to consubstantiation, the real presence is not *in* but *with* the eucharist. Calvin explained that the bread and wine are not mere signs; Christ is "truly and efficaciously, but not physically" present. Zwingli (d. 1531) and the English reformers, on the other hand, maintained the mnemonic or symbolic character of the eucharist.

That Paul was consciously bent on overcoming the powers of evil is probably true, but it may also be true that he had at the same time already taken a higher view; to him baptism is not a mere means of expelling a demon. As to the Supper, Christ himself says, "Do this in memory of me." Whatever the original pagan idea (and that is unquestioned), it remains doubtful whether even the most primitive Christian idea had not already left it behind. All

historians admit that a religious practice taken into a new cult may be without its most primitive significance, as the victor's laurel no longer was meant as a guard against demons, though that was the laurel's first use. To say that the principle of the eucharist, when first employed by Christians, was one with that which inspired the maenad to devour the bull-god, is to ignore relative values, because, according to Christian belief, there is no union without previous purification, not physical but spiritual.

The Church from the fourth century possessed as it were a body and a soul. Its body was the huge establishment with pope, cardinals, bishops, priests, friars, wealth acquired by gift and trade (a crown exchanged for the "states of the church" in the eighth century) — a swollen body and often in an unhealthy condition. Its soul was in that undying aspiration for a diviner state and a purer life than was easily attainable in a body devoted to the world. The lowest moral ebb of the Church was when the popes lost control of it and became creatures of the Roman nobility, in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The Holy Roman Empire was founded in 962. Even materially there was not much gained by it, for the king who went barefoot to Canossa in 1077 afterwards in royal power got to San Angelo. In fact, every union of Church and State, papal or protestant, has only helped to stifle the soul without compensating advantage to the body, since the persistent soul has always disturbed the body by doing its best to escape.

Sometimes, however, it strove to cure the body without escaping. This was the meaning of that earliest revolt expressed in Montanus' revival; in the retreat of Benedict's monks; in the reform or spiritual outpouring in Francis' order; in the Council called by Pope Urban II (French by birth), to consider moral lapses on the part of the king (Philip I of France); in the impulse given by the same pope toward the first Crusade. For the Crusades, mixed as they were with worldly aims (romance, conquest), were

primarily spiritual enterprises. To approach Christ, to obtain forgiveness of sins, were the underlying motives of this mediaeval revival inspired by Urban and fired by Peter the Hermit. Even Francis of Assisi took part in one of the later crusades (in 1219).

The oldest formal Protestants were the Waldenses of Lombardy, supposed to derive from Waldo (1173). Without wishing to leave the Church body, they longed to revive its primitive piety and to read the Bible. They proclaimed their own opinions, holding the intercession of saints as naught and purgatory to be only an earthly state. A little later, in England, Wicklif (1350–1384) denounced the friars, called the Pope Antichrist, demanded independence, opposed the doctrine of transubstantiation, and made his own translation of the Bible. But, in the fourteenth century, the Pope, who owned a papal residence at Avignon, was now hand in glove with England's dearest foes, the French. Parliament already, in 1366, had refused to pay the papal taxes. Thus Wicklif revolted against the political as much as against the worldly attitude of the Church. But, directly influenced by him, Huss (1369–1415) began another crusade against vice, venality, falsehood, and other diseases of the Church body, exposed doctrinal errors, and left his followers in Hungary, the Unitas Fratrum or Moravians (as Wicklif had left the Lollards) to uphold his reform, declaring Christ to be the model and accepting only the authority of the Bible, till the new Reformation took up as its own these old contentions. Another primitive community was that of the Mennonites (whence came those who baptized only adults, mistakenly called re-baptizers, Anabaptists), who opposed infant baptism, would not take oaths or bear arms, and according to their lights endeavoured to follow Christ in all things. Savonarola (b. 1452), who opposed the pope, but still within the Church, and gave his life for reform before the fifteenth century, in his plea for the Bible and purity struck the very key-note of the soon following Reformation.

But the body was not responsive to the demands of the soul. Hence, stirred by the abuse of indulgences, whereby the Church had prostituted itself and sold its most valuable possession for worldly gain, Martin Luther (1483–1546) posted at last his ninety-five theses, at Wittenberg in 1517, and came out openly against papal abuses, in restricting the communion cup, in celebrating mass as a priestly sacrifice, in confession and absolution, in monastic vows (as contrary to nature), and in "meritorious acts," as impugning the complete validity of redemption without such acts.

In theology, the Protestant Augsburg confession was Nicean; in Christology, it was Chalcedonian; in anthropology, it was Augustinean. Luther's strictures on the papal view of sin and grace also were not his own but followed those of Erasmus, who, as early as 1515, had called, too, for a return to the authority of the Bible. As has been seen, Luther himself, an Augustinian monk, still clung to the view of the Church in regard to the eucharist, which he hardly modified by the substitution of one proposition for another. In sum, Luther's greatness did not consist in his originality but in his boldness, his moral courage. Born of peasants, himself rude, coarse, and fearless, he was needed as ethical regenerator. Erasmus was too finnicky a scholar for the purpose. Luther shook the religious world into a realization of its needs. Alexander VI had shown what a pope might be; Luther sought to show what a Christian ought to be. In doing this, he worked hampered by many limitations, personal and of the time. Nor was spirituality his characteristic. He dismissed the gentle Melanchthon (who was also so much of his time as to approve of burning Servetus at the stake) in 1537 with the benediction, "May God fill you with hatred of the pope." This Teutonic touch expresses, however, more than the animus of Luther. Christian charity characterized none of the Reformers. Against Zwingli, Luther was as incensed as against the pope, because the two reformers differed as to the eucharist, and because Luther believed in monergism and Melanchthon

in synergism, Luther felt that his friend was not really a true Christian.

But the great drawback to Luther's work was, that in shaking the religious world he shook it to pieces. What had been for centuries in the West one Church, now became a mass of fragments; or to speak in Biblical language, the one flock became a number of flocks, each penned in a separate fold, and each unhappily regarding the occupants of the other folds not as fellow-sheep of one shepherd, but as wolves disguised and herded by Satan.

A revivalist tendency had been active in Germany before Luther's day. Attempts to limit papal power were made as early as 1409. Religion based on personal relation with God was not a new idea. Political and social reform began in fact with the Renascence.[1] What then did Luther accomplish? First, he reinstated, not in theory but in fact, Biblical authority; then he freed the soul of Christianity from hierarchical, mediatorial, monastic control, and re-established as sacraments those of the primitive Church. For Church belief and Church control he substituted the simple message that the free grace of God in Christ is what makes guilty men blessed; a confident belief in God's grace suffices. What he disastrously ignored was, that religious fervour may legitimately express itself in emotion, in ritual, in the solemn ceremony; that the beauty of holiness is not necessarily embodied in ugliness of worship. He abolished fasting, though Christ fasted; he abolished deacons and bishops, though they belong to pre-papal Christianity; he rejected Roman control, only to substitute State-control; he rejected "merit" and "good works," only to find that the emphasis on "faith" resulted at once in defining faith in

[1] It is a mistake to suppose that papal authority was almost unrestricted before the Reformation. In England, before Protestantism had been thought of, Henry VII and Wolsey under Henry VIII had confiscated papal wealth and privileges. There was a universal tendency to circumscribe Church power. Lorenzo de' Medici permitted papal authority only "as it seemed good to him," *nisi quod ei videretur nihil permittens.*

terms of scholastic doctrine (whence interminable quarrels); while to those indifferent to doctrine the crude statement that good works were naught led (the Antinomians) to disregard of any good work.[1]

The theory of relative necessity of atonement became an Arminian doctrine in the seventeenth century. Its germ may be found in the division between Aquinas and Duns Scotus and their followers, the Thomasts and Scotists, on the infinite value of Christ's sufferings. Scotus, as a Nominalist, held to a nominal satisfaction of justice.

In regard to justification by faith, as the judicious Hooker says, "Holiness cannot be piacular," and the Reformers, Luther and Calvin, added to the objective treatment of Anselm (above) the element of faith and consciousness of redemption, that is, a work of man. But, to guard against error, the Reformation insisted that faith is not the procuring but the instrumental cause of justification. Faith does not justify but accepts what justifies. So Luther says: "Faith and works are inseparably connected, but faith alone without works appropriates atonement and thereby justifies, and yet faith does not remain alone" (works spontaneously follow). Calvin agrees with this. Both of course reject Anselm's quaint mediaeval view that the number of the saved exactly equals the number of fallen angels and that redemption was really intended to keep up to its full quota the number of pure spirits. Later Lutheran formulas (1576) stressed the difference between the passive and active obedience of Christ; the latter, obedience to the law, is "imputed to us for righteousness." Except for the Arminian view of Grotius, this is still the Protestant position in regard to soteriology. Justification is from God in consequence of faith; free grace, without merit, is granted to every believer and is followed by freedom from the law.[2]

[1] So the faith-doctrine in India has led to depreciation of all meritorious works and disregard of ethics.

[2] Grotius (1645) held the view, called *acceptilatio*, of relative not absolute necessity of atonement. Vicarious satisfaction is not in this view a *quid pro quo* but an *aliud pro quo;* the claim is not

Intellectually the most influential Reformer was John Calvin (1509–1564), whose religion extended over France, Switzerland, Poland, Hungary, the Netherlands, England, Scotland, and America, and cast a gloom over three centuries. Lutherism as a Church was more local and suffered the fate due to its party origin and scorn of emotion. It became a State institution, markedly apathetic. A Lutheran congregation in Germany appears to be spiritually dead. In the last century, the Roman Church has in fact regained much of the religious and political authority from which Luther ousted it. Calvinism, a later growth, shook itself more completely free from the old Church and landing in England, at a time when reform meant freedom, found a soil wherein to propagate itself successfully.

Brought up and educated under legal auspices, son of an attorney and pupil of the famous lawyer Alciati, Calvin was from boyhood severe and censorious. His mind was shrewd, logical, devoid of higher spirituality, but religiously inclined; his body weak, nervous, dyspeptic. Coming as a youth to Geneva, he was induced by the Protestant Farel to remain there as pastor. Expelled on account of harshness, he returned (1541) and thereafter ruled with an iron hand. He was not an original thinker. Le Fèvre, born about 1455, had denied "good works," held salvation as a free gift, doubted transubstantiation, and taken the Bible as sole authority five years before Luther nailed up his theses. Farel was Le Fèvre's pupil. Calvin's mind, though not creative, was formulative. His *Institutes,* owing to his personal power, was formally voted by the Little Council of Geneva to be "the holy doctrine of God," and at the same time (1553) it was commanded that "no one should dare to speak against the *Institutes.*" In 1557 he banished the Anabaptists under fear of death. At Strassburg he required every would-be communicant to be examined first

satisfied but waived. Atonement is only exemplary, not to atone for past sin but to prevent future sin. Socinus rejected vicarious atonement altogether.

by himself in a sort of confessional; he instituted a "minute inquisitorial interference with the lives of the people." Because Castellio questioned the inspiration of *Solomon's Song,* Calvin refused him the ministry. Worse than such impiety was it to criticize adversely Calvin himself. He forced Ameaux to go almost naked through Geneva and beg pardon of God for saying that Calvin was a bad man. He banished Bolsec because Bolsec said Calvin's theory of predestination was nonsense, and (1553) caused Servetus to be burned at the stake because of disbelief in Calvin's theology. Yet, it is to be feared, not so much for religion's sake as for the sake of his own authority. As one of his admirers says: Calvin connived with the Roman Catholic Church to slay Servetus not so much because of heresy as because "the condemnation of Servetus [1] now became vital to Calvin's whole Geneva status."

But the theocracy established by Calvin at Geneva was a local Protestant autocracy, which his own neighbouring Protestant states detested, as they ridiculed him. The Council at Bern even declared Calvin to be "a quarrelsome meddler in divine counsels" (1557), and said that they would burn his *Institutes* as an heretical and dangerous work. Neither Basel, Zürich, nor Bern upheld Calvin against Bolsec, who had declared that predestination was "absurd." It is urged that Calvin showed "statesmanlike breadth of mind" and that he helped the cause of civil liberty. But it is difficult to find breadth of mind in any of his expressed views, while his actions show only an inordinate

[1] Servetus was "a man of genius who anticipated much not only of what Socinianism afterwards asserted, but some Christological views which now have wide currency" (Walker, *John Calvin,* p. 326). He discovered the circulation of the blood three quarters of a century before Harvey. Calvin showed at the trial that Servetus had said that Palestine was not a land flowing with milk and honey. Hence (argued Calvin) Servetus spoke against Moses; therefore he spoke against the Holy Spirit who inspired Moses, etc. In his *De trinitatis erroribus* (1531), Servetus had laid the foundation of the charges against him. It must be admitted that he was as audacious and impudent as he was clever.

self-conceit. His practical interpretation of civil liberty was that the Church as the oracle of God should control the State and that John Calvin should control the Church. His strenuous morality and individualistic conception of the nature of salvation appealed to his English friends, while his opposition to the papacy released the English world from one Church without binding it to the pope of Geneva. Thus only can it be said that "the spiritual indebtedness of Western Europe and of America to the educating influence of Calvin's theology is wellnigh measureless" (*op. cit.* p. 428). In France, two years before his death, there was a reaction which weakened the Huguenots; but this was largely political. We are indebted to Calvin, however, if not for his gloomy theology, for his severe morality, which was needed at the time. His intolerance of unethical behaviour put into religion a force it had almost lost and its severity had a tonic effect of lasting value.

Augustine's view that the lost who are not given the grace of perseverance are passed by, became with Calvin the statement that men are damned simply to please God. In opposition to the Semi-Pelagianism of the Church, and to the Arminian doctrine of inborn evil (not guilt), Calvin insisted that man is naturally evil and guilty and redemption is effected through God's favouritism (not through synergism). A few selected (elect) receive the undeserved grace of redemption. Thus absolute predestination, particular redemption, man's total depravity, God's irresistible grace, and the perseverance of the saints are the five theses urged (at Dort in 1618–1619) against the Arminians. The glory of God, not the blessedness or happiness of his creature, is the aim of God. This necessitates predestination, which again is proved by the implication of provision in prevision on the part of every intelligent being. The Arminians, on the other hand, admit fore-knowledge but generally deny fore-ordination.

The Geneva consensus on predestination occurred in 1551. In 1551–1552 were composed in England the original Forty-

Two Articles, which, when revised, became the Thirty-Nine Articles, sanctioned in 1571. They are largely Calvinistic. The (Presbyterian) Westminster Conference (1643–1648) embodied the Calvinistic faith for those politically at odds with the Crown. But the English Reformation (1532–1536, 1547) belongs not to a history of religion but to a history of establishments. It introduced no new ideas. Calvinism mercifully tempered with Arminianism explains it, except on its political side. The break with Rome was due to desire for political, not religious, freedom. Mary (1553–1558) established Protestantism firmly by her intemperate opposition and it was definitively restored by Elizabeth (1558), though soon divided by the re-reformers called Puritans, and sub-divided again by Separatists, Quakers (George Fox, b. 1624, was a pure mystic), etc., as Lutherism was divided in Germany and Calvinism in Poland.

Two of these reform movements deserve special notice, that of the Pietists in Germany and that of the Methodists in England and America. The first was the natural antithetic result of Lutherism and Calvinism, both of which had done what they could to stifle emotional religion. Spener (b. 1635) and Francke (b. 1663) started the movement, but their "piety" at first outdid Calvinism in some regards. They forbade even children to play and adults were taught to scorn all occupation except that of occupying their souls with religious feeling; even religious form, such as churchgoing, was looked upon as debasing. Sentimental piety was true religion. The Moravian Zinzendorf became infected with this doctrine and established in 1722 a monastic community of dispersed Moravians devoted to sensuous mysticism, strict discipline, a new order of bishops, and an elaborate liturgy. This was, of course, a reversion to certain "varieties of religious experience" familiar to the Church in the Middle Ages. Lutherans, and even the original Pietists, were revolted by the indecency inseparable from a too sensuous "love for Jesus" and Zinzendorf was banished. Later conservatism improved this body, as was the case with

the Quakers, who also began as mystics and at first offended decency,[1] and the reformed Pietists adopted the Augsburg Confession in 1749. Apart from objectionable features, this Moravian body, active in America, has done much good in Christianizing savages and in upholding a simple Christian life.

In England, a High Church faction, devoted to ritualism and hence called Methodist (1729), became the sect of that name through the influence of Wesley and Whitefield (1735). It fashioned its government after the Established Church (having bishops), but, influenced in part by pietistic feeling, it reverted to an apostolic model in restoring the Love-feast and especially in re-inventing the order of itinerant evangelists, who, like mediaeval friars, roamed about, preaching the gospel and recalling to life the simple spirituality of inner religion. Whitefield's particular followers are Calvinistic, otherwise the sect is Arminian; as a whole, it insists on sanctification and the witness of the Spirit. Though its initial success was due chiefly to revivalist methods, it has held its own through its ability to be emotional without being sickly, and dramatic without being insincere. It is significant because it was the first sect both to minimize theology as compared with religion and to see religion broadly, without over-emphasis on non-essentials.

In England, Legate was burned at the stake (for holding the Unitarian heresy) in 1611, the last victim of that form of intolerance. At present, after three hundred years, intolerance in any form is beginning to disappear. In the late past it has expressed itself rather through fission than through persecution. In America, for example, the original Calvinistic Baptists felt unequal to the strain of Christian unity and a sect was formed of Particular Baptists, followed by other sects called Free-will Baptists, Primitive

[1] The charge that the Puritans fled from intolerance only to become as intolerant themselves, has some basis of truth: but they banished the Quakers not because of creed but because of their behaviour (appearing naked in church, etc.).

Baptists, and Seventh Day Baptists. A constant reforming of the reformed has thus led to new parties innumerable [1] but not to new ideas. At most, one religious item of faith or practice has been heavily stressed, thus producing a Baptist, a Quaker, a Shaker, a Mormon Prophet, an Endeavourer, a Christian Scientist, or a Salvationist, of whom some are sects apart, while others are sectless, drawn from any source, but now devotees of one idea. Even within more conservative ranks, the practical effect of this predilection for dissension has resulted in the anomaly of a village scarcely capable of supporting one "meeting-house" yet harbouring three or four sects, whose members do not know why they differ but resolutely remain apart.

That they do not know why they differ is, however, a distinct advance. Difference or dissent is only their religious inheritance; it does not express their real religious attitude, which has passed beyond the subtleties of creeds. It is, indeed, sometimes said that sects are a good thing; they reflect mental activity; they keep religion alive. Yet intellectual vigour expressed by quarrelling about minor matters tends to keep alive not religion but dogma. Sects have been a good thing. Each has preserved something likely to be lost, independence, ethics, good taste, emotion, etc. But there is only one question of vital importance before the Church today: Is Christianity one or divided, an ethical system or a mystical belief, or both? For the sects have joined hands and the Church long ago has ceased to excite itself over the problems of the remoter past. It is returning to that simple apostolic state of mind which had nothing to say of predestination, ignored the controversial possibilities of monophysitism, and did not even define the trinity, but taught a living belief in the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God.

Yet, even that age had this same vital problem. Is Chris-

[1] In Pennsylvania alone there are said to be twenty-one sects and fifty-two sub-divisions.

tianity the teachings of Jesus or a doctrine about Jesus?[1] If the former be called the religion of Jesus and the latter, in distinction from it, be called Christianity, that is, the doctrine about Jesus that began with the resurrection and interpreted him mystically, we have the antithesis presented by the "liberal Christianity" of the nineteenth century and the monistic mysticism of the twentieth. Both have an historical foundation, but a foundation much older than the Christian era. It is one that must be studied in the light of history.

As one looks back over the long extent of acrimonious debate, passionate judgments, intolerance, cruelty, and vice, which mark the course of the stream of Christianity, one is tempted to say that of all religions this is the most inhumane, the least divine. But, on the other hand, when one sees how often, nay, how invariably, this turgid stream, full of abominations made by man, suddenly clears itself and becomes sweet and pure again, how, through choking accumulations, rises ever anew the water of life, fresh from its fountain, one is led to ask whether any other religion in the world has this faculty of renovating itself, and from what source this particular religion has derived its marvellous power.

The tongue of Faith will say "from God," and rest therewith content. But the historian will ask by what means God has accomplished this result. He turns to the records and sees that all religions tend to express the peoples who hold them. There are races that have no State-idea, no State-ideal, which recognize no obligation to the State, which do not make for themselves a god of the State, but rather bow to the powers of nature and seek to understand the mystery of nature. On the other hand, there are races which ignore nature more and more as they progress, which build up a State-ideal and make for themselves a State-god as head of the State, whose thought is, "The State must be saved." In such races, Roman, Chinese, obedience to the State and to its god is the basis of the higher religion, which is intelli-

[1] See Bacon, *Christianity Old and New,* New Haven, 1914, p. 117.

gent, ethical, demanding morality as the foundation of the State, as the first law of its god. Such was above all the Hebrew race; its religion was a race-religion; its God was a deity of the race and State; its religion was ethical rather than mystical. In contrast to this, the religion of mysticism, which prevailed among the Mediterranean races, ignores the State in favour of the individual; it says, not to the State but to the man, "Thou shalt be saved, thou shalt live again, even as nature dies and lives again."

Now these two religions, the social and the personal, each of tremendous power, one appealing rather to the intellect, the other to the feeling, rarely unite as equally authoritative. Ethics, morality, is rather patched upon the nature-religion of mysticism than cognate with it. It is not first connected with the god integrally and then assumed as a divine quality, for nature is not moral. Nor is mysticism a natural outgrowth of a belief in a transcendent deity, whose law is embodied in a system of ethics. So, on the one hand, ethics is an unimportant addition to the mystical Hindu sects and, on the other, mysticism is an unnatural addition to the religion of ancient Rome. But Christianity unites these as authoritative, divinely inspired, elements. They are not formally associated; they combine from the resurrection. God is transcendent, ethical, as he is immanent, embracing the world. Man must be moral, yet the individual soul may in mystic vision receive the Spirit. God is the head of the State; yet the individual shall be saved; he may enjoy raptures felt only by the mystic and merge his soul in the larger life in which the mystic seeks his God; yet he is still at one with his sober co-religionist, who, if he feel no such rapture, yet bows to the same God. The model of his life, moreover, is given not in abstractions but in the person of an historical character, who "suffered under Pontius Pilate."

Hence the strength of Christianity. In it divinity blends with humanity. Moreover, two best human types, the moral and the spiritual, not artificially joined but fundamentally blended, two ideals, that of service to the State, that of

fullest expression of the individual, have in Christianity been made one. To divorce this union, to declare that Christianity must be a system of ethics alone or a monistic mystery alone, is to disrupt Christianity itself.

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